

T.C.
KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
M.A. PROGRAM IN CINEMA AND TELEVISION

NEVER SATISFIED
DISSATISFIED WOMEN, HYSTERIC MEN IN 1980S TURKEY

M.A. Thesis

SELEN GÖKÇEM

İstanbul, 2012

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İFLAH OLMAZ DOYUMSUZLUK
1980'LER TÜRKİYESİ'NDE TATMİN OLAMAYAN
KADINLAR, HİSTERİK ERKEKLER

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Advisor

ASSIST. PROF. MURAT AKSER

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ABSTRACT

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Advisor: Assist. Prof. Murat Akser

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The feminist movement in the 1980s Turkey enabled women to question women's sexual emancipation. The raise of educated women, individuality and sexual emancipation helped shaping the new educated urban women image in the 1980s Turkey. The woman directors of 1980s Turkey made several women themed films in which the woman characters were represented as educated, working, economically free and sexually emancipated. Yet, the representation of sexually emancipated women in these films resulted in women hysteria. This study identifies the representation of 1980s educated emancipated women in Turkish woman directors' films that resulted in three basic outcomes; they are women hysteria, male hysteria and women's self-sacrifice.

Keywords: Feminist Movement, 1980s Turkey, Emancipation, Turkish Woman Directors

ÖZET

İFLAH OLMAZ DOYUMSUZLUK

1980'LER TÜRKİYE'SİNDE TATMİN OLAMAYAN KADINLAR,

HİSTERİK ERKEKLER

Selen Gökçem

Sinema ve Televizyon Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Programı

Danışman: Yard. Doç. Dr. Murat Akser

Mayıs 2012

1980'lerde Türkiye'deki kadın hareketi kadınların cinsel özgürlüklerini sorgulayabilmelerine olanak sağladı. Eğitimli kadın sayısındaki artış, bireysellik ve cinsel özgürlük 1980'ler Türkiye'sinin eğitimli kentli kadın imajının şekillenmesine yardımcı oldu. 1980'ler Türkiye'sinin kadın yönetmenleri kadın karakterlerin eğitimli, çalışan, ekonomik açıdan bağımsız ve cinsel açıdan özgür olarak temsil edildiği kadın temalı filmler yaptılar. Fakat bu filmlerde cinsel açıdan özgür olan kadınların temsili histeri ile sonuçlandı. Bu çalışma ile Türk kadın yönetmenlerin filmlerinde 1980'lerin eğitimli, cinsel açıdan özgür kadın karakterlerinin sunumunun üç ana temel sonuca dayandığı görülmüştür. Bunlar, kadın histerisi, erkek histerisi ve kadın fedakârlığıdır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kadın hareketi, 1980'ler Türkiye'si, Özgürleşme, Türk Kadın

Yönetmenler

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The idea of this thesis came after watching the film *Sarı Tebessüm* (dir. Seçkin Yasar, 1992); yet, the idea to study on the 1980s forgotten Turkish woman directors and their films came after I share my countless questions and comments on these films with my advisor Murat Akser. Although the idea came as soon as I watched one of the films it was quite hard to find the rest of the films as there is no circulation of them. A good many of people helped and supported me to find these films and watch them properly.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The 1980s Turkey witnessed tremendous changes that affected the future of the country socially, economically and culturally. The 1980s military take over brought a severe repression period to the country; however, on the other hand the 1980s “became the site of a great transformation which the concept of repression cannot explain. Another way to put it is say that repression came to the fore along with another strategy, apparently its price opposite, one promising freedom in cultural sphere” (Gürbilek, 2011: 5). The country was acquainted with the consumer culture, “the media sector went into boom” (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005: 125) and most importantly the feminism became one of the current issues in the country.

The main argument of this thesis is, however, the 1980s cinematic changes that put individuality, private life, sexual emancipation and most importantly woman consciousness in its center mostly in films made by Turkish woman directors. The feminism and its effects on women were not affectively used in cinema by Turkish woman directors until in the late 1980s. While Turkey’s pioneer feminists such as Şirin Tekeli, Nermin Abadan-Unat and Deniz Kandiyoti worked hard on the woman subject from women’s place in the society to women’s sexuality, in cinema the woman, women’s individuality or sexually emancipated women were treated commonly in Turkish male directors’ films. Yet, during the period the late 1980s and early 1990s there emerged several Turkish woman directors that put the sexually emancipated, educated, working Turkish women

characters in the center of their films that had almost all features of the 1980s new women image. Basically based on the sexual satisfaction and different sexual relationships of the educated working women, those films created controlled emancipated women characters that could not become liberated; conversely, they became hysteric, neurotic women that were ready to sacrifice themselves as they were subjugated to the male dominance.

This study started with these questions in my mind: how did Turkish woman directors represent their heroines in their films in the late 1980s and early 1990s? How is women's reaction to her sexual problems encountered in urban male dominated environment? How do these films solve or resolve women problems? Why do sexually emancipated woman have to pay the price to get satisfied? How do the sexually awakened women turn into hysteric, neurotic women at the end of the films? I lay out my answers through these three steps: representation of the women (women hysteria), reaction to the women (male hysteria) and the resolution (self-sacrifice). In every step, I try to find out the sexually awakened women's representation in the educated urban male dominated society and the reasons why sexually emancipated Turkish women characters were subjugated to the male dominance even though those films were made under the influence of feminism in the 1980s Turkey.

I should point out that, I focused on the narration while writing this thesis but not style or form. One of the reasons for focusing on narration is to be able to account for these under recognized and forgotten films' sexually emancipated women themes: because the effect of feminism and the cultural climate in 1980s

Turkey in these films were the basic points. The other reason is the word and page limitation that made me focused on just one specific subject of these films which undoubtedly have quite a few.

This thesis views the films were made by Turkish woman filmmakers in the late 1980s and early 1990s as the representation of the cultural climate of 1980s Turkey regarding women and the changing women image through the sexual emancipation, therefore, the feminism and the sexual emancipation of educated working women are the focal points that has been concentrated on mainly. The starting point of this thesis is the feminist movement in 1980s Turkey; therefore, in the first chapter the cultural climate of 1980s Turkey, the key concepts individualism, sexuality and feminism are discussed briefly. As this thesis is based on the feminism, woman films and film studies, I basically use the approaches by Deniz Kandiyoti, Şirin Tekeli and Nermin Abadan-Unat for the Turkish feminism of 1980s and Molly Haskell and Ann Kaplan for the woman and cinema discussions as they all are useful to support my thesis.

In chapter two, the women hysteria is examined as a result of sexual dissatisfaction. “Throughout the history, of course, hysteria has always been constructed as a ‘woman’s disease’, a feminine disorder, or a disturbance of femininity” (Gilman, 1993, 287), yet it also could be suggested that women’s hysteria is related to sexual dissatisfaction of women in their marital, pre or extra-marital relationships. I suggest that the unsatisfying sex for women results in hysteria as an acceptable outlet in the films that has been analyzed throughout this study. Women’s sexual desire that came to the light after a long repression period

was related with nymphomania that is a term used for the women who have excessive sexual desire or the equal sex ratio to male. Women's sexual awakening and demand for sexual satisfaction came along as a rebel against heteronormativity, as the heteronormativity refers to the dominant discourse of sexuality that is men demand women obey. As a result of this rebellion against heteronormativity, emancipated women characters in those films were led into neurosis and punished with the subjugation.

Chapter three examines male hysteria related with women's sexual emancipation. Kaja Silverman suggest that, male subject's aspirations to mastery and sufficiency are undermined from many directions, yet it has only been very recently that another threat has come into play in a politically organized way-that constituted through the representational and sexual practices of feminism (1992: 52). The advance of feminism and sexual emancipation in 1980s Turkey positively affected particularly urban working women so much that the urban educated male became hysteric under these circumstances in these films. Therefore, as a matter of masculinity "in terms of power, control, dominance and entitlement" (Penley and Willis, 1993: 48), the male characters in those films tried to overcome their hysteria through violence against women, over possessing women or self-destruction. I suggest that, sexually emancipated, educated professional women were taken as outsiders against male dominance that, this new image of the 1980s Turkey's women were subjugated by inconsistent behavior of male in order to get emancipated women over a barrel again.

The last chapter examines women's self-sacrifice through the film *After Yesterday Before Tomorrow* (Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce, dir. Nisan Akman, 1987) because this film is the pioneer of all other three films that are examined in this study, and reflects both the active feminist consciousness among educated working women and the unchanging dominant male obsession that man makes houses women makes homes. This contradiction is analyzed through husband's extra-marital relationship and wife's journey from self-sacrifice to awakening. Yet, I suggest that, even though this film was made under the feminist influence in the 1980s Turkey, the director could not avoid the heroine to be punished being left alone at the end of the film, while the husband was rewarded with another woman that would make him happy.

The first thing one has to note about all these films is that the old descriptive term- "boys gets girl"-no longer fits, in *Yellow Smile* (Sarı Tebessüm, dir. Seçkin Yasar, 1992) or *Robert's Movie* (Robert'in Filmi, dir. Canan Gerede, 1991) it is the heroine, not the hero who gives the kisses. Again in *Sarı Tebessüm* it is she who walks into home in the middle of the night (Silverman, 1992). The 1980s cultural climate introduced feminism to Turkey and enabled to create educated, self-awake and sexually emancipated individual women. While the education also contributed in excessive amount and educated Turkish woman directors dared to make films over women's sexual emancipation, it is obvious that they projected patriarchal values to their heroines and did not allow them to be liberated all the way.

Chapter II

CULTURAL CLIMATE AND FEMINISM IN THE 1980S TURKEY

2.1. Revolution in Feminist Movement in the 1980s Turkey and Its Effects on Women Filmmakers

2.1.2 First Feminists in Turkey: “Emancipated but Unliberated”

The feminist movement in Turkey actively took shape in the beginning of the 1980s the period after the coup d'état. The educated upper class women who were urban at least for two generations that could follow the feminist literature in foreign language such as Şirin Tekeli “a leading feminist activist and a political scientist who helped organize feminism in Turkey and helped found the Women’s Library and Information Center in Istanbul and Nermin Abadan- Unat who is the Turkey’s first female political scientist, an ex-senator, a promoter of women in academia and a defender of women’s rights in Turkey and abroad” (Arat, 1997: 95) took the first step to plant feminist consciousness in Turkey. While on one hand activist women such as Şirin Tekeli and Nermin Abadan- Unat founded some institutions that defend gender equality and published some magazines to discuss about politics in Turkey’s agenda, human rights and questions of being women, on the other hand, Deniz Kandiyoti questioned the ambiguous situation of emancipated but unliberated women in Turkish society in the modernization period. According to Deniz Kandiyoti and the other Turkish female feminist writers, women in Islamic societies including Turkey have been under the

influence of religion which elicits the inequality between men and women. In Islamic culture, male honor is closely linked to female purity. This requires virginity for the unmarried, fidelity for the married, and continence for the divorced and widowed. This concept of honor means that the behavior of an individual woman affects not only her own reputation, but that all her male kin. The logic consequences have been in general terms, men assume all public roles, and women assent to the domestic ones (Abadan-Unat et al.1981: 219). However, together with the urban educated women who had professions after university education and entered into public life have created a momentum of its own and has avoided the sex typing of many jobs and possibly provided role models for younger generations. In this sense, the case of Turkey illustrates both the potentials and the limitations of reforms instigated by a political vanguard in the absence of a significant women's movement (1981: 323).

Kadınca Magazine was seen one of the most important symbols of the feminism in 1980s Turkey after it was firstly published in 1978s. Particularly the editor Duygu Asena became one of the leading feminist woman images that supported not emancipation but liberation of women. *Kadınca* was important because Asena openly stated that the magazine did not intend to be like 'the others' with gossip columns and romance stories, and that the magazine would challenge the traditional idea that Turkish women do not read 'serious stuff'. *Kadınca's* readers were thus invited from the beginning issues to pay attention to interviews with successful professional women" (Arat, 2000: 278). Asena also

focused on sexuality yet with a bit complaint about not having been able to write it openly:

“I (published) our first writing on female sexuality almost secretly. It (received) such a public response that I (increased) the pages on sexuality in the following issues without asking anyone’s consent. And finally one month, I (wrote) “Wake up Ayşes and wake Alis up”... (2000: 279).

According to Arzu Öztürkmen, *Kadınca* challenged the traditional boundaries of female sexuality. While on one hand, economic independence was highlighted as the way to develop an identity independent from the status derived from that of husbands and father, and on the other hand, the magazine underlined the women’s difficulty in expressing their sexuality and criticized social oppression on the issues of virginity and intolerance for women’s extramarital affairs. Asena summarizes of *Kadınca*’s achievement:

We wanted to remind them (women) how wrong was the belief that a woman’s honor is depended on her hymen. We protested films that tried to conceive young girls who lost their virginity to believe that they should commit suicide, that if they don’t, they would be prostitutes. We confronted the issue of battering. We said to women “Leave at the first slap”. We protested those men who consider beating a woman as normal behavior and see as their right; we judged them as creatures more brutal than animals. We suggested women to work. We wanted them to read. We told governments to protect women... We enumerated those laws of our

civil code which are against women. We tried to talk about feminism whose content remains unknown in our country, and which hunts people like a ghost. (2000: 279).

While the “emancipated but unliberated” woman and sexuality were on the agenda, *Kadınca* magazine could achieve to ask some fundamental questions about women’s problems and to reach numerous of women, yet the practice of feminism was not easy to apply it to the women’s lives.

Kandiyoti suggests that the changes in Turkey have left the most crucial areas of gender relations such as the double standard of sexuality and a primarily domestic definition of the female role, virtually untouched. In that sense, she continues, it is tempting to describe Turkish women as emancipated but unliberated, because signs of significant political activity by women to remedy this state of affairs have been largely absent (Kandiyoti, 1987). She points out the corporate “control of female sexuality, the psychological effects of sex segregation and the characteristics of the female life cycle” are the most unresolved problems of Turkish women that should be questioned in order to understand or to carry women from the stage of emancipation to liberation.

2.2. The More Education, the More Liberation: How University Education Positively Affected Turkish Women’s Sexual Emancipation

Women’s subordination has been related to being uneducated and economically dependent on men since the urban university educated women, even if partly, became sexually emancipated. The perceived but invisible male control

mechanism on women, particularly on uneducated women, shaped women's sexuality by unavoidable borders such as virginity, fidelity and honor. Parents, siblings, near and distant relatives, and even neighbors closely monitor the movements of the post pubescent girl, firmly imprinting the notion that here sexuality is not hers to give or withhold. This is clearly apparent at the critical juncture of the choice of a marriage partner (1987: 325). Uneducated young women has been forced to get married by their families with a proper man before her sexuality or femininity would get her family into trouble; "because a central corollary to corporate control over female sexuality in this context is the close connection between female sexual purity and family or lineage honor" (1987: 326). According to 1987 data, the percentage of workingwomen who are graduated from primary school is 67.4 %, from junior high school is 28.1%, and from universities is 67.4 %. For men the percentages at the same order are 81.6%, 70.5%, 78.2% and 92.9% (DIE 1996). When the involvement of women in employment shows big skips depending on the level of education, it is so less definitive for men's involvement (Eti, 2005). However, university educated urban young women in the 1980s Turkey to some extent could achieve stepping out of the line of their controlled sexuality and created realization among other educated women. In the concept of modernization, being sexually emancipated, having pre-marital sexual relationships, choosing their own partners and having right to speak on their own bodies, young university educated women dealt a blow to honor concept. Apart from these changes, the visibility of emancipated women in the society via television, media, cinema and other media organs inhibited the honor concept once again; because university education enabled women to have

economic independence which was one of the main obstacles before women's emancipation. University education created private space for women who were under the control of their "parents, siblings or relatives". University education not only brought sexual freedom to women but also helped them to have jobs which mean money to live alone independently. Consequently, this independence led women to search for their own identities in the concept of modernization.

Although, university education opened new doors to women that they chose their jobs among related with men, earned their own money, had free relationships, lived alone in big cities, however, it is open to question how far those women went beyond the control mechanism of the society. The effects of patriarchy and the masculinity issue brought some restrictions even for the educated emancipated women, because men's sexuality has been the leading issue in the concept of family or superiority on women. Kandiyoti suggests:

It may not be surprising to find that in cultures such as Turkey, which controls female sexuality rigidly and at the same time requires that men flaunt with masculine prowess, men are intensely preoccupied with possible loss of sexual identity. This state of affairs could partially account for the persistent element of danger associated with the female sex, an element that introduces the possibility of subjugation through violence especially when and if female behavior is constructed as a slight against masculinity or male "honor" (1987: 327).

Women's repressed sexuality and subjugation were the leading problems among feminists and also leading subject for the films that were made during the late 1980s and early 1990s. 1980s Turkey's university educated Turkish women directors such as Mahinur Ergun, Seçkin Yasar, Canan Gerede and Nisan Akman attempted to make woman films over emancipated educated Turkish woman characters to show the 1980s new emancipated educated working women, in other words changing Turkish women image to the audience. Even though those films were not successful to prove their heroines as liberated ones, they presented the new Turkish woman images as educated, working, earning her own money, independent on her own choices, having pre and extra marital relationships and sexually awakened.

In this context, it is true to say that university education enabled young women to be informed about feminism and feminist movement in Turkey, and led them to question their own sexualities, to have right to speak on their own bodies, to oppose the concept of honor and virginity by having open relationships in the society. In other words, they frustrated the concept of honor that grew up in the hand of patriarchy by being visible, although could not "shoulder the whole psychological burden of change-alone, alienated and mystified" (1987: 333).

2.3. Cultural Climate of the 1980s Turkey

The year 1980 was the beginning of a new era for Turkey. The period started with the military coup and resulted with a number of both expected and unexpected changes that would be effective for long years. Nurdan Gürbilek

explains the changes in Turkey during the years after the coup in *The New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Shop Window*:

On September 1980 Turkey awoke with a military coup to the most repressive period of its recent history. Turkey entered a period of severe repression, whose effects endured after the military had gone. Yet, that repression came to fore along with another strategy, apparently its precise opposite, one promising freedom in cultural sphere. For the 1980s the media gained the tremendous power they still have today in Turkey, the advertising industry developed with breakneck speed, big capital took up a determining role in culture, and the market became the constitutive basis of culture (Gürbilek, 2011:4-5).

While the consumption culture, luxurious life styles and socialization in the new “shopping centers, giant hypermarkets, fast-food, ethnic and world cuisine restaurants, bars, discotheques, night clubs or organizations such as international festivals of films, theater and music” (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005: 126) were the most popular and newest activities of the 1980s, on the other hand, people discovered the repressed sexuality and private delights that were hiding inside. The most important drive for those changes about spoken sexuality and the searching for the new was individualism. People discovered the body and its appetites, and were able to speak openly of sexuality; but the realm known as sexuality was encircled and penetrated as never before (Gürbilek, 2011: 12). As the “media sector went into boom and created new employment opportunities in media, advertisement and other related sectors” (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005: 125),

the Turkish cinema also revived after the 1970s male spectator oriented erotic film rush, and tended towards the new subjects of 1980s Turkey such as sexuality, individualism and woman consciousness. As a result of these changes, particularly as capitalism's effects, women had white color jobs; they voluntarily took place in the business circle and started to work in offices. on the other hand, on the behalf of the Turkish cinema, there emerged several new Turkish woman directors during this period while there had been only one actively producing films; Bilge Olgaç. Educated at university and also trained by some Turkish male directors, new Turkish woman directors took their places in the film sector in 1980s Turkey.

2.3.1. Late 1980s and Early 1990s Woman Films from Women Directors'

Point of View

One of the most tremendous steps taken in the 1980s Turkey was the feminist movement. Although the feminist movement arose in the 1980s, its roots go back to 1960s and 1970s political and social changes and developments. Zehra F. Arat summarizes these developments:

The experience they gained in various organizations during the 1960s and 1970s prepared women to organize around their immediate concerns in the 1980s. Arguably, their earlier disappointments with these organizations also led them to seek new venues and formulations. Ironically, the contradictions impact military takeover in 1980 and its repressive policies also stimulated women's activism. On the one hand, the ban on political parties, the restrictions imposed on labor unions, and the repression of

organizations that espoused class politics compressed the political spectrum and limited the opportunities within old political organizations. Having those doors closed, however, also enabled women to free themselves from the boundaries of previously subscribed ideologies. Thus, the 1980s were demarcated by the emergence of a new feminism and new autonomous women's movement in Turkey (1997; 18).

The feminist movement in Turkey was not strong enough to eliminate male dominance on women and help women to be liberated all the way because “the domain known as womanhood was more besieged by a politics of speech than ever before, named as a new domain and in a sense discovered” (Gürbilek, 2011:12), yet, women made efforts to question women's problems from sexuality to marital problems and to be visible with their own voices as a being with a name. Gürbilek continues:

For the first time women and homosexuals spoke out forcefully, in public, for themselves. It was during those years that Turkey discovered sexuality, something which had never quite visible in this modern identity. Sexuality became one of the most popular topics in the expanding media as a newly proliferating newspapers and weekly news magazines sought to increase their circulation; sexuality was spoken of with hunger never felt before, a burning desire to confess, which derived its raging energy from its enforced belatedness (2011: 79).

These unexpected and tremendous changes also affected Turkish cinema. The “sexuality spoken of with hunger”, women’s consciousness, different gender groups, consuming culture and rise of university education became the new subjects of films rather than 1970s erotic Turkish films. Savaş Arslan in his book *Cinema in Turkey* explains the 1970s Turkish cinema:

The late 1970s decline in family spectatorship led filmmakers to augment the doses of action and sex films in order to attract urban male spectators. This popularized the genre of sex films in the second half of the 1970s with a specific visual makeup and pattern of spectatorship (2011: 101).

Different from the “sexploitation films” sex scenes that the nudity was kind of ‘fishing’ that demonstrated that films incorporating nudity brought money (Scognamillo and Demirhan, 2002: 144), late 1980s and early 1990s sexuality was emancipated women’s sexuality that does not serve for male appetite but women’s satisfaction. Educated Turkish women directors such as Mahinur Ergun, Seçkin Yasar, Canan Gerece and Nisan Akman made woman themed films in which they also pointed out the cultural, political and social changes of 1980s Turkey. Although during the same period there were other Turkish woman directors such as Bilge Olgaç, Tomris Giritlioğlu and Biket İlhan that made woman themed films, those films have not been studied in this thesis as the focal point is educated middle class urban women and men’ representation in the late 1980s and early 1990s Turkish woman directors’ films.

The 1980s were years when inner lives, sexual preferences and private pleasures come to the fore and people were inclined to bare their souls (Gürbilek, 1987: 12). Turkish woman directors well-educated in Turkey or abroad, having based on their own or their environment's experiences, created university educated, working, sexually awakened woman characters in their films. Parallel with the changing woman image in the 1980s, those films *Sarı Tebessüm* (dir. Seçkin Yasar, 1992), *Medcezir Manzaraları* (dir. Mahinur Ergun, 1989), *Robert'in Filmi* (dir. Canan Gerede, 1992) and *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* (dir. Nisan Akman, 1987) represented the visibility of sexually emancipated women in the public. All the heroines in those films were university educated and working women which means they had economic independence. They all lived in big cities, had pre or extra-marital relationships as a proof of their sexual emancipation, because they chose their own partners, most of them socialized in bars, discotheques, they had either esteemed social environment or marginal friends-homosexual or transgender and most importantly they gave voice to their wish to be sexually satisfied.

Apart from the subject and the woman image in these films, the newspapers dated with the release of these films have various interviews and comments. In the interview Seçkin Yasar gave in 1993 to *Milliyet* (a local newspaper) Yasar has puzzling explanations that she has neither any feminist or social class analysis approach nor any claim with her film *Sarı Tebessüm*; she just makes films for herself. In another interview she explains that her husband Eriş Akman suggested her to internalize male dominated filmmakers' attitudes to have

the authority while making films. Also, Mahinur Ergun explains in an interview (Öztürk, 2004: 195) that she does not believe and support “the woman filmmaker” term as she does not want to be exist as a woman in this sector but just a filmmaker like the rest of the male filmmakers. These male trained woman directors could achieve to make their films with the help of male financiers and producers. Some of the films’ scripts were partly or totally written by their male counterparts. If it is considered that these woman filmmakers were the pioneers in the 1980s Turkey to create educated and sexually aroused women in the male dominated film sector, it is unavoidable for them to create woman films with male point of view. The general judgment about these films after they were released in the newspaper columns was not constructive. Burak Göral criticized the women’s personality problems themed films which had weird erotic scenes that were shot to arouse woman consciousness. (1995, *Ve Pazar*, p.3). In another columnist Semih Günver criticized the sex scenes in *Medcezir Manzaranarı* by claiming that the heroine is lost in the sex drug and most of the audience could not stand to watch her and her partner until the end of the film (1990, *Milliyet*, p. 15).

The heroines in these films were the representation of the new urban educated emancipated women; however on the other hand, those heroines’ emancipated but unliberated sides were the indication of the effects of the deep-seated Turkish patriarchy on Turkish women. Gürbilek indicates that Turkey entered a period of eager discussion about what was mainstream and what was marginal, what was normal and what deviation, what was moderate and what extreme, who was lower and who higher after the inner lives were opened up to

the public, sexual preferences named, private pleasures combed though (2011: 35). Even though the feminism were on the agenda in the 1980s Turkey and women directors emerged who made woman themed films, gave place to homosexual relationships together with transgender characters and chose their heroines as emancipated ones suitable for the Turkey's climate of 1980s, they succumbed to deep-seated Turkish patriarchy that favors masculinity, subordination and domestication of women. The sexual emancipation, the visibility in the public, women's declaration of sexual satisfaction could not carry those heroines one step further out of the humiliation, hysteria, unhappiness, loneliness and self-sacrifice. The directors themselves could not achieve to be liberated all the way to create real liberated woman characters; yet, they punished those emancipated women characters because as patriarchal culture still fears the unattached woman (Kaplan, 1983), the freedom 1980s created was not able to be as strong as the male dominance.

Chapter III

DISSATISFACTION AND WOMEN HYSTERIA

According to the gender discourse in Turkey, it is totally unexceptional for a woman to repress her sexual drive or to keep herself for the best man. In the contrary case, it is also common for the woman to be punished. The patriarchal codes and the system that has been in the process for years has been confirmed through cinema once more and at the same time cinema has helped the traditional approach to be accepted by the society.

The representation of women characters until the 1960s and 1970s Turkish cinema was built in certain forms that it presented women as suffering, could not manage to meet her lover or the one who was self-sacrificing. Regardless of what has happened to the woman character in the film, ultimately the message given to the audience is that she has to obey the role that the patriarchy provided for her.

Researches show that, the woman who has sexual drives and who is self-confident and self-determining is identified as “bad” woman in the films. Particularly until the 1980s, there were two women images in Turkish cinema. Women were represented either having virtues, full of love to her husband and children, forgiving and away being sexually attractive or represented as evil, femme fatale and full of with sexual desires (Necla Arat, 1992). These kinds of women are also sexually active as they have their relationships openly as men do.

However, as these women gave their sexualities prominence in the films, they were labeled as “bad” women in Turkish films since they were presented outcasts. In this traditionalist structure the emancipation of women became reality when they had their place in the public realm which is under the hegemony of the male.

Together with the emancipated women images in Turkish “woman” films after 1980s, the woman characters were represented more modern and more realistic as in the real life. The emancipated woman typecasting who does not only feel her sexuality but also who lives her sexuality liberally and fearlessly has been taken as a huge progress in Turkish cinema.

In this environment, Turkish woman filmmakers created new woman images that are educated, self-confident, self-reliant, economically independent, and sexually self-aware in their films in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The women images were considerably important to understand the women in the patriarchal society from women point of view. Thus, Turkish woman filmmakers gave place to educated sexually self-aware women in their films to reveal how Turkish women had other lives unlike what had been taught and indicated in the society. However, although on one level, Turkish woman filmmakers reframed the women overlooked in the society, on another level they failed to support their heroines bravely against patriarchal society.

They chose their characters as educated, working, economically and sexually independent women who had her own identity and strength in the male dominated society to indicate that women had their own lives as men did in those

years, but then, Turkish woman filmmakers turned their characters into hysteric, neurotic women that were exact opposite the ones in the beginning.

This fact that resulted in the dissatisfaction, women hysteria, women's self-sacrifice and male hysteria has been detected in the whole films that are going to be analyzed that were made in late 1980s and early 1990s by Turkish woman filmmakers.

One of the most common and unresolved problems in the films directed by Turkish woman filmmakers in the late 1980s and early 1990 was dissatisfaction of woman characters. Being single or married, having regular sexual relationships or not, the woman characters could not manage to have sexual satisfaction that they desire. Sexuality of woman as a taboo subject has forced women to repress their sexual desires deep inside. This taboo was on the behalf of men because they could command their wives or lovers throughout their own "rules" in the sexual life and they did not allow women to fulfill their desires with their own "rules"-if any of the women were allowed to have some. However, the more women became individual and educated the more they discovered their sexual desire and put forward their own rules against androcentric ones.

The demand for sexual satisfaction of women did not fit the androcentric sexual life style and this sexual demand led women into a hysterical, lonely world in the films. Firstly, after women became aware of their sexualities and openly demanded satisfaction, women were labeled as a "whore" or a "slave of sexuality" even by their lovers. Secondly, when women became a "whore" because of their

sexual demands and alienated in the society and humiliated in the eye of their lovers, they primarily alienated to their own selves and had neurosis. Lastly, in the sense of taking back their chances to be with their lovers again, these women accepted to be ruled under the androcentric sexual rules. They were subjugated to patriarchy once more by the Turkish women directors.

In order to clarify the dissatisfaction and women hysteria in the films, the processes that women had to bear is needed to analyze as in the order; nymphomania, neurosis and subjugation.

3.1. Nymphomania

Nymphomania is a term created by modern psychology as referring to a ‘desire to engage in human sexual behavior at a level high enough to be considered clinically significant’ and nymphomaniac is a person who suffers from such a disorder. The *Encyclopedie* defines nymphomania or *fureur uterine*, “as a delirium, a disease of the veneral appetite that drives women to use every possible means to try to extinguish the uncontrollable ardor that devours them. Frequent sexual intercourse was not the defining feature or symptom of nymphomania, but rather, the illness was one of insatiable desire”.

However, fundamentally, this term is used for women under description a woman as obsessed with sex as an average man by Mignon McLaughlin. While the ‘average sex for women’ is not clarified or it is limited considering males’ need, the average male sex ratio is taken as ‘the addiction to sex’ for women.

The woman characters' sexual desire frequency ratio in the films were judged according to the male characters' sexual desire frequency ratio and as a circumstances, women's sexual desire frequency ratio was found out of the standard and women characters were represented as sex maniacs by the male characters in the films. Women's declaration of their sexual desires as individuals in the 1980s Turkey was one of the most spectacular subjects both in the public and in the films. When the sexual liberation of women was on the agenda of Turkey in the late 1980s, women's unleashed sexuality was seen as the potential for disrupting social order and their sexual desire became the weakest point in the eye of a man.

The Turkish woman directors that have been studied through this thesis could not avoid project of male values on their heroines and allowed them to be punished with male norms. Although the woman directors drew attention with their subjects and their emancipated woman characters in their films, they could not continue to create a liberated woman character at the end of their films.

3.1.1. *Sarı Tebessüm (Yellow Smile)* and Nymphomania

Sarı Tebessüm is a film that focuses on an educated working married woman and her secret sexual affair which drags her into a deadlock emotional situation. It is a story about a woman who loves her poet husband deeply but cannot be satisfied sexually because her husband is sexually impotent. However, the main part of the film is breaking a woman into pieces in the choice of love and sexual satisfaction that brings her end at the end of the film.

The film opens at a dig where Eda (wife) and İdris (husband) talks about mythological god Poseidon and a mythological love story. İdris offers to commit suicide with Eda right there saying; ‘Will you commit suicide with me to meet again in the unique reality death?’ Then the film turns into their everyday life. Their home is introduced where a classical music is heard, paintings on the wall, a great number of books on the shelves without a television set. İdris is a successful poet but he is an alcoholic. Eda is an art gallery owner. As an intellectual couple, their social life is also active with lots of friends who are directors, painters, poets, philosophers and aristocrat wealthy people. Even though everything seems perfect, their sexual life is not satisfying especially for Eda because İdris is sexually impotent and does not want to take it something serious as he thinks that it is because of drinking too much alcohol. In the morning of that night, being not satisfied, Eda masturbates.

In the first moments of the film the first intimacy between the married couple starts at night after Eda reads her poet husband’s last poem. Even from the beginning of the film, while husband is represented more romantic, Eda is represented seductive who seduces her husband with her kisses. In the first and the only active sex scene of the couple in the film, Eda takes her place on the top of her husband which is a dare in the patriarchal societies because she wants to take control of her own pleasure and something important that represents the women’s active sexual roles in their relationships.

Molly Haskell argues “the reluctance of women to take responsibility for sex would seem a prime factor in perpetuating the stereotypes of the dominant,

active male and submissive, passive female (1987;166). However, in the contradiction to what Haskell argues, in *Sarı Tebessüm*, the traditional gender roles of the wife and husband are given in total opposite. While İdris is romantic and passive in the sex, Eda is seductive and has active sexual desires. Impassivity of İdris prompts Eda first to masturbate and then to have a lover to satisfy her sexual need. Different from the conventional sex roles that woman has to bow to the inevitable, Eda argues against her husband's impotence and impassivity. Accordingly, she cannot reach sexual satisfaction and masturbates herself in the bed where apparently she had never her sexual satisfaction. Masturbation scene is the nymphomaniac representation in this film, because masturbation is a challenge to the androcentric coition that requires penetration is the ultimate sexual satisfaction; therefore, Eda's masturbation represents sexual awareness of new educated woman image in the 1980s Turkey.

3.1.2. Masturbation, the Ultimate “Selfish Hedonism”

One of the well-accepted taboos in human sexual relationships is female masturbation. However, it was such a cursed behavior for both sexes in the book published in 1712 with a title *Onania or the Heinous Sin of Self Pollution and All its Frightful Consequences for both sexes*; it has continued to be condemned only for the females as “it caused enervation, perceptual irritability, restlessness, hallucinations, schizophrenia and possibly death” (Sedgwick *Tendencies* 118-22; et al.). Thus, in order “to counter the evils of masturbation the medical profession proposed heterosexual desire and its satisfaction. Marriage was the real cure for the solitary vice and the locus of sexual fulfillment” (Mason, 216-219). However,

there was an important point that was skipped over; impotent husband and dissatisfied wife. The married heroine Eda in the film *Sarı Tebessüm (Yellow Smile)* directed by Seçkin Yasar suffers from being sexually dissatisfied as her husband is impotent to have sex and give sexual pleasure to his wife. Surrounded by her sexual appetite as a pathologically healthy and “normal” woman, Eda wishes to reach sexual pleasure that she cannot deny. As an educated and sexually awake woman knows her needs, Eda avoids pretending to play the woman satisfied, but warns her husband tenderly to see the doctor to be treated. On the other hand, the husband Idris who is a famous poet and an alcoholic does not feel disturbed excessively and just continues to kiss his wife after their unsatisfactory sexual effort while explaining the root of this dysfunction is his habitual intoxication which is the source of his adoring poems. Therefore, Idris considers his poems important more than his wife’s sexual satisfaction, and despite loving his wife adoringly, he chooses to ignore his wife’s sexual dissatisfaction consciously or unconsciously. Here is the turning point of a healthy woman who needs sexual satisfaction returns herself to feed her sexual appetite with masturbation which is “the ongoing love affair that” every single female has with herself throughout their lifetime” (Dodson, 2002).

“By the late 19th century, doctors as an accepted medical practice began performing genital massage to induce orgasm in “hysterical “women. Hysteria was seen as chronic in women the result of sexual deprivation” (Kramarae and Spender 2000; 1313). In the situation of Eda who cannot reach the sexual satisfaction with her husband on the contrary the common belief that” marital sex

presumably consisted solely of a penis penetrating a vagina which does not always produce orgasm in women” (2000; 1313), masturbation is the ultimate “hedonism” that feeds the appetite. In the morning of the unsatisfied night, Eda watches her body admirably in the mirror and desires to touch herself. She sits on the bed, touches herself and enjoys her satisfaction.

The masturbation scene in this film is important; because it represents the sexually awakened woman who is aware of her sexual deprivation and struggles to feed it in the 1980s Turkey. While masturbation is still one of the most common taboos preferred to be left behind closed doors, seeing a sexually dissatisfied woman masturbating in a film shot in 1992 is a step to overcome the obstacles in sexual repression on women. Additionally, apart from masturbation, in these films, there are presented other alternative satisfactory sexual relationships such as lap sex, group sex and public sex and office sex as the deconstructing of patriarchal discourse.

3.1.3. *Robert's Movie* and Nymphomania

Robert'in Filmi (Robert's Movie) is a film about an American war photographer Robert who could not get over the war psychology and a Turkish rock singer Gogo (her real name is Altan) who is an admirer of Americans lived in New York for some time. Their relationship is built on a satisfying sex and an inner journey to find who they are.

Gogo is a single woman who is seeking for love and sexual satisfaction at once. She has a Turkish boyfriend who admires her, but she intends to have

different sexual experiences especially with Robert who is American and an attractive man. She believes that this American man can make her life and her feelings meaningful. It is obvious that Robert's free spirit influenced Gogo deeply because as an emancipated woman she does not want to have boundaries and she knows that Turkish men are over-possessive especially if they share sexual relationships.

Whereupon, Gogo has several different sexual relationships with Robert including lap sex, striptease and an attempt to a group sex. Under the title of nymphomania, these types of sexual relationships are important to indicate that a Turkish woman who was aware of her sexual drives could demand a sexual satisfaction that is identified with the male.

Different from the other woman characters in the films, Gogo is not settled down and lives in a neighborhood where transvestites and homosexual people live. In order to earn her life without any financial male support choosing to live in suburbs with marginal people, she sings in a bar where Western music is favored instead of *Arabesk* music in the coffeehouses. With her casual dressing style, way of behavior, sexual demands and unisex hair cut- half of it shaved and half of it not- she challenges the norms built around women. Her sexual representation as a new woman image also challenges the maintained phallic order in the lap and group sex scenes.

3.2. Unconventional Female Sexuality

3.2.1. Lap Sex in *Robert's Movie*

In the morning after Gogo and Robert had sex, Robert wants Gogo to watch a video which is their last night sex that Robert recorded. At night when he is back to see Gogo there he sees another man quarreling with Gogo who is Gogo's ex-boyfriend Ali. Gogo wants Ali to go away and takes Robert in a warehouse nearby where Gogo and her band rehearse. There Robert wants her to strip, topless she sits on his lap and they have sex.

Women were increasingly seen as lacking sexual aggressiveness and lustfulness was considered uncharacteristic of women (Cott, 1979: 163). Moreover there emerged a new emphasis on the physical attractiveness of women, notions of femininity shifted from meekness and spirituality to beauty and sexual appeal (Ulrich, 1983: 115-116; D'Emilio and Freedman, 1988: 43). Consequently, a new type of heterosexuality evolved in which (Messerschmidt, 1993: 49):

Women had to conform to male tastes and wait to be chosen but resist seduction or suffer ostracism for capitulating; men, meanwhile, were free to take the first step, practice flattery and escape the consequences of illicit sexual relations. (Cott, 1979: 172)

Contrary to the discussed above, Gogo in *Robert's Movie*, does not wait to be chosen but chooses her partner to have sex with. She is free to take the first step and release her unleashed sexuality without any hesitation or fear but instead with desire and as being satisfied.

In the warehouse where Gogo and Robert had lap sex, Robert wants her to tie a piece of string around his penis-what he calls man- in order to help him to stay hard longer as he is pretty much older than Gogo and it is a deal for him to be hard as he is still under the influence of war. The war effects on Robert will be discussed later in Male Hysteria part.

The lap sex part is important to be analyzed in two ways. One of them is on account of the women; it is brilliant to actualize that women can have sexual satisfaction from different sexual positions that makes women to be an active part of sex instead of being passive inferior to their partners. On the other hand, it is important to show that a sexually aroused woman who is open to new sexual positions in sex is happier, more self-confident and more satisfied.

Being as one step ahead of the other films' sexual satisfaction references, *Robert's Movie* has a group sex attempt in the sense of satisfaction; yet, sexually aroused woman's two men-one woman group sex demand results in woman aggression.

3.2.2. Group Sex in *Robert's Movie*

Group sex is sexual behavior involving three or more participants at the same time. While group sex activity has been practiced in many cultures across the world, it was not until 1960s that advocated group sex first brought recreational (as opposed to purely ritual) group sex into the public consciousness of the Western World. In many cultures public sex is considered taboo and is

illegal; many groups also frown upon sex that is not monogamous (Adrian Bosch, 2010).

In *Robert's Movie*, the group sex is not practiced yet it is implied by Gogo who wants to have sex with Ali and Robert at the same time. Ali, Gogo's ex-boyfriend, wants Gogo to love him back in that sense he is ready to do anything including group sex with a stranger who can be a new lover of Gogo. This is the explanation of how Ali easily accepts to have group sex; to make Gogo love him back. In the Robert's situation it is more complicated. On one hand, Robert finds Gogo's behavior childish and leaves them alone in the bed where he would have a chance to share a group sex. On the other hand, as we know from the previous lap sex scene, Robert is not as young as Gogo and Ali and he needs help and some tricks to have a rival in the bed in front of a woman who is sexually aroused and a man who is more potent than him.

In terms of Turkish woman directors, even the implication of a group sex by a Turkish heroine is a huge step. Contrary to what is believed about women and their sexual world, group sex runs upside down of patriarchal norms upon women that restrict and repress women's fantasies or sexual drives.

Gogo is an example to given to show that as a woman she does not have to make choices and leaves someone behind to continue; instead she wants to have all what she needs at once: sex, peace, friendship, fellow traveler and love. That's why after Gogo and Ali's one of old friends die in a hospital; she needs both Ali and Robert as lovers, friends and sex partners, therefore she leaves hospital hand in hand with Ali and Robert at the same time.

After they get home, Gogo and Ali half naked lay on Gogo's bed sad as their old friend died. In order to relief Ali's grief, Gogo starts kissing him passionately. When Ali starts kissing Gogo's half naked breasts, Gogo gives her hand tempting to Robert who sits next to the bed and watches them. Robert holds Gogo's hand yet he leaves the room as soon as possible helpless and angry.

If including two women-one man group sex is taken account in the male dominated sexual relationships that the aim is satisfaction of male, it is a dare to have group sex including one women-two men that a woman demands both men at one time. According to *Sourcebook on Violence against Women* double penetration (anal and vaginal penetration by two men at the same time), other multiple penetrations and aggressive oral penetrations are common wall-to-wall movies" and men use forces on women at the same time to get satisfied. According to book, the main themes of pornographic films can be summarized as (1) all women always want sex from men, (2) women like all the sexual acts the men perform or demand, (3) and any women who does not first realize this can be easily persuaded with a little force (Dworkin, 1979; Jensen, 2007). It concludes the result as:

Such force is rarely necessary, however, for most of the women in pornography are "nymphomaniacs" of men's fantasies. While both men and women are portrayed as always sexual, men typically are the sexual subjects, controlling the action and dictating the terms of the sex. Women are the sexual objects, whose job it is to fulfill male desire (Renzetti, 2011: 298).

In androcentric sexual relationships, male satisfaction is taken as the basic ultimate aim to be reached. In that sense, women should be ready to satisfy all male need including group sex, double penetration or any other sexual demands, because as it is discussed above, nymphomaniacs, those women who are thought sexual addicts can do anything to have sex, believed in male's fantasies as volunteer sex slaves are ready to feed male appetite. However, when sexually aroused independently minded heroine requests those sexual demands, she is refused to have sex with or she is blamed as sex addict just because she enters in the territory of male dominance and she is a treat to male hegemony. When the roles are changed vice versa as women are sexual subjects and men are sexual objects because women precede to have sex, the male's fantasies upon nymphomaniac women disappear or change into blaming them as prostitutes or as Robert calls Gogo "sex machine". Therefore it is obvious that, Robert refuses Gogo's group sex offer and continues to call her "kid" as he cannot find any other word to explain her demands that he despises.

In another instant moment, Gogo goes to a restaurant where she meets her transsexual friends and drinks alcohol. Robert chases after Gogo and in the restaurant he sits next to her. When she asks why he left her alone last night he answers back she was not alone. Gogo continues to accusing him being responsible to this complicity and then asks him to marry her. Robert calls her kid all the time and reminds her that she is not Gogo but she is Altan. Getting angry, Gogo yells at him as he entered her life and ruined it and then kisses him. However, being angry too as she had sex with Ali last night, Robert calls him 'sex

machine' which doubles her anger. Upon this, she gets one of her transgender friends, strips her top and holds her breasts by saying 'should I fuck her too?'

One of the main focuses of this thesis is how male's fantasies about sexually aroused women changed into blaming women and as a result male hysteria when they have their fantasies' sexually aroused women in their lives. Even though Robert can be seen as an exception because he is not a Turkish man, it is obvious that it does not change the result. Robert blames Gogo openly as a "sex machine" to hurt her and get revenge of the last night because she had sex with Ali. However, the night Gogo and Ali's friend died, Robert had a prostitute in Gogo's home in Gogo's bed to flirt with. The problem is, women who are aware of having equal sexual rights with men seen as outsiders who disturb the political and power systems in the society. There is always a punishment physically or emotionally for women to make them adjust to the patriarchal societies' unbreakable norms.

It can be argued that, Gogo has got a haircut part boy and part girl is a relief to accept her behavior and her sexual demand, because as a woman there is a limit that she should not cross. Robert when he blames her as a "sex machine" implies that she can have sex with even her transgender friends that would be bisexuality. That's why upon this implication she gets one of her transgender friends, strips her top and holds her breasts by saying "should I fuck her too?".

To conclude this part, it can be suggested that, group sex is also a dare against patriarchal rules that a man has to have sex with two men and a woman

together. If Robert had joined the group sex that Gogo offered, he would have become a part of “sex machine” that he blamed Gogo. Instead, he chose to blame Gogo and her sexual drives and continued to hide his real feelings in his own complicity.

On the other hand, Gogo’s sexual drives and her offers that confuse men around her totally are huge steps taken in the name of woman cinema in Turkey to indicate the individuality and sexual awareness of women in late 1980s and early 1990s Turkey.

3.2.3. *Medcezir Manzaranları* (Views of Tide) and Nymphomania

Medcezir Manzaranları is a film focuses on a woman who has education in the USA and undergone training in the World Bank and now works as a speculator in a company in Turkey whose manager is manic depressive. The relationship in the film is formed on suffering and making suffer mutually.

Zeynep is a single woman, who had her university education in the United States, moves back to Istanbul to work and to get marry with a man that she will have children from. In short she wishes to be a married woman with children after her stormy youth that she could not stop fall in love someone new after three months of her present love. As a matter of fact, she believes that she has met this man in her new office who is her boss Erol. However, different from her previous lovers, Erol is a macho and a manic depressive man who is a power-hungry at a level of control-freak.

From the very first day of the job, Zeynep starts to see Erol's different face which attracts her attention. At night while she rests at home, Erol calls her and says that he would drop by for coffee in half an hour. She waits for him whole night but he comes hours later and asks her if she has a red dress. She wears her red dress and they leave for having dinner to a place where a zenne- a man who dances in woman's clothes- dances with orientalist music. They get isolated from the people having dinner and go upstairs to smoke pot.

As beautiful, attractive and smart, Zeynep arouses attention in Erol and from the very first moment they met he aims to have control over Zeynep by deciding what color dress she should wear or where to go. From beginning to end of the film, Erol would aim to have power on Zeynep and when he loses control he would choose to blame her because of her "uncontrollable behavior".

On the other hand, Zeynep as educated abroad and had a liberated life both sexually or individually, has sexual drives that wants to share with men she likes. She does not hesitate to share her both sexual and emotional feelings with Erol, yet, Erol as a macho man who is under the very influence of unbreakable patriarchal norms and rules, categorizes Zeynep as a sex slave or a whore whose ultimate aim is to have sex. As a result of women's miscellaneous sexual demands in these films, the male regress sexually in order not to accept the possibility of women's equal sexual demand to men.

3.2.4. Public Sex in *Medcezir Manzaralari*

Public sex is considered as taboo and it is illegal in patriarchal societies. In Turkish society, even the word 'sex' is something shameful that it has more moderate conservative synonyms. Sex is something to be lived in private rooms and should be as silent as possible because it is taken as seclusion for both people. On the other hand according to Chrys Ingraham public sex suggest the dangers of eroticism loosened from its solid mooring in love, intimacy, marriage and the family (2005: 56).

“The public sex is considered as means of challenging heteronormativity, because the potential intimacy exists outside of the home in the public sexual world” (Siegel, 2001: 285) which is against privacy of patriarchal sexual norms.

The public sex scene in *Medcezir Manzaralari* is also the scene where the first intimacy between Erol and Zeynep witnessed. Erol who sees women as slaves of sex runs after Zeynep when Umit Zeynep's best and only friend in Istanbul calls her to meet after work. Erol as he wants to have power on Zeynep gets envy her and on the street under the rain, he has sex with her with an animal instinct and shows his id to Zeynep.

Public sex is a fantasy arena of adults that they misbehave in public. It is also voyeuristic and exhibitionist (Gordon, 2007) because when people have sex in the public they accept to be gazed at or to be accused of being extracanonical. However, on account of the film, this public sex means so much that it really aims to break some unbreakable patriarchal norms that only include women to obey to

restrict their sexual behavior. On behalf of Zeynep, it means that sexual liberation is her chosen path to be a real woman with her sexual drives. Her sexual adventurousness is a part of a struggle to be free of shame and guilt (Ingraham, 2005: 57); it is her chosen path to feel her real self. More importantly, Zeynep represents the educated working Turkish women in 1980s Turkey who are aware of their sexual desires that they are ready to go after to find their repressed selves.

Zeynep and Erol has sex under rain all clothed against a wall in the street. Erol away from being a romantic man but a macho under the control of his id holds Zeynep on the arm and forces her to walk fast with him. As Erol believes that women like Zeynep can have sex with any men to feed their appetite he treats her in the way she deserves, gives her semi-forced sex. However, the important point is that, although Erol is the one who triggers Zeynep to have sex in public, for Zeynep it is just another way to satisfy her sexual desire but not a shame or something to be sorry for.

3.2.5. Sex in the Office

Apart from its importance focusing on sexually emancipated woman and her relationship with a man under the control of unforeseen patriarchal norms, *Medcezir Manzaraları* is a film that gives details about the late 1980s Turkey's working conditions together with the participation of women to the labor market. On the other hand, at the same time sexual harassment also has been present since women entered the workplace (Bonate and Jessell, 1996).

Zeynep is the representative of the woman participating in the office culture that people began to work individually in isolated areas yet under male dominance. According to Gruber and Morgan, male dominance is a multi-faced concept, which is comprised of at least two dimensions; numerical and normative male dominance. Organizations that are numerically dominated by men have many more male than female employees. Normative male dominance refers to an organizational or occupational culture that rewards conventional masculine values, such as the devaluation femininity, sexual bravado, aggression, emotional self-regulation, risk taking and technological competence (2005). Zeynep is also one of the few women who tried to be exists in this male dominated sexist system in the office culture despite her boss Erol's humiliating behaviors or mistreats.

According to John F. Boogaert "Sex, politics and religion at the office are potent forces for attaining a sustainable competitive advantage in the post-modern workplace" (2006: 28). A bit different from post-modern version, this is also how it was in the earlier times that women were represented in Turkish films as self-seekers to get promoted by exploiting their bosses just being sexually attractive even though they were not educated at all. They were categorized as unskilled but attractive and beautiful women ready to satisfy their boss's needs. However, after 1980s when the women's movement was on the agenda in Turkey, there observed educated women images in the films. Zeynep is one of these examples that she is an educated emancipated woman who did not need to satisfy her boss to get promoted yet she had sex with her boss only to satisfy herself both physically and emotionally.

In the film, *Medcezir Manzaraları*, there are three scenes that Zeynep and Erol had sex in the office. The first office sex scene is after one month of their first sex that they had in public which conditioned Erol about Zeynep as she is open to all sexual relationships. In all three of the sex in the office scenes abuse against Zeynep increased gradually. Erol blamed her as she got him into bed and because of her “nymphomaniac behavior” she deserved all his mistreats. The last of the three office sex scenes is the most crucial one as it shows the sexual harassment to a woman in a workplace by misusing her sexual and emotional desires to a man. It is important to indicate that, although Erol forces Zeynep to have sex with him during the day in her office by locking the door and insulting her having sexual relationships with other men, Zeynep cannot resist to his pejorative sexual demand and continues to kiss him irresistibly.

Boogaert argues that mandating overt behaviors by law does not change the underlying diversity of attitudes about sexuality. To men, of his culture, women were sex objects, valued for their beauty, the sexual pleasure they could give and their ability to bear and raise children. In contrast when a young woman left her town to get educated and returned to her hometown with a very changed different perspective and valued orientation regarding sexuality in the workplace (2006: 28).

As being educated women with different perspectives, the heroines in those films demanded sexual satisfaction instead of fulfilling males needs. They opened the “Pandora’s Box” of sex, yet instead of getting fulfilled, they were led

into neurosis as a veiled punishment because of males' inconsistent behaviors in relation to women's sexual demands.

3.3. Neurosis and Hysteria Related to Males' Inconsistent Behavior

For scholars of feminist theory, "neurosis" is a significant term because neurotics-especially so-called hysterical neurotics- were usually women whose ambitions, behavior, and sexuality differed from expected, heterosexual norms (Wallace, 2009: 405). Throughout the history, hysteria has always been constructed as a "woman's disease", a feminine disorder, or a disturbance of femininity. Doctors have tended to favor arguments from biology that link hysteria with femaleness: women are prone to hysteria because of something fundamental in their nature, something innate, fixed or given that obviously requires interaction with environmental forces to become manifest but is still a primary and irremediable fate for the human female (Gilman, 1993: 287). Yet, in response to the descriptions that support hysteria is a fate for human female, some feminist historians have argued that hysteria is caused by women's oppressive social roles rather than by their bodies or psyches, and they have sought its source in cultural myth of femininity and in male domination (1993: 287).

In the path of sexual liberation, women's non-heteronormative sexual roles or desires were evaluated as a result of education and feminism. Feminism (...) was at its core a deep illness for Lundberg and Farnham and they wrote the more educated the woman is, the greater chance there is of sexual disorder. Thus, for Lundberg and Farnham, feminism was an impossibility since it had only one goal;

the masculinization of the female. Women must therefore be protected from feminism, that is, from sexual freedom and higher education (Castra, 1990: 12). In the case for the independent heroines in those films directed by the Turkish woman directors, it is also true that the message “the more educated the woman, the greater chance there is of sexual disorder” is confirmed through the educated male dominated minded characters. Highly educated women’s sexual demands in those films were rejected by male characters who are those women’s husbands or lovers, because sexual freedom, the authors said, can only be the privilege of the male, who alone plays an active role in the sexual act, in which the female has a solely receptive role and in which her pleasure, inseparable from the possibility of impregnation, is necessarily centered in the vagina. Women must also be protected from higher education, since education for them was a passport to frigidity, another symptom of neurosis (1990: 12).

Different from the “disease” frigidity generally related with females which is the expression of inhibition of a complete sexual experience, rooted in anxiety about a danger which unconsciously is associated with the full attainment of the sexual aim (Fenichel, 1999: 155), sexually aroused women were also classified as sick women as they demand more sex than “normal sex ratio” and should be punished by not giving the satisfaction they need until their partners want to be satisfied again.

Central of the Turkish woman directors films that are analyzed in this context is women hysteria related with sexual dissatisfaction and inconstant behavior of their husbands or lovers who turned into hysteric selves when their

ultimate fantasy to have femme fatale in their dreams became true in their real lives. The films address how female sexual arousal created a hysteric world for males as they lost the reality of having the ultimate fantasy of possessing a “nymphomaniac” woman to satisfy them all the way. As a result of losing their autarchy in sexuality over against sexual aroused female- even though this means they achieve to their fantasies’ women- those males resorted to punish those sexually aroused women physically or emotionally as a counter attack.

In some films, Tanya Krzywinska says, that are not straightforwardly romantic fantasies may also deploy some aspects of idealized sex but often what seems to be ideal sexually becomes its opposite. For example, an extramarital ‘affair’ appears at first as an idealized erotic dalliance until the jilted female protagonist begins to persecute the male protagonist and his family. And the moral message is made clear; an escapist, extramarital sexual fling has horrific repercussions (2006: 29). In the film *Sarı Tebessüm* (1992) it is the same punishment Eda gets at the end of the film as she has an extramarital relationship with Erdal. However, different from taking revenge from her lover because she became jilted, Eda becomes the moral lesson to be given to the audience as being left between choosing her impotent husband and choosing her sexual drives.

Eda is represented as a shamed but not fallen woman different from the earlier representation of sexually aroused Turkish women. She is only shamed because she was not righteous as her husband and had liaison with one of their best friends Erdal. It is important to mention about the husband and why he was called Idris which is one of the prophets in the holly books of Qur’an and Bible in

order to clarify the punishment given to an adulteress woman whose husband is related with a prophet. According to Qur'an translator Abdullah Yusuf Ali; Idris is mentioned twice in Qur'an where he is mentioned as among those who patiently persevered. All we are told is he was a man of truth and sincerity and a prophet and he had a high position among his people" (1995). Also it is mentioned that Idris was the first person who devoted himself to philosophy. In this sense, it is rather meaningful that the opening scene of the film starts at a dig where Idris and Eda talk over Poseidon, mythology and death where Idris offers Eda to commit suicide together by saying 'Will you commit suicide with me to meet again in the unique reality death?'. According to Qur'an sura 19 ayat 56-57, Idris was raised to a lofty station which means as some scholars believe Idris to be the patriarch Enoch, who according to Book of Genesis was raised by God to heaven. It can be argued that, as prophet Idris who was one of the most righteous people was raised to heaven without passing through the portals of death, Idris in the film references to this death where he wishes to find the eternal peace and wants to take away his wife before she falls into sin. In the opening scene and throughout the film, Idris is represented as the one who loves silence, reading books, talking on philosophy, death and writing poems should be read to oneself. Idris is implied with patient and righteousness in the holly book as he was related with patient, silence, spiritual and lack of sexual drive in the film. Yet, while he was represented as he gave up all worldly things -except drinking wine which is the source of writing good poems as he explains- his wife Eda commits adultery because she is full of life and according to male norms she has "extreme" sexual drives which lead her into falling sin and restlessness as consequences.

For some groups in the West, says Krzywinska, sex outside marriage is considered in some way wrong, either for religious, moral or tradition-based reasons. In contrast, in some cultures, adultery is punishable by imprisonment, physical chastisement or even death (2006: 119). In the case of Turkey, adultery is considered acceptable behavior for men in certain circumstances especially if the wife is infertile or frigid. Furthermore, on the part of the husband, adultery is to be permitted if the marriage is childless (Jo Fox, 2000: 170). On the contrary, under “normal” conditions according to the patriarchal norms in Turkey, when a woman has impotent husband, she has to resign to her fate and has to fall into silence by taking the “blame” as she is infertile; because, if she attempts to commit the same “crime” she is not forgiven. Her husband’s absence on a business trip is no excuse for her to enjoy the same “indulgence” (2000). Yet, in *Sarı Tebessüm* (1992) Eda is one of the representatives of married educated women in the early 1990s Turkey who has sexual drives and also sexual deprivation in her marriage. Although there are many reasons to commit adultery for women, according to Carol Botwin higher education, larger paychecks, the power to make decisions in the family, sexual aggressiveness-all have been shown to be linked with the female infidelity. Since there are more college-educated woman, more women earning higher salaries, more women who are able to make first move in the bedroom and more women involved in making family decisions than ever before females may simply be seizing the prerogative that has always gone along dominance (1994). Apart from these primary reasons, that became true especially after the feminist movement which enabled more women to have a career and the power to control of the financial resources within the family or of their own, there

can be observed some other important reasons for the situation of Eda in the subject of adultery. Although Eda loves her husband deeply, she has a husband who is not interested in sex almost ever. Eda as a young, educated, attractive and sexually aroused woman she is in the search for self-fulfillment. Anthony Thompson, examining the body research about infidelity, found pervasive theme and pinpointed it in the Journal of Sex Research: the lower the frequency and quality of marital intercourse, the more likely the occurrence of extramarital sex. For wives, sexual deprivation as a reason for adultery has increased along with sexual liberation and the feeling among women that they are entitled to certain things among them a good sex life (1994).

In the early 1990s middle-class Turkish cultural cinematic context, not just exonerating a woman's adultery but taking pleasure in it was definitely unusual. Yet, the circumstances of this adultery paradoxically end up with punishment because taking the adultery of a respectable middle-class woman to screen without presenting her as 'other' was quite disturbing for the viewing public of this decade and generated considerable interest (Ramanathan, 2006: 21). In this sense, it can be noted that, on one hand while the director Seçkin Yasar justifies the adultery of Eda because she loves her husband deeply yet he is impotent and she needs sexual satisfaction, on the other hand the director reflects Eda as self-indulgent who goes after her sexual desires at the cost of "committing sin" and adultery to her husband who is named after Idris the prophet of righteousness and patient. As consequences of these, the director legitimizes the punishment to be given this woman by leading her into a hysteric world where she has comes and goes

between her sexual satisfaction and marriage that makes her to choose the death as a way out of her neurosis.

In other context, Krzywinska continues, the duplicitous or impossible ideal may provide a means of exploring the dividing line between fantasy and reality as in *Robert' in Filmi* (1992) or as a means of questioning attitudes to marriage, sexual desire and sexuality in *Medcezir Manzaraları* (1989).

In *Robert' in Filmi* and *Medcezir Manzaraları* the protagonists are each in their way sexual adventurers, frontiers women who dare to break the old sex and gender codes and who gain self-assurance from their experiences (2006).

Particularly, the protagonist of *Robert' in Filmi* Gogo (her real name is Altan) is on the road of self-discovery that is different from male-based sexual initiation films; because, in this film, there are a number of social and institutional taboos that were broken. As female protagonists are on the way of finding their sexual satisfaction, although the directors did not allow them to reach their ultimate satisfaction at the end of the films, during the films, it was a dare to give the message that “sex is a vital and challenging part of life that should not be repressed or contained” (2006).

Going all the way in sexuality, however, put women into an invisible prison in those films where they wanted to be cleaned out of their “sins” by males’ inconsistent behavior against women sexuality. It is one of the most important scenes in terms of women’s “abnormal sexual demands” in the eye of men that Robert blames Gogo as she is a sex machine which is the unconscious anger of

Robert because he is not as active as Gogo in sex anymore. In order to cover his lack of sexual arousal or sexual potent, Robert not only blames Gogo as sex machine but also flirts with other women to make her envy as because he has the sense of his own failed masculinity. Robert's comes and goes about sexuality turns Gogo into a sad, depressive and inconvenient woman who is ready to accept to leave all her habits and desires aside. The fantasy of being together with an educated cultured man turned into a common, well-known real male based relationship story where the man punish woman when woman demands equal freedom and equal sexuality.

In *Medcezir Manzaraları*, being able to be loved without any profit except mutual love and intimacy creates a sense of submission on Erol that he does not want to lose his power and become weak against a strong, independent woman. Yet, Erol's speeches to Zeynep "expose the underlying hostility toward female sexuality. Women, for him, all want sex, and they titillate to get it" (Kaplan, 2002: 29). Furthermore, *Medcezir Manzaraları* and *Robert' in Filmi* add a certain twist in that while women are again forcibly assaulted, they succumb to the rape finally because they become sexually aroused. Their behavior, in other words, affirms the common belief that women all yearn for sex (2002: 74). To this respect, in *Medcezir Manzaraları* Erol attempts to rape Zeynep during the day in her office and in *Robert' in Filmi*, Robert attempts to rape Gogo on the rock near the Syrian border in the middle of the day even though both of the heroines want them to stop their behavior.

As Charlotte Brunsdon noted “the contradictory and fragmented nature of femininities constructed within masculine hegemony and exposed by the new liberation” (cited from Kaplan 2002) yet the path to the sexual liberation in those films was come down to subjugation by Turkish woman directors that women were obliged to admit the defeat against men.

3.4. Subjugation

The struggle for the emancipation of women is situated against the backdrop of institutionalization of patriarchy and its numerous consequences. In the case for Turkey, as Nermin Abadan-Unat noted, women’s subjugation or dependence is the outcome of their socio- economic position (1981: 20). Turkish woman directors Canan Gerede- born in the USA and educated in Performing Arts Academy in New York, Seçkin Yasar- educated in Istanbul Fine Arts Academy in graphic arts department, Mahinur Ergun educated in Press Academy in the department of Cinema and TV, Nisan Akman self-educated director worked with important directors such as Atif Yılmaz and Halit Refiğ-are well-educated women whose socio- economic positions were higher than most of the Turkish women in the 1980s Turkey. Their backgrounds and opportunities enabled them to create emancipated women like their selves in their films were made in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However the path for emancipation of women in 1980s Turkey was not that easy. Entering the public life for women was questioned and explained in two empirical studies. According to Unat, for the great majority, economic needs force women to secure for the family a “second source of income”, although for many professional women work is a primary tool for self-

expression. Thus, whenever a role conflict situation between work and family life arises, retreat from work has been the preference. This is even true for women with higher education belonging to liberal professions (H. Topçuoğlu, 1957; O. Çitçi, 1974).

Urban women are caught up in two opposing currents of thought. One current continually drives into society's head the idea that woman's primary function is to be a good wife and mother, while the other current argues that women should take advantage of all opportunities that give them a chance for self-expression and more freedom (Unat, 1981: 25). The heroines in the films made in the late 1980s and early 1990s by Turkish women directors were the product of this point of view. All heroines are educated, searching for sexual freedom and fulfillment regardless of being single or married. Furthermore, these directors aim to show that sex is essential to human experience and their films seek to act as an aid to enflame the sexual desire of women (Krzywinska, 2006: 67). However, on the other hand, even though all heroines in those films are emancipated enough to search for a cure to their sexual dissatisfaction with other suitable men, they are too weak to desert them when they need to go for the sake of their psychology that would lead them hysteria in the opposite case.

According to Zillah R. Eisenstein (1981: 14-16), patriarchy seeks to keep the role of women as child bearers and child rearers primary. To achieve this end, women must be controlled and subjugated so that their possibilities for making choices about their sexuality, childrearing, loving and laboring are curtailed. In the films that were made by those Turkish woman directors, the subjugation was

presented as the ultimate solution to the heroines to find the peace they lost while they were going after their sexual satisfaction. In *Sarı Tebessüm*, Eda became a puppet begging for sexual satisfaction in the hand of her lover that she accepted to be humiliated and to be left alone. To get sexual satisfaction, she gave up her freedom, her pride and her peace of mind. As a solution, she chose to die by responding her husband's offer to commit suicide together. Not different from Eda, Zeynep in *Medcezir Manzaraları* becomes a depressive woman who drinks alcohol, does not go to work and chooses loneliness. She has duality in her mind. On one hand, she is dying for Erol's love and on the other she cannot believe her hysteric behaviors. At the last resort, she even shuts her eyes to slap on her face by claiming that whatever Erol does she loves him. In order not to lose Erol's intimacy, Zeynep also accepted to be humiliated, to be labeled as a "whore" and to be beaten by Erol. In *Robert' in Filmi* Gogo was drawn into the ups and downs of Robert and in order not to lose him, she offered him to get married in the meantime when Robert calls her "fuck machine" which means that she is ready to be only his woman by giving up all her desires.

As Beauvoir discusses, men oppress women in "bad faith" attempting to flee the anxiety of their own freedom. Those women's emancipated steps to sexual liberation were taken control by males although at first sight, the role of woman within these films appears a "positive" one; they display a great independence of spirit and contrast sharply with the apparent "weakness" of the male protagonists (P. Erens, 19). Although it is true that Turkish woman directors took a huge step by choosing emancipated heroines against "psychologically

weak” male characters, they could not dare to allow their heroines liberated all the way. Turkish woman directors’ well-educated backgrounds were not enough to carry their heroines one step ahead of subjugation in the patriarchal society as a last solution. They could not avoid giving the message that unrepressed female sexuality leads to hysteria, neurosis, subjugation, humiliation and even death.

Chapter IV

MALE HYSTERIA

Throughout its history, of course, hysteria has always been constructed as “a woman’s disease”, a feminine disorder, or a disturbance of femininity, but this construction has usually been hostile. Hysteria has been linked with women in a number of unflattering ways. Its vast, shifting repertoire of symptoms reminded some doctors of the lability and capriciousness they associated with female nature. Mutability is characteristic of hysteria because it is characteristic of women, wrote the Victorian physician Edwards Tilt (Gilman, 1993: 286). Hysteria was ascribed as a woman’s disease. Male hysteria is about emasculation in the sociological sense because men become separated from patriarchal gender roles. It’s a physical and psychological expression of a man’s sexual act and social repression by patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity (Fyfe, 1998: 147). In general terms, traditional masculinity has encompassed the values of strength, power, stoicism, action, control, independence, self-sufficiency, male camaraderie/ mateship and work, amongst other. Devalued were relationships, verbal ability, domestic life, tenderness, communication, women and children (Barker, 2008: 301). In order to protect the valuable and respectable male dignities, male psychological diseases were ignored or were not treated under the name of hysteria; because, in many early studies, the male hysteric was assumed to be unmanly, womanish, or homosexual as if the feminine component within masculinity itself as a symptom of disease (Gilman,1993:289). However, afterwards, physicians were agreed that there were hysterical men yet their

affliction should be called “hypochondriasis”. According to the French physician Jean-Baptiste Lovyer- Villermay, turbulent passions, ambitions and hate which were natural to men, predisposed them towards hypochondria, while in women the dominant emotion was that of love. George Beard who named the new disorder as neurasthenia believed that neurasthenia was caused by industrialized urban societies, competitive business and social environments, and the luxuries, demands and excess of life and fast track. Unlike hysteria, neurasthenia was acceptable and even a valuable illness for man because it was definitely the neurosis of the male elite (1993: 294). It has been suggested that while women hysteria was rooted from capriciousness men hysteria was related with the burden of being an elite masculine as Gilman continues:

Many nerve specialists, including Beard himself, had experienced crises of nervous exhaustion in their own careers, and they were highly sympathetic to other middle-class male intellectuals tormented by vocational indecision, overwork, sexual frustration, internalized cultural pressure to succeed, and severely repressed emotional needs (294-295).

Apart from the sociological aspects of male hysteria, as Annette Kuhn writes, some feminist film theory has become preoccupied with the representation of masculinity in film, particularly in relation to male hysteria. Kuhn continues:

These discussions have opened up new ways of speaking about melodrama, particularly in relation to films in which the hero is clearly represented as suffering from clinical forms of hysteria...The hysterical

symptom is directly related to questions of sexuality and sexual difference (Kuhn, 1994: 254).

In this context, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of Turkish woman filmmakers chose hysteric men as male protagonists in their films as a part of the subject of emancipation of women sexuality. In the sociological sense in Turkey in 1980, also the importance of psychiatry practice was on the rise. As Bayülkem (1998) explains:

At that time, a stand was taken against use of the Turkish equivalent of ‘lunatic’ and for its replacement by term equivalence to ‘mentally ill patient’. Efforts were made by the Ministry of Health to prepare a mental health policy, although a few meeting notes remained when the next attempt at the same Ministry was made in the 1980s...The goal then was the integration of mental health into primary healthcare with promotion and prevention activities in addition to the improvement of curative services (ed. Ghodse, 2011).

In this sense, it can be argued that as educated and follower of the developments in the West, Turkish woman directors also chose women and male psychology as the main subjects of their films. Mahinur Ergun the director of *Medcezir* *Manzaraları* indicates that she is personally interested in psychiatry and while creating the character Erol who is manic depressive and has nervous breakdowns during the film, she has studied on the publications written on this field. Even though, only in Mahinur Ergun’s film there is a psychiatrist male character who

gives details about the male protagonist's psychological malady, in other films that have been analyzed throughout the thesis, there also exist male characters that suffer from hysteria and psychological disorders because of various reasons.

4.1. Female Sexual Aggression and Its Effects on Men

The rise of university education for women in the 1980s Turkey helped arising emancipated Turkish women who were aware of their sexual desires that had been repressed by patriarchal society they lived in. Feminist movement also enabled educated women to question their sexual needs and sexual dissatisfactions both in their marriages or relationships that women were not able to even ask. Nermin Abadan Unat explains the importance of education on women in that way:

As far as education is concerned, functional education programs geared at meeting the specific needs of a given environment introduce women to specialized jobs and professions, especially in large urban centers. These new situations also produce a number of important side effects such as awakening political interest, class consciousness, awareness of social and economic rights and the need for self-fulfillment. Instead of blindly adapting the bourgeois components of the passive wife and motherhood ideology, some modern young women in industry and the services sector are striving toward goals such as the acquisition of an independent personality and the ability to make a free choice in terms of husband and number of children (1981: 25-28).

These unexpected developments on the side of the women and its consequences in the Turkish society that the male were the ones who had the last

word, head of the family and the rule maker in the family created a sense of threat.

As Kaja Silverman writes in *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*:

The male subject's aspirations to mastery and sufficiency are undermined from many directions-by the Law of Language which founds subjectivity on a void; by the castration crisis; by sexual, economic and racial oppression; and by the traumatically unassimilable nature of certain historical events. It has only been very recently that yet another threat has come into play in a politically organized way – that constituted through the representational and sexual practices of feminism and gay liberation (1992: 52).

All of these developments were taken as the failure of the patriarchal function. Particularly, when the feminist movement was on the agenda in the 1980s after the coup d'état, educated and emancipated Turkish woman directors made films about women's sexual awakening that resulted in male hysteria. Male hysteria was seen as physical and emotional exposure, violence against women and over possessiveness of women or self-destruction in those films.

4.2. Physical and Emotional Exposure

Sexual deprivation is the major source of women's misery in film, but the emphasis on orgasmic sexual fulfillment as the supreme and the only form of satisfaction expresses a male view (Ceulemans, Fauconnier: 1979). For this reason, it is mostly constructed as male has perpetual lust and woman has the feeling of powerlessness in her face who denies the desire. However, according to

Michael S. Kimmel women are seen simultaneously as passive and asexual (the “frigid prude”) and insatiable and demanding (*the vagina dentata* that will devour men). These images confuse men and can often paralyze women, making their struggle to claim a vital sexuality a difficult and politically charged process (2005, 84). In this sense, this explanation is true for the “confused” and hysteric men images of Turkish woman directors’ films that present women as *the vagina dentata* and the male as the victims although the male protagonists withdraw to protect their power and punish women with physical, emotional and sexual deprivation.

As a culture, says Kimmel, we abhor sex and are terrified by it because we believe that iconoclastic anarchy of the orgasm threatens all forms of authority-political, social, economic and familial. And so we associate sexual yearnings with guilt or shame. And we simultaneously understand masculinity as the constant and irrepressible capacity for desire (2005: 84). In those films that were made in a patriarchal society with the help of male producers who did not risk breaking the rules giving limitless priorities to woman directors, there observed women characters that tried to challenge the masculine sexuality; yet, this demand paralyzed the male protagonists who felt powerless and became angry at women.

In *Medcezir Manzaraları*, the protagonist Erol is represented as the real educated macho in the patriarchal world that he faces with the macho paradox as Katz suggests in his book *Macho Paradox* (2006). In his book Katz points out the cultural influences that frame masculinity in terms of power, control, dominance and entitlement. These notions of masculinity are sexist, Katz argues, and are

found throughout history on both institutional and individual levels. For Erol who was grown up without a real family and was in financial difficulty, the money means power and women are insidious fortune hunters that persuade men with their sexualities. After the public sex, which Erol pushed Zeynep to blur her mind before she meets Umit, Erol believed that Zeynep who has pre-marital sexual relationships is a fancy free woman that she is open all kinds of relationships with anyone. For this reason, when he wants to have sex or give close attentions to Zeynep he shows up with his all individuality, otherwise when Zeynep demands sex or emotional intimacy Erol blames her as a whore who is consumed with sex and as a macho conventional Turkish man he does not want to be seen with a woman who has unleashed sexuality.

Sexual repression fuels men's lust. The norms of masculinity, after all, require that men should want to sex all the time and produce instant and eternally rigid erections on demand (Kimmel, 2005). However, when there is not sexual repression and women demand sex, males are terrified that they stop seeing women or stop providing what they need; emotional and sexual intimacy. On the other hand, it can be argued that, it is only possible for women to have those male norms; to become masculinized women. In *Robert' in Filmi*, heroine Gogo is represented as part girl and part boy because of her hair style on the surface, yet, it has a deeper meaning; it helps Robert to accept Gogo's sexual behaviors clash with patriarchal norms. Her masculine part gives relief to Robert. However, this relief does not stop Robert to blame Gogo as a "sex machine". Like Erol, Robert also punishes Gogo by flirting with other women at her home or disappearing

around. The common hysteric feature of both male protagonists Erol and Robert is that their minds' play games to them. Erol is a manic depressive who has nervous breakdowns that lead him to violence. Robert as a war photographer is under the influence of war psychology and he is after the answers of questions that his mind is full of with; however, nobody gives the satisfactory answers. Both of the characters are under the influence of patriarchal sexual norms and both of them get angry to women when women demand sex; because the dynamic of men wanting and women refusing is established early in male adolescent sexual socialization (2005: 85) that vice versa leads male to hysteria.

4.3. Violence against Women

Everywhere, men are in power, controlling virtually all the economic, political and social institutions of society. And yet, individual men do not feel powerful far from it. Most men feel powerless and are often angry at women who they perceive as having sexual power on them: the power to arouse them to give or withhold sex. This fuels both sexual fantasies and the desire for revenge (2005: 85). There is a common point that, the anxiety of losing power -particularly on women- leads males into hysteria. Erol as a manager of a bank is influenced by modernity's consequences that leded mainly men managers and bureaucrats to operate with impersonal task-oriented hierarchal rules. Seidler argues that, as men it is difficult not to be "control freaks". This is the history we inherit (1989: 63). Erol is an obvious "control freak" that, he characterized himself with the power and money claiming that, "money and power are nothing without me". Chris Barker suggests that:

Reason, control and distance are central metaphors of contemporary masculinity. Control over other people and control over themselves. Distance from other people and distance from themselves (2008: 301). In particular, the association of rationality with masculinity involves self-discipline of, and distance from, the language of emotions. It is part of contemporary common sense that men ‘suppress’ feelings (2008: 301).

The sense that having all under the power of his own-particularly his employees- but Zeynep’s sexual drives Erol resorts to the use of force first against his mistress and then Zeynep. Even though Erol’s mistress is seen two or three times during the film, she is consciously chosen to show the untamed part of Erol who has dichotomy with his modern and conventional sides. Erol’s relationship with his mistress represents the traditional conventional macho side of Erol who provides financial support and a luxurious house to her in return oppression, yelling, beating or even rape. On the other hand, Zeynep challenges him with her smartness, beauty and sexually awakened side. Everything changes when Zeynep intentionally causes loss of money in the bank to attract attention of Erol who pretends Zeynep is an object in the office. Erol forces Zeynep to resign and to leave the bank by threatening her he would kill her if she was a man because of her unforgettable mistake. Emotional and psychical violence against Zeynep starts here when she becomes a treat to Erol’s insuperable borders around his working place that he has the ultimate power.

It is interesting that, Zeynep confesses to Umit-the psychiatrist- about her childhood and her father who was angrily yelling at her often. She recognizes that

she felt pleasure and loved her father more than ever in those times, which means she is openly a masochist that also feels pleasure when Erol mistreats and yells at her. In Freud's paper *A Child is Being Beaten* (1919), the fantasy of childhood is explained for both sexes separately. Freud suggests that:

The little girl's beating-phantasy passes through three phases, of which the first and the third are consciously remembered, the middle one remaining unconscious. The two conscious phases appear to be sadistic, whereas the middle and unconscious is undoubtedly of a masochistic nature: its content consist in the child's being beaten by her father, and it carries with it the libidinal charge and the sense of guilt... had primarily a genital significance and developed by means of repression regression out of an incestuous wish to be loved by the father (195-196).

It can be suggested that, as a woman who was grown up in a patriarchal society under the dominance of a strict father, Zeynep tries to find out what she loves in Erol in spite of his mistreats and what she loved in her father in spite of his mistreats. She just identifies her father with Erol because Erol is now the father figure in Zeynep's life who does not allow her to be truly herself as a liberated woman. On the other hand, Erol's love of violence is the result of domination desire. Margret Brügmann suggests in her book *Who's Afraid of Femininity? Questions of Identity* (1993) that the male hysteric's love of violence and his cultivation of his own fragility serve one and the same purpose: to complete the work for the stake, to abolish women once and for all, to make room for a new and improved womanhood, a womanhood of male origin. Erol and Zeynep's

confession sessions in the film are given intentionally to clarify their improper behaviors are results of their childhood traumas. Yet, Erol's hysteria is doubled in the presence of Zeynep's sexual emancipation that Erol resorted to use of violence against Zeynep to protect his presence as a man.

In the case of Robert, in *Robert' in Filmi*, there observed shell shock which is another reason for male to become hysteric. Male hysteria or trauma became subjects of films especially after World War II and Vietnam War under the name of post-traumatic German Cinema and American post-traumatic cinema. According to Raya Morag, there are some characteristics of post-traumatic subjectivity which includes the male body that carries the burden of defeat is missing masculine power is left non-sexual (2009:28). Robert as a war photographer in the Gulf War between Iraq and the United States but not a partial of the war as a soldier has different psychology than the soldiers in the war. Yet, different from the main focus of "the missing father" characterization in the post-war films, Robert does not belong anywhere, he is not a father and as it is seen in the films he does not have a family. For this reason, the lack of sense of belonging to somewhere is another reason lead Robert hysteria. Although it is not totally true to say that Robert is non-sexual, it is obvious that he lost most of his potent in sex that he appeals to tying a rope around his penis to enhance it while having sex with Gogo. Yet, like Erol, Robert's hysteria is doubled in the presence of Gogo's sexual emancipation that after blaming her as a sex machine, at the end of the film

he rapes Gogo on the rocks near the border of Syria in a sense that he gets revenge both from Gogo and the war that discredit his presence in manhood.

4.4. Over Possessiveness and Self-Destruction

Over possessiveness and self-destruction are other common features of all three films' male characters. In the last resort, all male characters either tried to have ultimate power on women by using women's sexual needs or chose self-destruction as an end stage of their hysteria. Yet, self-destruction in those films can be argued as a sort of emotional punishment given to women by their hysteric lovers; even though males are not brave enough to destroy themselves without help of their lovers. As Margret Brüggemann suggests:

It is not an especially new insight that the decadent loves violence and destruction. This characteristic is usually explained as the effeminate man's attempt to overcome his weakness by means of emphasis on strength and violence; it is said that his boastful swaggering serves to compensate his sense of helplessness, that his intentional destructiveness is nothing more than a lack of will converted into its opposite (1993: 19).

Emotional disorder results in assault in Robert's condition that by having the USA flag on the border of Syria and raping Gogo in the same territories he declared his superiority and then forced Gogo to shoot him with the gun. As a consequence, Gogo as the leading force of Robert's hysteria became the killer of him either.

Male hysteria, suggests Mieke Ceulemans, a sign of masculinity leads to violence if hysteria is defined as an inability to function as one's normal rational self, hyper masculinity or physical violence is the ultimate release from this state (1979). On Erol's condition, he chooses both ways to punish Zeynep. In the beginning of their relationship he gets jealous of Umit, actually it is jealousy of presence of another man, who is a Western educated man the total opposite of Erol, representation of balance and modernity. Erol's over-possessive behavior starts after they had a real sex in Erol's summer house. Right after the sex, as a proof of his dominance on Zeynep, he sets some rules for her such as forbidding going for walks to the wood that surprisingly makes Zeynep happy as she takes these rules as a sign of a real relationship that she wishes to be ended with marriage.

Over-possessiveness, however, turns Eda's life into a prison in *Sarı Tebessüm*. Eda who is the victim of a love triangle suffers from Erdal's- her lover and sex partner- rules that she has to obey in return the sexual satisfaction he gives to Eda. Erdal, whose life is not a real man's life without dominating a woman, gets benefit from Eda's lack of sexual satisfaction rooted from her impotent husband. To be a real man, suggest Kimmel, means to seek sex, to seek sexualize relationships with women, to never refuse an offer of sex. These are crucial elements in the normative definitions of masculinity. Sexual pleasure is rarely the goal in a sexual encounter; something for more important than mere pleasure is on the line: our sense of ourselves as men (2005: 84). Erdal feels the masculinity inside and gets advantage of Eda's weakness in sexuality. While Eda confesses

that she releases the animal inside her for the first time in her life as a woman who has the conscious of superego - animal is related with id here- Erdal also releases the animal inside him which led their relationship into a war of animal sides basically hate each other but cannot give up either.

It can be argued for the male hysteria as a result of women's sexual emancipation that the women characters in those films are outsiders; they are not welcomed in the society by men. The evidence is that there is not any other women in these films prevent women to be accepted by other women live in male dominated society. As it is seen in *Medcezir Manzaraları*, *Sarı Tebessüm* and *Robert' in Filmi*, however, outsider figures can potentially disturb and offer critique of existing political and power systems by actively refusing to participate in those dominant cultural system. They are individuals marching to the proverbial beat of different drummers. Their distance from the enveloping and standardizing quality of community gives them their insight and specialness (Lehman, 30-32). Consequently, this feeling is the core of the male hysteria in those films that were directed by the Turkish woman directors in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Chapter V

WOMEN'S SELF-SACRIFICE

Elizabeth Cody Stanton developed the theme of women's duty of self-development in a famous speech delivered in to Congress in 1892, "The Solitude of the Self". In this speech she laid out a view of the self-rooted in heroic individualism. All persons must face life's vicissitudes alone, with no one to take responsibility for their fate except themselves. This is as true for women as for men but false teaches on female weakness and dependency hold out the illusionary promise that woman can count on man to take care of her. This means that women are cheated out of the self-development that will enable them to be responsible for themselves. Women have right to political, economic, and cultural equality, because women as much as men finally stand alone in the face of misfortune, and must be able to take charge of their own lives (Reuther, 2011: 144).

In the sense of film, especially in woman's films, the subject of women's self-sacrifice has been mentioned frequently. While some woman directors has described women's self-sacrifice as male directors did such as representation of victimizing or self-pitying women, some others has succeeded to create emancipated women. As Molly Haskell describes the films, Karen Hollinger writes in her book *In the Company of Women: Contemporary Female Friendship Films*, they "embrace the audience as victims, through the common myths of rejection and self-sacrifice and martyrdom as purveyed by the mass media" and

create a world of masochistic feminine self-pity in which women reconcile themselves to their misery rather than rebel against it. Not all woman's films remain at this level. The ones Haskell champions deal with extraordinary women who are, according to Haskell emancipated "aristocrats of their sex" or with ordinary women who become extraordinary by rejecting their initial status as victims and overcoming pain and hardship in order to control their own fates (1998: 28). In the case of Turkish woman directors' films that were made in the late 1980s and early 1990s, either cases that Haskell argues "masochistic feminine self-pity" and "rejecting the initial status as victims" women types can be seen. In the path of Turkish women's emancipation, these films that have some real taboos for both Turkish woman directors and conservative or even moderate Turkish audience such as nudity, adultery, female dominated sexual demands and challenging women characters can be taken as "woman films" because they dare to convey a message full of repressed women desire. On the other hand, these films cannot be taken as real woman films because they let their women characters down and subjugated them in male dominance at the end of the films. Yet, different from all other three films that has been analyzed in the previous chapters *Medcezir Manzaraları*, *Sarı Tebessüm* and *Robert' in Filmi*, *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* (*After Yesterday Before Tomorrow*) (1987) directed by Nisan Akman can be categorized as a real challenge to patriarchy with its hold promising end for the sake of women individualism.

5.1. Men Make Houses, Women Make Homes: Women's Proper Place

Diinden Sonra Yarından Önce (1987) is a film focuses on a married couple who are both working in intensive tempo. Putting forward this intensive working tempo Bülent (husband) suggests Gül (wife) to leave her job and sit at home as her husband wants her to wait for him when he is back from work. Moreover, according to Bülent being a family means have children. The relationship is focused on happiness of husband who at the end chooses to be with another woman-his assistant- as her wife could not meet the requests of her husband.

According to familial ideology in Turkey, Yıldız Ecevit writes in her article “The Ideological Construction of Turkish Women Factory Workers”, the proper place for a woman is in the home, attending to housework and the children, while the husband is the breadwinner. Rooted from this common belief, in the 1970s and 1980s women's employment has been one of the most widely discussed issues within feminist discourse. A major reason for this has been supposed relationship between women's participation in labor market and their emancipation. Although women have long been engaged in many kinds of productive activities, their involvement in the labor market as wage laborers has been seen as particularly significant, offering an alternative to their restriction within the domestic domains reproducers, nurturers and subsistence producers. Participation in social production and control of income has been seen as crucial elements in increasing women's autonomy and power (Redclift and Sinclair: 1991)

The changing working conditions and the participation of women to the public and the labor not only created debates among feminist discourse but also aroused interest in Turkish women directors. Turkish women directors who made films in the late 1980s and early 1990s led their interests into the changing women image in patriarchal Turkish society. Nisan Akman, the director of the film *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* (1987) underlined the crucial and the debatable questions over a college educated married working Turkish woman in this film.

The irony of the college educated Turkish housewives comes from the traditional Turkish proverb “Men make houses, women make homes”. This preconceived proverb encapsulates the women’s place-educated or not- together with the women’s unwritten duties in the society. In the film *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* the heroine Gül represents the college educated working woman who is forced to leave her job as her priority is her family while Bülent represents the college educated working Turkish husband who favors the traditional Turkish family concept that women education is not for the sake of women yet for their children that women are supposed to raise.

According to Yıldız Ecevit, many union representatives held the view that, ideally, women in Turkish society should stay at home while their husbands went out to work to support their family. When women worked, they regarded this as temporary phenomenon in women’s lives and thought that they worked for pin money (1991: 72). When Bülent puts his desire into words that he wants his wife to quit job, sit at home, cook and wait for him until he is back from work, he

mentions about the luxury and money they have which means they do not need Gül's money to live in comfort because Bülent as a husband can provide what she needs financially. Bülent criticizes Gül softly as she is working so intense by pointing out that her job comes first but not their marriage. To him, Gül can do a settled work, work less and have more time for him and herself. He declares that he knows she loves her job but there are other things that she likes such as painting and antiques; it is better for her doing something for fun.

Being equally educated and having the jobs in the same field are not enough for Bülent to support his wife to continue her job. Bülent believes that they need a child to become a real family, otherwise their relationship means nothing but just sharing the same home. He openly asks for her making self-sacrifice to satisfy his desire about having a child while he is putting forward alternative suggestions that can make happy both of them. According to Katie Hogan, to idealize self-abnegation as womanliness glorifies a psychological stance that undermines ability to cultivate and practice agency. The physical, mental and professional costs to women when they cast aside a self-created, dynamic identity in favor of responding to the needs of others in distress are concealed behind the loving spectacle of women's sacrifice (2001: 2). Women's self-sacrifice for the happiness of husbands and families is favored during the film by other women characters as one of the duties of womanhood. The emotional support of men is given as the most needed deprivation for a woman that in order not to lose his emotional support a woman should do anything but not go after for

her individual interests. In this way, subordination of women in patriarchal power is approved once more throughout the film.

5.2. Love Triangle and Anti-Female Friendship

Different from the other films that has been analyzed in previous chapters, *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* has other women characters with the exception Gül that support the womanhood duties, celebrates patriarchal female norms and the male happiness as the ultimate way to bliss of women. Yet, since those women characters are not on the side of Gül and do not support her but her husband when she has duality in her mind about going after her dreams or choosing motherhood, those women characters' friendship can be categorized as anti-female friendship that portrays non-constructive support in the name of having liberated steps against patriarchy in the film. The first half of the film *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* offers its female spectator a subject position very affirmative of the patriarchal status quo. By identifying with the film's female friends, the female viewer is encouraged to accept happily her traditional role as wife and mother as appropriate and fulfilling and to support other women's dedication to this role (Hollinger, 1998: 80). Although the women characters in the film are represented as educated emancipated women, the indulgence and encouragement to the acceptance of patriarchy among women is one of the most outstanding ironies in the film. This irony is highlighted with the third character of the love triangle that is young, educated, single, emancipated woman Pelin the assistant of Bülent. Studied cinema in Paris, according to Bülent who does not support his wife's career as a director, Pelin is considerably successful in her job as an assistant of

commercial shootings. The conflict between Pelin and Gül starts when Gül has a chance to see Pelin and Bülent together in the dinner that they had together with their common friends. This conflict upon having the same man among women turns into gaining a victory that is defined as a backlash in feminist movement. According to Sherrie A. Inness, some feminist scholars note that a backlash occurred in the 1980s, when many films returned to representations of women fighting with each other rather than fighting together to achieve change (2004: 234). Yet, when the director Nisan Akman is asked about Pelin's inappropriate behavior as an educated woman towards Gül, she explains that Pelin's behavior is something instinctive, on the other hand, she accepts that Pelin's behavior does not suit with the representation of an educated woman in that film. Except that, if it is taken into consideration that the script of the film was written by Nisan Akman's husband Eriş Akman, it is unavoidable to feel the male perspective from place to place during the film.

The love triangle in the film is fed with the competition between two women that while the wife does not want to lose her husband, the lover tries her best to have the husband for herself. As Haskell categorizes competitions in films that revolve around women eager to compete for the love of a "good" man of "quality", in this film an educated emancipated wife rises up against another emancipated career woman, yet the emancipated lover favors the patriarchal status quo about relationships and the duties of womanhood, which can be seen as a backlash feminist element in the film. Additionally, Gül's acceptance of quitting her job at the top, choosing to be a housewife and deciding to have a baby is

another backlash feminist element in the film. On the account of anti-female friendship, Pelin's sarcastic implications about being a real woman and the meaning of a family over Bülent who is identified as a dream husband by Pelin can be read as inducement to women's self-sacrifices in order not to lose their husbands.

According to Karen Hollinger, the interpretations of the female experiences is filtered through a male fantasy construct that envisions women as finding complete fulfillment in the traditional roles that patriarchy has assigned them (1998: 80) regardless of being educated or not. The film identifies motherhood with being a real woman and a real wife of a husband that, even the "female friendship is granted importance only as a way for women to find the support they need to fulfill their maternal role" (1998: 80).

In the first half of the film, self-sacrifice is exalted in the name of the peace of the family and the motherhood. Gül, as a college educated, working woman was forced to submit traditional patriarchal norms and quit her job to be a housewife. Moreover, the love triangle and adultery of husband are approved by the film over Gül's inappropriate behavior and negligence of womanhood duties.

3.3. Realization of Women's Selves: Emancipated Women's Lonely Journeys

Self-sacrifice is approved throughout the film *Düinden Sonra Yarından Önce* also with other women characters from illiterate to college educated, yet, it is important to notice that, the heroine does not submit her husband's wishes blindly until the end of the film. After Bülent declares that his job comes first, he

should respect his job and do the job he wants more, otherwise he cannot exist, and nobody can exist, Gül realizes how she loves her own real job; therefore to regain of her peace of mind, she risks her marriage and goes back to her job. The realization of the heroine can be related with the individualism concept that emerged in 1980s Turkey. As Yeşim Arat indicates, the radical feminists of the 1980s dared to oppose several basic features of nationalistic demands on women: repression of sexuality, faith in professionalism (or education) and respect for the community over the individual (cited from Finkel and Sirman, 1990).

The second half of the film starts after Gül's realization of her own bliss and the importance of her job in her life. Except the realization of individual interest, public awareness starts making sense and inspired by her cleaning lady who is beaten by her husband almost every day Gül decides to make a film about violence against women. Since then, Gül becomes the representation of feminist movement in the late 1980s Turkey. The scene in which Gül assembles a group of women with banners in their hands to protest violence against women is a reference to the real march started in 1987 the same year the film was made. Kadın Çevresi (literally 'Women's Circle' which also has the meaning of 'environment') encouraged by the first public action, started in 1987 a campaign against the physical abuse of women, which was launched by a march in Istanbul in May, and continued organize activities such as open-air Women's Festival the following autumn. At the same time, some women began to move away from the hoc style of committee organization and founded a formal association, that for the ending of discrimination against women (Finkel and Sirman, 1990: 280). Yet,

although some questioning Turkish women dared to speak up in the streets and some Turkish woman directors dared to carry those women's voices into their films, they failed to create liberated women who are not subjugated to male's hegemony or not left in a hysteric world at the end of the films. As it is seen at the end of the film *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce*, the night Gül's film is featured on TV, she is left alone by her husband. In that sense, while the film approves the extramarital relationship of a man, the film accuses and punishes the woman. She gets the success she wants but she loses her husband, her marriage and her love.

The film Gül made brings her a remarkable success, however, on the other hand success brings her unhappiness and she loses both the competition against Pelin and her husband; because she dared to challenge the oppression of women that means staying at home, cooking and raising a child; as a result she was punished by leaving alone. It is obvious that, even though the film *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* seems that it is one step ahead with its subject of the public awareness on women and a woman's denial of self-sacrifice, it cannot avoid the woman pay the price for her individual decision that she made opposing her husband. Even though, Pelin's relationship with Bülent as a single woman can be read as sexual emancipation in the film because she has pre-marital relationship with a man, the meaning of Pelin's sexual liberation cannot go beyond to be positioned in the patriarchal world as a favored woman that can give up all her self-interests to be the wife of a man. It can be suggested that Pelin has pre-marital relationship with Bülent to ensure her dream-getting married with Bülent to come true. Throughout the film, while she is represented as an emancipated

woman on the surface, in fact, Pelin openly explains her desire to be the wife of a man and all her education, career and success are for to find a proper husband. In this context, far from having an emancipated woman, or a woman owning the desire, we have a heroine- here not heroine but the second main woman character- still controlled by the patriarchal structure she grew up in (Kaplan, 1983: 78). In other words, different from Gül, to have the happiness in her way, far from being an idealist or liberated woman, Pelin sacrifices what she has to reach her ultimate aim; getting married and having a husband. In this sense, for Pelin, the film has explained her “liberation” as having no more than her need for love from (1983: 79) a man. The final scene of the film involves with two women at Pelin’s door. Having packed Bülent’s suitcase Gül knocks Pelin’s door by saying “Bülent is yours now”. The competition between two women ends up when Pelin declares all she wanted was to prove her superiority to Gül. Actually, it is a very ironic scene that, Pelin half-naked with a towel on her has Bülent as a lover at her home means that Pelin is the new Gül now who is going to be exposed to Bülent’s selfish desires. On the other hand, the ironic smile on Gül’s face after asking to Pelin what she has won explains a new beginning for her after a rebellion against traditional patriarchal desires for being a proper woman and a wife.

It is obvious that *Dünden Sonra Yarından Önce* is a film that provides a new beginning for its heroine at the end of the film although it punishes her being left alone as she did not obey the patriarchy. Throughout the film, self-sacrifice is approved over Gül and Pelin as two different examples. The message is clear; if a woman obeys the patriarchy she achieves happiness, otherwise, if she chooses to

go after her dreams, she is left alone, all doors are closed on her face, and she is deprived of the intimacy and affection of a man. On the other hand, finishing the film with a strong, determined and prideful Gül, the director leaves with some room for choice the answer of these questions; who is liberated or who is the new woman image of the late 1980s Turkey.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

As it has been discussed throughout this study, Turkey received numerous political, economic and especially cultural changes and developments in the 1980s. While on the one hand, the country witnessed severe repressions as a result of the 1980s military takeover, on the other hand, various unexpected advancements occurred in Turkey. The country was acquainted with consumer culture that affected the working conditions in favor of women, feminist movement advanced during this period that brought woman consciousness to the country, university educated women ratio increased, and the repressed sexuality came to the light so much that apart from heterosexual sexuality, homosexual and transgender sexuality were also spoken up. These positive changes and most importantly feminist movement enabled new Turkish woman directors emerged who made woman themed films in the late 1980s and early 1990s Turkey. This study concerns the 1980s cinematic changes that put individuality, private life, sexual emancipation and most importantly woman consciousness in its center mostly in films made by Turkish woman directors such as Mahinur Ergun, Seçkin Yasar, Canan Gerede and Nisan Akman.

This study started with this question: how did Turkish woman directors represent their heroines in their films made in the late 1980s and early 1990s? Yet, this question is limited with educated, working, sexually emancipated women, and the films *Medcezir Manzaraları*, *Sarı Tebessüm*, *Robert'in Filmi* and *Dünden*

Sonra Yarından Önce have been studied through their educated sexually emancipated women characters as new women images of the 1980s Turkey. The answer for the first question was that; Turkish women directors turned their sexually awakened woman characters into neurotic, hysteric women at the end of their films. Although these woman directors challenged the patriarchal discourse by choosing their characters as educated, sexually emancipated, demand sexual satisfaction and open to alternative sexual relationships, instead of allow those women's liberation, they subjugated them to the male dominance.

According to these films, sexual dissatisfaction results in hysteria in women. Male's inconsistent behavior in the face of women's sexual awakening place women in a dilemma. In these films, to reach sexual satisfaction, women did not hesitate to try alternative sexual relationships such as lap sex, group sex, public sex and office sex; however, women's extreme sexual desire- according to male norms- results in male hysteria instead of male satisfaction. In this sense, it can be suggested that, the common fantasy of men to have sexually liberated women as a sex partner fails when the fantasy comes true. The sexually awakened women become a nightmare for men. The sexually awakened women in these films are nightmare for their male partners; in every single opportunity men both have sex and also humiliate them as "sex machine", "whore" or "sex addict". The heteronormative norms under patriarchy restrict women's sexual emancipation by labeling their sexual attempts as "deviant" and imply them to continue being virtues and having reasonable sexual desire as Ingraham points out:

Heterosexuality is the exclusive field of legitimate sexuality. The continuous juxtaposition of homosexuality and 'deviant' sexualities (e.g. commercial sex, public sex, casual sex) suggest the danger of eroticism loosened from its solid mooring in love, intimacy, marriage and the family (Ingraham, 2005: 56)

Women's sexual emancipation in these films is perceived as a threat as Kaplan points out:

...represents a more direct confronting of the threat that woman poses....man at once desires her and fears the power on him; drawing man away from his goal, her sexuality intervenes destructively in his life. Marked as evil because of her open sexuality, such a woman must be destroyed" (Kaplan, 1983: 6).

Instead of destroying these sexually awakened women, men give agonize to them with their inconsonant behavior and lead them hysteria. It is uncompromising for men to accept sexually awakened women as equal to them, although emancipated women are welcomed when the control of sexuality is in the hand of men. The educated urban male's approach to the sexually awakened women is not beyond the traditional approach in these films. While the transformation of Turkey in the 1980s particularly in education and feminist movement partly gave raise the women consciousness, it was not effective enough to change the deep-seated aspects of the importance of getting married that all women characters in these films aimed to get married and settled down regardless of how they are

emancipated or sexually awakened. This is one of the standing points to claim that the educated women both in these films and in Turkey in the 1980s were not liberated but partly emancipated; because although these women run after their sexually satisfaction regardless of being married or single, in order not to lose the affection and satisfaction they found in these men, they dreamed about getting married.

Marriage, as one of the control mechanism of patriarchy on women, is advised and supported once again by these Turkish woman directors. While on one hand some women characters take the suffering and self-sacrificing parts upon themselves, some other accept to be repressed, humiliated or beaten in exchange for the sexual and emotional satisfaction. As a result, at the end of the films, all women characters became, hysteric because of sexual dissatisfaction and inconsistent behavior of hysteric male; they are left alone because they resist the demand of patriarchy such as bearing a child for their husbands; they are forced to make choices between sexual satisfaction and their marriages. On the male part, while two of them become hysteric and choose to deal with women's sexual satisfaction in hiding behind their psychological disorder and committing suicide, others find happiness in having extra-marital relationship or making women to their so to say volunteer slaves.

As a last word, it can be asserted that, these Turkish woman directors led their women characters into hysteric worlds instead of allowing them to celebrate their sexual emancipation all the way as a proof that Turkish woman directors made films that still sustain patriarchy. Although the feminist movement

advanced in the 1980s Turkey enabled women directors to question women's marital and sexual problems, they were unable to challenge patriarchal order that thought women to know their places and they proved this patriarchal motto by punishing their emancipated heroines in return their inconvenient behavior.

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