

**REPRESENTATION OF LGBTI+ CHARACTERS IN TURKEY’S CINEMA IN
THE 1990s AND AFTERWARDS**



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**REPRESENTATION OF LGBTI+ CHARACTERS IN TURKEY’S CINEMA IN
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BY

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of homosexuality and LGBTI+s, which has existed since the beginning of human history, has been evaluated within the framework of the dominant view positively or negatively from society to society and from period to period. The abbreviation encoded with the letters LGBTI+ is the abbreviation of the words lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex. With the emergence of cinema, LGBTI+s were represented within the scope of the subject of cinema. In the 1970s and 1980s, along with neoliberal policies, LGBTI + people in the heteronormative, gendered and class-based, discriminatory capitalist world order often did not have the opportunity to represent, and according to the periods of cinema, they generally took place in cinema either as an element of comedy or with various negative features as elements of drama and by being marginalized. At the point where the history of cinema has reached today, the representation forms of LGBTI+ people, although they find more representation opportunities compared to before, is an issue that needs to be studied.

In this study, because of the increased representation of LGBTI+ people in the 1990s, some form of representations in the five films selected from Turkey's Cinema, in which the LGBTI+ characters included, were examined. A general historical framework was drawn regarding LGBTI+s, and then the concepts of gender and representation were explained and associating with these concepts, the stereotypical representations of the characters in the films were analyzed. This study aimed to examine how stereotypic representations of LGBTI+ characters that are homophobic, transphobic, and marginalizing are reproduced, although LGBTI+ visibility in cinema is a positive step.

Keywords: LGBTI+, Gender Identity, Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Representation, Stereotype, Marginalization, Discrimination, Cinema

ÖZET

İnsanlık tarihinin başından beri var olan eşcinsellik olgusu ve LGBTİ+’lar tarih boyunca toplumdan topluma ve dönemden döneme olumlu ya da olumsuz şekilde egemen görüş çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. LGBTİ+ harfleri ile kodlanan kısaltma; lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel, transseksüel ve interseks kelimelerinin kısaltılmış halidir. Sinemanın ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte LGBTİ+’lar da sinemanın konusu kapsamında temsil edilmişlerdir. 1970’ler ve 1980’de neoliberal politikalar ile birlikte, heteronormatif, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf temelli, ayrımcı, kapitalist dünya düzeni içerisinde LGBTİ+’lar çoğu zaman temsil imkânı bulamamakla birlikte sinemanın dönemlerine göre genellikle güldürü unsuru olarak ya da çeşitli olumsuz özellikler ile dram öğeleri olarak ve ötekileştirilerek sinemada yer almışlardır. Sinema tarihinin bugün ulaştığı noktada LGBTİ+’lar öncesine nazaran daha çok temsil imkânı bulmakla birlikte LGBTİ+’ların temsil biçimleri; üzerine çalışılması gereken bir konudur.

Bu çalışmada, 1990’lı yıllarda LGBTİ+ temsillerinin artması sebebiyle Türkiye Sineması’ndan seçilen ve LGBTİ+ karakterler barındıran beş filmin temsil biçimleri incelenmiştir. LGBTİ+’lar ile ilgili genel bir tarihsel çerçeve çizilmiş, ardından toplumsal cinsiyet ve temsil kavramları açıklanmış, filmlerdeki karakterlerin stereotipik temsilleri bu kavramlar ile ilişkilendirilerek filmlerin analizi yapılmıştır. Bu çalışma, sinemada LGBTİ+ görünürlüğünün olumlu bir adım olmasına rağmen LGBTİ+ karakterlerin homofobik, transfobik ve ötekileştirici olan stereotipik temsillerinin nasıl yeniden üretildiğini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: LGBTİ+, Cinsiyet Kimliği, Cinsel Yönelim, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Temsil, Stereotip, Ötekileştirme, Ayrımcılık, Sinema



It is dedicated to all queers who have ever lived...

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Official history is white, male, warrior, property owner, heterosexual” (Selek, 2007: 17).

Official history has always been written by the ruling classes. Those who constitute the ruling class in the capitalist world order are the capitalist, bourgeois class. Since cinema cannot be considered separately from the social order and political economy, it mostly reflects the reality, knowledge, and representation of the dominant ideology. Cinema has taken its place as a medium with a very wide impact area in the world since its emergence. Developing itself in parallel with the advancement of technology, cinema has become easily accessible to the masses both by being accessible directly at homes now and with the increase in film theatres. In addition to this, cinema is very effective on the masses because it can include every subject within its scope, it can produce content for everyone, its similarity to daily life based on verisimilitude, and it is a medium identified with its characters. While cinema, which has many genres in itself, can have the power to represent everything and every one, this field remains limited. Generally, characters created under the control of the dominant ideology are represented within the framework of certain norms. These bourgeois norms are basically treated with male, white, heterosexual, religious heroes, and other characters outside these norms can be represented with negative roles and negative features.

Throughout its history, cinema, which has preserved its place in social and cultural life by creating stories for propaganda, sometimes informative and sometimes for entertainment purposes, is an art branch but also it has the feature of being a major industry. The fact that cinema is an industrial field brings also possession and power relations with it. These relations of possession, power and interest bring together the production of contents in accordance with the views of the ruling power in the stories to be created. Having the power to represent everything, this medium can present the description of societies, communities and regions by building them on its own views. The representation can be considered as one of the most effective elements of mass media, including cinema. In the stories told using the power of representation, cinema affects the

masses positively or negatively by leaning on the similarity of this medium to daily life and its verisimilitude.

It is seen that LGBTI+ visibility in cinema increased in the 1990s. The factors such as growing number of independent filmmakers along with the 1990s, reflections in social and cultural areas of the political changes taking place as a result of neoliberal policies which are effective in Turkey in parallel with the changes in the world, the emergence of the issue of identity and its importance in the society were also effective in cinema. With these changes, the visibility of LGBTI+ characters in cinema has increased. This increase is a positive step in terms of the visibility of LGBTI+ people who are always marginalized in the society, but their representation styles in the films in which LGBTI+s take place are foreseen as a subject that needs to be studied.

The purpose of this study is to examine how LGBTI+s' representation policies are evaluated through the roles and lives assigned to them in the cinema universe, rather than seeing the increased LGBTI visibility as a positive development in Turkey's Cinema of the 1990s. It has been observed that in the character representations of LGBTI+ people in films, they are represented within the gender boundaries by stereotyping and reproducing the heteronormative structure in society. It will be discussed how this issue of visibility, which can be considered libertarian, actually repeats the existing conservative and discriminatory system and what it serves. The conceptual framework of the research will be consist of "Who is LGBTI+, how has the historical period of LGBTI+s progressed, what is gender and how does this concept affect LGBTI+s, what is identity politics and how is it associated with representation politics, what is the function of marginalization, how does visibility -which is considered liberating- confine the representation of LGBTI+s into which limits and cause the reproduction of the system, how does the representation policies in cinema affect LGBTI+ people in the perception of society."

The conceptual framework created with the research questions will help to determine the social equivalent of the answers to these questions. This study, which was founded on understanding LGBTI+ representations with their othering motives, also aims to understand the historical, social, political, and cultural period.

LGBTI+s' not having a singular written history caused a historical limitation in the study. In the section of the study where the history of LGBTI+ is examined, an understandable and consistent historical process has been tried to be created by using different sources.

The contribution of this study to the literature is to expand the field of study on LGBTI+ social discrimination, norms and freedom, and to reveal research on LGBTI+, cinema and representation. The place of LGBTI+ people in social history becomes uncertain due to some untrue information, and this baseless information determines the "other". Therefore, it is aimed to make the unwritten history of the "other" accessible and widespread. Furthermore, this study will present a critical perspective towards LGBTI+ representations and contribute to the production and studies of cinema regarding that alternative forms of representation are possible.

In this context, five films with LGBTI+ characters were selected as the samples belong to Turkey's cinema. Written sources (theses, books, articles, websites, magazines) were inspected, LGBTI+ themed sample films were watched. Thus, how these roles assigned to LGBTI+ identities led to this social reproduction in the film universes depicted with characters, how LGBTI+s are presented by marginalizing due to their gender roles, how the mechanism of representation works and how they are imprisoned in certain stereotypical lives and characters in social life will be examined. It will be aimed to shed light on the discriminations that will be reproduced by looking at these representations from a critical perspective by explaining why the studies on Turkey's cinema and LGBTI+ characters are limited in number and the existing representation alternatives cannot overcome the heteronormative structure.

In the first section of the study, LGBTI+ concepts and terms will be explained. The reason for the explanation of these concepts and terms is to eliminate the existing confusion about LGBTI+ issues, to prevent the identities from being ambiguous and to have wrong meanings, and to ensure the correct understanding of the LGBTI + characters examined in the films at the end of the study.

In the second, third and fourth sections of the study, the processes LGBTI+ went through in the periods they lived in various historical perspectives will be examined. The periods that LGBTI+s experienced in social history and natural history, the Stonewall

Riots which is considered as the beginning of the LGBTI+ movement and then the experiences of LGBTI+ people in the Republic Period and afterwards in the history of Turkey will be examined. The purpose of all this historical review is to understand the experiences of LGBTI+ people, their existence since the beginning of human history, and to establish the link between the marginalization they have experienced for many years with the political, legal, economic, cultural, and social changes that change from society to society.

In the fifth section of the study, the concept of gender will be discussed. Gender is a concept that separates men and women with certain boundaries and that interferes in these people's lives with the social roles they impose on people, and it also supports the discrimination against LGBTI+s and women and the continuation of the male-dominated order. The concept of gender will be examined in order to understand LGBTI+ people and to ensure the correct understanding of LGBTI+ representations in films.

In the sixth part of the study, the concept of representation will be examined. Representation, in its most general definition, means reflecting, introducing, becoming a symbol of an object, person or group with its specific features. This concept is an important part of media and cinema productions and is closely related to power and its relations. Representation practices play a role in the presentation of the dominant ideology for society. The purpose of this section is to provide an understanding of how LGBTI+s in media and cinema examples are marginalized through the concept of representation.

In the last section of the study, there are character and content analyses analyzes of the films *Düş Gezginleri*, *Dönersen Islık Çal*, *Gece*, *Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*, *Teslimiyet* and *Köpek* from Turkey's cinema belong to after the 1990s that include LGBTI+ characters as the main character or side character. The reason for selecting these films as samples is that LGBTI+ characters take place as main and supporting characters in all of them and that the films *Düş Gezginleri*, *Dönersen Islık Çal*, and *Gece*, *Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*, in the '90s, constitute the first examples of the Turkey's Cinema in this sense. The films *Teslimiyet* and *Köpek*, on the other hand, are the selected films from the 2000s. The aim is to determine whether there has been a change in the representations of the LGBTI+ characters in the Turkey's cinema within ten years. The reason for choosing character and content analysis methods for these films is that LGBTI+ characters in the

films are presented with certain stereotypical, negative and marginalizing representations. Character and content analysis aims to examine the lifestyles of LGBTI+ characters in the movies, their behaviours, their communication with each other and others, their appearance, the attitudes and behaviours of other non-LGBTI+ characters towards LGBTI+ characters, and the functions of LGBTI+ characters in the film. With this character and content analysis, it is aimed to show what the representation strategies in films serve and how stereotypes are formed with certain clichés. With this method, the focus will be on how LGBTI+ character representations reproduce existing homophobic, transphobic, discriminatory and marginalizing stereotype, in addition to considering LGBTI+ visibility as a positive step in cinema.



2. WHO IS LGBTI+?

In this section, it will be enlightening for this study on LGBTI+s to understand who LGBTI+ is and to explain definitions and concepts related. The concepts and terms mentioned in the study will be explained together with their definitions.

2.1 Definitions and Concepts

It will create a correct and enlightening framework for this study on LGBTI+s to give the meanings, concepts, and definitions of these words at first. The reason for keeping the concepts and definitions in detail is to ensure that LGBTI+s are understood in terms of identity and orientation and to prevent the concepts from being confused. Definitions and concepts have been kept in detail in order to facilitate the examination and analysis of LGBTI + characters mentioned in the films selected as a sample. In addition, by the film analyses which takes place in the last section of the study, the issues that whether LGBTI+s could find an area to represent themselves in Turkey's Cinema and if so then how they are represented will be examined.

While explaining these concepts, citations were made from the source named *A guide to working with LGBTIs for Psychologists* (2017) belonging to TODAP (Association of Psychologists for Social Solidarity) and the Frequently Asked Questions booklet of Kaos GL Association. TODAP is an association working on the criticism and reproduction of psychological theory and practice by providing professional organization of psychologists and psychology students. Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association (Kaos GL), the first legally registered LGBTI+ association of Turkey in 2005, is an association that organizes social, cultural, and academic activities to improve the human rights of LGBTI people against discrimination. The reason why TODAP and Kaos GL are chosen as sources in definitions and concepts is that the definitions are descriptive, and they create a safe source.

The abbreviation encoded as LGBTI+ is the first letters of the words lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex. The “+” added to the end of the LGBTI letters started to be used in 2016. The 2016 Pride Week committee stated that the LGBTI + movement began to use “+” to socialize the awareness that all combinations of the rainbow palette exist and that no one can be identified from outside (Gökçeoğlu A.et al. 2017: 9).

The word lesbian is used to refer to homosexual women and it derives from the name of Lesbos Island where the lesbian poet Sappho lived in the 6th century BC.

"Lesbian is used to describe women whose emotional, sexual and romantic orientation is towards individuals of their own sex (Gökçeoğlu A.et al. 2017: 16).

Lesbian is a concept that defines only women and their sexual orientation, but the word gay has been used as an umbrella term to refer to all homosexuals. The concept of gay, which emerged with the Gay Liberation Movement, was an LGBTI+ movement consisting of lesbians and gays who lived their sexual orientation openly in society from the late 1960s to the mid-70s and proudly expressed their sexual orientation. Previously the term covered all homosexuals but then it has been used only for male homosexuals.

“The term indicates a political break from the concept of 'homosexual' within the process. Since the word 'homosexual' was used by medicine for the first time to describe a 'disease', the Gay Liberation Movement, which adopted a rights-based struggle axis, rejected the use of this word and started to use the word 'gay' instead" (Gökçeoğlu A.et al. 2017: 15).

Including men and women, the situation in which a person can be in an orientation emotionally, sexually, or both towards people of both their own gender and the other is called bisexuality.

When it comes to the widest use of transsexuals:

“It refers to people who feel belonging to the other gender and who have completed the gender transition process for this purpose. It applies to both 'woman' and 'man'" (Gökçeoğlu A.et al. 2017: 17).

Intersex people are in a slightly more complex area of society which is difficult to explain, so it would be more enlightening to explain the concept itself primarily from a biological perspective.

“Intersex refers to persons born with medically “non-standard” reproductive organs. Intersex people have different external and internal reproductive organs and/or endocrine glands than most people. There is no one type of "intersex body", there are numerous intersex situations. Still, the most common intersex people are those who were born with both female and male reproductive organs (hermaphroditism), and those who have XY chromosomes and were born with the vagina, and those who have no reproductive organs completely developed. Intersex people can have homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual orientations like all other individuals (Gökçeoğlu A. et al 2017: 18).

The difficulties faced by intersex people are not limited to biological, medical or reproductive organs. Another challenge that these people face in society is surgical interventions to normalize and conform to the binary gender system. As an example, while many people who were born intersex are at the age that they are not yet able to determine their gender identity, one gender is assigned for them as male or female by the declaration of their families. This situation causes various problems in later ages. The assigned gender does not match the gender of the persons or they are forced to choose any gender, even if they do not have to. The reason for this situation can be said to be the principles that society considers "normal" and the effort to normalize the "abnormal". Every person who is rehabilitated or forced to undergo surgical operations is exposed to this discrimination. It is possible to say that intersex people are the clearest example of this.

While making the definitions of LGBTI+, definitions are given according to the order of letter codes above. Apart from these concepts, it will be useful to mention a few more concepts.

It will also be enlightening to explain the concept of pansexuality that is confused with bisexuality. Pansexuality also includes men and women, but the main difference between these two concepts is that bisexuality restricts the gender that is interested in, into men and women. Pansexual people, on the other hand, reject this binary gender system and accept the person in any way they define their gender identity. For pansexuals, it does not matter whether the other people are trans man, trans woman or intersex. Being attracted by anyone, feeling romantic, emotional, and sexual attraction is also within the boundaries of pansexuality.

The concepts of Sexual Identity, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation will be quoted from the booklet of Kaos GL Association's Frequently Asked Questions dated 2017.

“Sexual Identity: It expresses with which gender a person identifies himself / herself. It reflects the biological sexual characteristics of the person. It is related with chromosomes, sex hormones, external and internal genitals, tissues in which reproductive cells develop, and secondary sex characteristics.

Gender Identity: It expresses which gender a person feels and how they want to be seen by others. Gender identity is a process and term that is not only related to the body, but also includes psychological and social aspects.

Sexual Orientation: It refers to the ongoing emotional, romantic and sexual attraction towards a person of a certain gender. A person's sexual orientation is determined very early, at the age of 3-4. In general, sexual orientation is noticed during pre-adolescence and adolescence, when sexual interest and desire increase”.
(<https://kaosgldernegi.org/images/library/2017sss-2017-web.pdf>) Retrieved Date: 21.02.2021

If we define the concept of homosexuality, it refers to the sexual identity, or orientation, of people. Homosexual people include those who feel emotional and sexual desire for their own sex.

Heterosexuality also refers to the orientation of people. Heterosexual people are used to describing people who feel sexual and emotional desire for the opposite sex.

Assigned / Biological Gender: It refers to the gender assigned by birth by looking at the reproductive organs of people. In general, those born with a vagina are defined as "female" and those born with a penis as "male" in society.

Gender: Apart from the biological sex assigned by birth, it can be defined as the attribution of being a woman and a man to individuals with historical and social associations that affect their thoughts and behaviours.

“Gender is a concept indicating the roles, responsibilities, power relations and social positions of women and men. It expresses the whole of the social role, behaviour and appearance expected of people of different genders, varying according to the time, geography, and culture. Gender is acquired through interaction in social environments such as family and school in the society in which a person lives. Women and men learn and internalize gender norms in the socialization process. Such characteristics for the sexes are shaped and reproduced by the effects of family, friends, people who have a say, religious and cultural teachings as well as school, workplace, press and broadcast organs” (Gökçeoğlu A. et al 2017: 17).

In relation to gender, gender roles should also be mentioned.

Gender Role: According to the dual and heteronormative gender system, it includes the behaviour of people as expected by society by assuming the task of being male or female. For example, toy choices for girls are usually dolls, kitchen utensils, etc. In the future, this girl role is internalized with the roles of mother and woman, and in the society - despite working - most of the domestic work and responsibilities are still treated as if they belong to women and women continue their lives with this sense of duty.

Gender Identity: It is the concept that describes in which gender people feel and define themselves. This concept also includes how the person wants to be defined by the other parties as they feel and define themselves. “Gender identity is not only a concept related to the body but also a concept that includes psychological and social aspects. Our gender identity may or may not be parallel to our assigned (biological) sex at birth” (Gökçeoğlu A. et al 2017).

Cisgender or Non-Trans: It is the situation when the gender that people feel and define is parallel with the sex assigned according to their reproductive organs at birth.

Transgender: It is a concept that describes how people define themselves by feeling that they belong to another gender in contrast to the gender assigned according to their reproductive organs at birth. Transgenders can identify as a male with a female body or define themselves as a female with a male body. At the same time, the transgender person can complete the gender transition process if they wish.

An important point to be emphasized here is this process. Although it is a concept that is often used for people who have completed or are completing the gender transition process, this process (psychiatric, hormonal treatment and surgical operations) is personal

and optional, and the use of the concept in parallel with the process excludes transgenders who do not want surgery and treatment. Here again, it is possible to talk about the social order in which heteronormativity requires individuals to be binary.

Non-binary: People who do not define their gender as male or female use this word to describe themselves. Non-binary people reject this view of duality and do not feel included in either of these two categories.

Transvestite: It is a concept that expresses the desire of people to belong to the opposite sex and to act like the opposite sex, only in terms of their appearance and behaviour, without any surgical intervention, operation, or treatment. This concept applies to both men and women.

“Trans (Transgender) refers to all persons whose assigned (biological) sex is not parallel with their gender identity. This term is an umbrella term that includes people who identify as transsexual, transvestite or genderqueer. The term "trans" is used for anyone who feels belonging to the other gender, regardless of whether they have undergone a gender transition operation or not. People whose assigned gender is female but who define themselves as male are called trans men, and people who identify themselves as female are called trans women. However, these people may not want to define themselves as trans women or trans men, they can only describe themselves as men and women" (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017: 18).

Genderqueer: The term is a more umbrella concept than other concepts.

“The person does not identify with a single gender or identifies with more than one gender at the same time (pangender); does not always identify with only one sex or describe as transitive between genders (gender fluid); it is an umbrella term used to describe situations that it does not define with any gender (agender)" (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017: 18).

While the explanation of the concepts continues, it will be explanatory to mention the meaning of the word phobia. Phobia, in a nutshell, is the extreme fear of people against some situations, living or non-living beings, places or objects. In terms of understanding some negative attitudes and behaviours towards LGBTI+ people in the films that will be examined in the study, understanding of the concepts phobia/homophobia/transphobia etc. will be explanatory.

Homophobia/Biphobia/Transphobia: In its most general form, it is a concept that includes discriminatory attitudes and behaviours that include hatred, fear, and prejudice

against LGBTI+ people. The negative attitudes and behaviours felt and done towards homosexuals are called homophobia. It would be a very superficial perspective to evaluate homophobia as a personal fear or hate, therefore, it would be appropriate to evaluate the social, cultural, and political perspectives and the cultural structure that gave rise to this process together. This phenomenon does not occur spontaneously or personally. It covers a great process that started in the family and continues with education, religion, and social processes. The "normal" and "non-normal" boundaries determined by the heteronormative order feed this discriminatory ideology. Likewise, biphobia is used to express these discriminatory behaviours and attitudes against bisexual people and transphobia against transsexual people. Melek Göregenli defines the concept of homophobia in her article titled *Heterosexism, Homophobia and Hate Crimes: A Social Psychological Approach* as follows:

“Instead of the concept of sexual prejudice, which can be simply defined as the development of negative attitudes towards an individual due to their sexual orientation, homophobia today is far beyond being a personal fear and an irrational belief and refers to an intergroup process that takes place in a political field that needs to be dealt with in relation to culture and meaning systems, institutions and social traditions. In this sense, it is related to discrimination practices and violence as a social psychological variable that emerges in a wide range, formed by feelings and intentions that structure interpersonal relations at the level of individual and collective behaviours; and all forms of power, including the power of knowledge, have direct links with policy-making processes” (Göregenli, 2011:354).

It is possible to observe the homophobic and transphobic attitudes and behaviours felt and performed against LGBTI+s in the films selected as a sample. These concepts will help in analyzing these negative attitudes and behaviours. Besides, in the sample films, it is also possible to see the functioning of the heteronormative order, how people are categorized as "normal" or "non-normal", and how social, cultural, and political factors create and sustain these phobia and discriminatory attitudes. Parallel to this, the concept of representation is very important here. Representation, in the most concise form, can be defined as reflecting, introducing, becoming a symbol of an object, person or group with its distinctive features. In the films, these discriminatory attitudes and phobias come to life through representation. In connection with this situation, it will be instructive to understand the concept of heterosexism.

Heterosexism is a thought system that defines the binary gender system as female and male and at the same time accepts heterosexuality as the only natural and 'normal' form

of sexuality, whose sexual orientation is directed only to the opposite sex. It is a discriminatory ideology that fosters the thought and belief that everyone is assumed to be heterosexual and that the rest are "sick", "aberrant", "abnormal", etc. (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017).

Heteronormativity:

“It refers to a system of power (norms, practices, legal regulations, institutional structures that regulate social life, etc.) in which the whole society and culture are defined according to the lifestyles and values in line with a heterosexual orientation which is assumed as “naturalized”, “idealized” and “normal”, and the sexualities and sexual situations other than heterosexuality are marginalized, ignored, put into the category of aberrant and subjected to oppression and violence or aligned by taming. This system is based on a binary gender regime that includes categories of men and women and gender roles that are supposed to be biologically and socially separate from each other and complementing each other through family and reproduction” (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017: 20).

Cisgenderism: People who are compatible with the biological sex assigned at birth are called cisgender. Cidgenderism is a term that used to express the ideology that regards compatibility with this biological sex as psychological health and imposes it as the only truth (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017).

Gender Spectrum: The concept that defends the gender and orientation of people cannot be categorized according to a binary system. It is a more inclusive point of view that rejects the system regards that gender is assigned only by birth and people are “normal” only when they are compatible with their biological sexes. According to Gender Spectrum, many important factors should be taken into account at this point (gender role, gender identity, gender expression, etc.).

“The approach stating that the human genderedness cannot be limited to a binary classification (gender binary) and it should be seen as a spectrum/range. Accordingly, gender cannot be reduced to anatomy alone; There are many different dimensions that define the phenomenon of gender (gender expression, gender identity, gender role, etc.) and these appear as multiple possibilities rather than fixed binary forms. This shows that the state of sexism cannot be understood by two fixed categories” (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017: 20).

Queer: It has become a frequently encountered concept in studies conducted in the field of LGBTI+ recently (which would be only superficial to consider as LGBTI+). Queer is the most comprehensive term and apart from this, it has brought a new dimension to the

studies in the field of LGBTI+. Thus, it will be enlightening to look at the meaning of queer.

"This word, which means "bizarre, weird, strange, eccentric, suspicious, disgust, unstable, bad, worthless "in English and used to humiliate homosexuals, has been embraced by LGBTI+ activism and started to be used as an affirmative expression since the 1990s. With the reflection of this attitude on the academy, "queer theory" has been shaped. In this sense, "queer" can be seen as a philosophical/theoretical/practical opposition to heteronormative and all normative patterns of sexuality" (Gökçeoğlu A.et al 2017: 21).

In the definitions and concepts so far, gender identities, sexual orientations, some social concepts, phobias and umbrella terms that can be encountered in the LGBTI+ spectrum have been mentioned. It becomes another problematic area in the society that people generally do not have enough knowledge in this field, and these confusing concepts are not understood or not known. Complex thoughts and concepts about gender identity and sexual orientation cause many misunderstandings. LGBTI+ people who have already established themselves as "others" in the society also have to deal with these wrong information and judgments. For all these reasons, it is very important to understand these concepts correctly.

3. LGBTI + HISTORY OVERVIEW

LGBTI+s, which have existed since the beginning of human history, it is possible to say that they are exposed to discrimination and marginalization according to the culture of their society in the historical period. While this situation is not a problem in some societies, it can be considered a crime in some societies. Being LGBTI+, although it is not considered as a crime, it is regarded as a violation, which is not tolerated in some societies. The reason for this situation is the heteronormative perspective that is largely constructed.

“Homosexuality is undoubtedly as old as the history of humanity, its traces are found in all history books, legends and archaeological finds. It seems that throughout the known history of mankind, there are periods when they were socially accepted and morally approved (for example Rome), as well as when they were ignored or excluded and persecuted. Although homosexuals are still living in perhaps the freest period of history in Western Europe and the USA, they continue to be punished with the death penalty in countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania and Nigeria, and homophobic murders are encountered all over the world.” (<https://www.ipe.com.tr/tr/icerik/37/zor-bir-konu-escinsellige-bilimsel-ve-objektif-bakabilmek>) Retrieved Date: 01.03.2021.

It is noteworthy that there is a negative attitude against LGBTI+s in many societies. Since their voice and visibility is not very common, people often look at LGBTI+ people with a discriminatory and marginalizing perspective before they have yet to know who these people are and what they want. For this reason, it will be enlightening to focus primarily on who these people are, what gender and sexuality phenomena mean, which word covers whom, or which point of view means what.

In his article "Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality In History", saying about homosexuality that "heterosexual and homosexual behaviors may be universal; homosexual and heterosexual identity and consciousness are modern realities", Robert Padgug underlines that it is wrong to interpret the desires and practices, which are belong to the period before the term homosexuality was derived and started to be used, with today's terms. Far from being a set of qualities that define people in pre-capitalist societies, he says that homosexuality was not even seen as a set of behaviors in that period (2001: 58-59).

In order to understand how the perspective against homosexuality and all other forms of gender identity and sexual orientation has changed historically, it will be more enlightening to look at the psychological/psychiatric, social, natural and organized history of these identities and orientations. It will not be enough to try to understand and

explain LGBTI+s with a singular history. For this reason, it will be examined in line with various historical perspectives.

While homosexuality and all other sexual orientation and gender identities were regarded as a characteristic and condition of human nature in some regions and cultures in ancient societies, as a crime and sin in some periods and as a situation that was shaped by power structures in some periods, many have been described as a disease and a condition that needs to be treated for a long time. From the 1950s until the 1980s, homosexuality was defined as a disease and a condition that should be treated. It was removed by the World Health Organization in 1990 from the disease category and from the “International Classification of Diseases” in 1993. In *DSM-III*, the *diagnostic book Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* of the American Psychiatric Association (APA), published in 1980, the category of "sexual orientation disorder" was not included for the first time, but a new category which is called "egodystonic homosexuality" (a person's discomfort with their own homosexuality) has been created. Because this category was at the target of much criticism, it was not included in the editions of 1987 and 1994, and homosexuality was not mentioned at all. Then, in the editions published until 2013, a statement stating that "being homosexual is not a disease" but "a person suffers from constant and significant stress due to being homosexual" continued to be included.

In summary, LGBTI+s have survived for many years under the pressure of heteronormative order in the world. This order should be considered as a wide spectrum covering all systems including economic, political, legal, medical and cultural. The accepted ideal human perception formed by these intertwined systems marginalized others, made decisions on their behalf and put them under pressure and control with the policy of rehabilitation. This situation is still ongoing today.

Within the heteronormative order in which LGBTI+s are marginalized, it is possible to say that one of the most common and effective ways to support this discrimination is mass media. The media, which goes hand in hand with the capitalist system in which the governments are engaged, reproduces the dominant ideology and presents it to the society. This is specially made through news bulletins that are considered as objective, accurate and correct in society. The discriminatory and marginalizing language used in the news supports the marginalization of people for many reasons

(language, religion, ethnic origin, race, gender identity and sexual orientation, etc.). The news is just an example, and this is a general situation encountered in all mass media. All cultural productions produced by mass media and presented to the society present these marginalizing discourses to the society through representation and ensure their reproduction. It can be observed in the sample films, how these discourses are formed through representations, presented to the public, and provided continuity. Although the films examined have different stories of different directors, the "marginalizing" discourse in production and language is similar.

“One of the most important reinforcers of this discriminatory discourse is socialization with school, the other is media. The media can justify violence by using an implicit discursive practice as well as discriminatory ideologies and discourses that are clearly visible. For example, while expressing violence against homosexuals, words such as "accident, event, incident" are used, but for other violent incidents, "assault" etc. are used. The way in which the news is conveyed affects the distinction between the attacker and the victim, and the way the reader/viewer interprets the responsibilities of the parties in the realization of the event. Violence against homosexuals and trans people is often presented as an event of "mutual conflict" rather than a one-sided attack, preventing to distinguish the victim from the perpetrator" (Gökçeoğlu A. et al, 2017: 48).

As stated by Gökçeoğlu and others, the language of the news produced with discriminatory discourses can negatively affect the perception of the audience for LGBTI+s. Such discriminatory discourses only feed the negative perception of different groups in society and are constantly reproduced. In addition, the news is generally considered as a more reliable and impartial evaluation than other publications and encountering these discourses even in the news is important in terms of understanding the discriminatory and marginalizing ideology.

It will be enlightening to examine the historical process from different perspectives in order to understand LGBTI+s, which is still presented to society with these perspectives.

3.1 Examination of Homosexuality in Social History

It is not very possible to talk about a single known and written history for LGBTI+ people since it is not a single subject on which history is written. To talk about LGBTI+ history; areas such as social history, political history, history of feminism, world history etc. should also be examined. In addition, these othernesses can vary within the capitalist system. In class-based societies, with the reign of economic power, the upper classes are less subject to marginalization, while other classes may feel this marginalization more clearly. It is a matter of who has this power and to whom it is directed. For example, a gay media boss can be less marginalized than a homosexual worker, which is of course about power relations. When considering history before capitalism, it is seen that the issues of sexuality and homosexuality are still mostly based on power relations. The domination, which has always existed in history and established through powers, has existed in people's lives in all matters, albeit in different ways. This sometimes depends on the political, sometimes on an economic basis, depending on the way society is governed, but it always affects people.

It is possible to say that throughout history, homosexuality has been viewed differently in every period and every community, and it has been shaped according to the rules of every community. While in some societies homosexual relationships are punished, in others they are considered almost sacred.

By looking at the stages in the history of society, it will be useful to look at how it was shaped in the context of primitive communal society, slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society. In order to understand this historical process, Halit Erdem Oksaan's book *Social History of Homosexuality* (2012) will be used.

There are findings indicating homosexual relationships in primitive societies. From this point of view, it is possible to say that homosexuality has existed since the beginning of human existence. When this subject is considered in the context of social history, it will be easier to understand this process.

“It is a fact that homosexuality also existed in primitive societies at the stage where the commodity economy does not develop but private property begins to sprout. In his studies and observations of Melanesians in the early 10th century, Malinowski identified the existence of homosexual relationships and sodomy (Oksaan, 2012: 50).

It would not be very enlightening to evaluate the phenomenon of homosexuality separately from the history of society. For this reason, when looked in parallel with the history of society, it is noticed that examples of indigenous homosexuality existed in that period. Homosexuality was not based on a class basis under the conditions of that time.

“It is known that there were sodomy relations among the Kerakians and Kiwaians in Africa, in Siwavs, in Easy Bay, in Papua and New Guinea, depending on a rule and ceremony. In Europe, homosexuality was viewed positively among Normans as it increased body strength and encouraged military virtues” (Malinowski, 1992, cited in Oksaan, 2012: 51).

As discussed in the examples, when homosexuality is examined in historicity, it is seen that it can be determined in parallel with human existence.

It is known that homosexual relationships were also experienced in ancient Turkish societies. It is possible to say that equality of women and men in ancient Turkish communities exists both during the pursuit of physical works and in a political sense. Ibn Fadlan mentioned in his travel book that homosexuality is not in accordance with the Old Turkish tradition, but it is seen as a "crime of adultery", not a "heresy". From this point of view, rather than from a homophobic perspective, it is concluded that the subject of the crime is not related to gender for the ancient Turkish communities, that is, they are considered to have committed adultery, regardless of the relationship between women, men, or man and woman. This point of view also indicates that depending on the heterosexual relationship, the continuity of the institution of marriage and lineage is important for the culture (Ibn Fadlan 10th century, cited in Oksaan, 2012).

Besides homosexuality, examples of primitive transvestism can also be seen in the Old Turkish records. The fact that shamans, believed to be able to communicate with spirits and humans, disguised as women can be considered as an example of that.

In ancient Rome, in the North American Indians, in the shaman culture of the Chukchee living in Central Asia, and among the African Indians, some gay men can have intercourse with men who dress like women. The point to be emphasized here is that feminine men were respected and acquired a religiousness and holiness at that time contrary to today (Oksaan, 2012).

Shamanism is the seat of women rather than men in many cultures. The place of women in society is extremely important and women are respected in society. In connection with this, male shamans disguise themselves as women, as the characteristics attributed to women in shamanism - the continuation of fertility and lineage - come to life.

“The gods who are called mother in the Turks are always the gods who spare and judge. The gods called ancestors are often gods that strike and scare. Therefore, shamans' protector spirits are women, and this must be the reason why they wear women's dresses during the ritual" (Yörükan, 2005: 59).

In Circassians, on the other hand, homosexuality is a situation that is punished with death and is not welcomed in society when learned. In contrast, homosexuality and homosexual relationships continued to exist in this society. The main reason why homosexuality does not become widespread among the communities living in the Caucasus is that beautiful girls and boys are sold to Istanbul or other cities to provide high income. From this point on, it becomes more attractive to sell especially young handsome men to slave traders and this becomes a trade. Eventually, ethical and aesthetic understanding, social attitudes, belief in the sacredness of men with feminine appearance, etc. situations seen in primitive societies has left its place to slavery, the state of being bought and sold, the commodification of orientations and bodies as a result of slaver society (Oksaan, 2012).

Looking at the history of Ancient Greece, an important and ancient civilization in history, will be enlightening in terms of the social history of homosexuality. Ancient Greece has the distinction of being a society where homosexuality was common. The important feature of ancient Greece in terms of homosexuality is that it was the first civilization where homosexuality was institutionalized and socialized. In ancient Greece, women were seen as mere except a means of reproduction and lived almost as slaves.

Although they did not participate much in social life, they lived under male domination and were in a position to say that they did not have much of a relationship with their husbands other than breeding and childbirth. In ancient Greece, emotional life and sexual relations that could be described as "real" love existed between men (Oksačan, 2012).

Although the relationships between men - usually between young men and adult men - were considered normal in society, they were lived under certain rules and certain missions. These relationships had institutional meanings other than the private life or orientation of individuals and were kept under control to the extent they were freed. Sexuality between women also existed in society during this period. Sappho's poems and Lesbos movement are examples of female homosexuality in this period, but there is not much information about women during the period that women were excluded from society and confined to male domination (Oksačan, 2012).

Supreme love and relationship - sexual and emotional - always lived between men and in connection with class situations and social positions. For example, sexual intercourse between an adult man and a young man was thought to convey the adult male's own male power and productivity, by requiring the adult to be active and the young man to be passive. Therefore, it is possible to say that the relation form here was an ideological necessity made by the pressure of class-cultural identity rather than choice or orientation. Another important point to be emphasized here is that even if men were passive in ancient Greece it was out of the question to be feminine. There was a hatred of feminine men and a mockery in society. The passive man's presenting his body to another adult man was not considered as femininity, but rather as masculinity, valour (Oksačan, 2012: 64-97).

Therefore, it is possible to call Ancient Greece an extremely sexist, misogynistic community.

"In ancient Greece, homosexuality and sodomy were an integral part of religion, philosophy, the army and the political order as well as love, beauty and aesthetics. Homosexuality and sodomy, which originate from class relations, found a respectable place in all areas of society in Ancient Greece. This is why we define that it is the civilization where homosexuality and sodomy acquired an institutional and theoretical identity and quality for Ancient Greece. Even tens of thousands of years later, there are traces of the institutional and theoretical influence from Ancient Greece in the homosexual and sod relationship" (Oksačan, 2012: 96).

Looking at the Roman Empire, it is seen that it was an empire where homosexuality was quite common, like Ancient Greece. Since Rome is a slavery society, the master-slave relationship continues here as well, and it is possible to say that a hierarchical order and homosexual relations are experienced in an institutional context and become law. In this society, homosexuality is experienced as class-based reality and necessity rather than a choice or orientation because roles in the relationship are organized classically and socially. As far as roles are concerned, the master has always been active, and the slave has always been passive. Unlike the Ancient Greek, homosexual relationship in Rome is directed only to the individual wishes of the master, rather than an education-based necessity. In summary, it is possible to say that homosexuality was frequently experienced, legalized and institutionalized in Rome. In a society that lives with the master-slave duality, homosexuality continued as a "normal" act under the control of the ruling class in a hierarchical order. It would be appropriate to say that this is an order that exploits slaves sexually.

When the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire is viewed in the context of homosexuality, it can be said that it has a more mixed culture. It can be said that it is different from Ancient Greece and Rome in terms of both geographical location and religious belief. Homosexuality is not welcomed in Eastern Rome. The family concept and monogamy are at the forefront and considered important in order to ensure the control of society. But despite all this, homosexuality was experienced in this society as well. In society, homosexuality is considered a major crime and is included in the "crimes against nature". Due to the importance given to family, marriage, monogamy and reproduction, homosexuality was considered as a criminal offence. It is possible to say that Eastern Rome's religious-based (Christianity) point of view is the reason for this situation. In summary, according to the general evaluation during the years of the empire's existence, homosexuality was once considered a crime and at a time it was ignored but not welcomed, but ultimately, Eastern Rome never viewed homosexuality like the Ancient Greek and Roman Empire.

Looking at the social history of homosexuality in the class societies of the Middle East, Ancient Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Iran, it will be enlightening in terms of

understanding how the view of homosexuality is variable according to the cultural climate of the societies. It is possible to say that homosexuals were not tolerated, and they were humiliated and excluded in ancient Mesopotamia. The attitude against these people is not a moral, but a class situation. Male homosexuals are considered cursed, wicked, and worthless, and there is a belief that they have to live this bad life because they have committed a crime against God. But it is known that the master-slave relationship continues in this geography, and the slaves are generally servant slaves and sexual relations are experienced depending on the owner's request. The function of slaves in this society is usually to entertain their master according to his wishes. It is common for male masters to experience a sexual situation with male passive homosexual slaves. The reason why homosexuals are seen as cursed is that the male-dominated society is coded through the roles of men and women. The fact that homosexuals are passive in the relationship is considered like a woman and cannot fulfil the childbearing function, in this case, the ruling and active man is the opposite of what is expected.

Looking at homosexuality according to the Hittites, it can be said that they saw homosexuality as a natural type of relationship. No sanctions or penalties are imposed.

Homosexuality was also common among Persians. The love between men was expressed in many artworks of the period and the desire for the male body was deified.

When it comes to the slave societies of the Middle East, the admiration for the young man is the subject of many artworks. It is possible to evaluate homosexual relationships as an outcome of class and slave society, apart from choice and orientation. While slave labour is exploited in these societies, there is also sexual exploitation besides the exploitation of work and body. In addition, love between men is defined as sublimely and irresistibly, but the important point here is the class position in society of the people who are in love and are loved. Romantic and sexual relationships experienced under the exploitation of the ruling class are mentioned. In some of these societies, young males are seen as those to be avoided, and adult males as uncontrollably impressive, delightful and lustful. It is advised that there is nothing wrong with falling in love with these young men, but that sexual acts such as pleasure and lust should be kept under control. Homosexuality here is the relationships that young men of childhood established with adult men or are

forced to establish due to their class-based position (sodomy), rather than a relationship between two adult men based on their mutual feelings.

When looking at homosexuality in Feudal-Christian Europe, apart from homosexuality, heterosexual relations and sexuality are also viewed with a strict attitude. In medieval Europe, women were in an inferior position. It is possible to say that the woman, who is seen as the source of all evil, is excluded from society and is confined to the duties assigned to her in the domestic sphere. According to the information available from limited sources, women also had relationships with other women during this period. The institution of marriage and family is viewed only as reproduction, the continuation of lineage and transfer of assets. People's sexual desires are defined as "bad". It is noteworthy that married heterosexual couples do not have any other responsibilities other than having children. The institution of the family also holds the role of social control here.

“As homosexuality is perceived as a situation that threatens the family structure, which is seen as the foundation of society, laws prohibiting homosexuality practices were enacted in Continental Europe even in the Sixteenth Century. Especially in the Middle Ages, the only purpose of sexual intercourse was seen as bringing new individuals to the world by benefiting from the fertility of women. In this context, the fact that two men had sexual intercourse was regarded as a perversion as it could not produce a baby as a result” (Ezber, 2017: 34).

In this society, homosexual relations are experienced despite this rigid attitude, and it is possible to talk about institutional homosexuality based on class. Generally, sexual relations between men are experienced in a certain hierarchy in line with the demands of the ruling class (noble class).

"In the class/slavery societies of ancient Mesopotamia, Iran and the Middle East, it is seen that homosexuality is a cultural and ideological practice of the ruling classes" (Oksačan, 2012: 155).

In this rigid attitude towards sexuality, when looking at whether homosexuality is considered a crime or not; although heavy sanctions and death sentences are imposed during the period, it cannot be proven that they are applied too much. In addition, there is evidence of homosexual relationships between priests and clergy in churches.

“Despite all the rigid and implacable attitude of the political authority, the church has not been able to rid its clergy and its officials from homosexuality and sodomy. In the life of church and monasteries, which prohibit marriage, sexuality, and women, the

influence of homosexual relationships and sodomy has continued until today" (Oksačan, 2012: 168).

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, homosexuality changed shape and began to live secretly, losing its social character. While adult males were establishing relationships with adolescent males before the 17th century, they started to have relationships with adult feminine males anymore in the 17th century. In society, homosexuality has started to be evaluated negatively and the adult feminine men started to be found abrasive. The situation of not fulfilling the masculine duty and being passive is met with a negative perspective in society. The positive development of this period is that women now leave the domestic sphere and participate in social life. At the end of the 17th century, sodomy became a situation that was condemned and negatively viewed by the society, and with the 19th century, homosexuality was no longer 'heresy', which has been characterized by moral norms since the Middle Ages, it now became the subject of science, medicine, and law and started to be considered as 'disease' or 'mental disorder'.

When looking at homosexuality in the Far East, it is accepted as a normal type of relationship quite different from Europe. Similar to Europe and other civilizations, women in China are in an inferior position and is excluded from society. Although not participating in social life, they are also socially devalued. Homosexual relationships between men are quite common. Similarly, in Japan, homosexuality is accepted as a natural part of sexuality, but there is a hierarchy in the form of association. Until the young man becomes an adult, the adult male has forced the young man to be passive. In summary, homosexuality is accepted as a natural condition in China and Japan, unlike the West.

The Ottoman Empire is an empire that has existed for a long time in history. It will be enlightening in terms of social history to examine it in the context of homosexuality, both because of its mixed nature and its long-standing existence and influence. It is possible to say that the Ottoman Empire is an empire with a cosmopolitan structure that includes many ethnic origins. It also affected the Ottoman Empire, the love and lust were felt for the male body and the relationship between adult men and young men which are common in many societies at that time. Although there is no problem with the interest in young men in the Ottoman Empire, sexual relations established during the period until

their bodies grow hair and beards are considered normal. However, this situation does not continue after the hairs and beards of young men grow. In summary, it can be said that the beauty and the interest for the male body in the Ottoman Empire include only the young men who have not yet entered puberty. Young men, known as Mahbub Boy in the Ottoman Empire, were assigned to serve the ruling class of the period and it is known that they were also used for homosexual relations. In addition, there are many young girls in the palace to take part in similar positions in the Ottoman Empire. Although women are kept in the palace, they are only in the service of the sultan and the notables of the palace. These young men and women often serve as the faces of entertainment in the palace. These Mahbub Boys and young women are often obtained from places conquered. Young men and women are also brought to the palace beside the property confiscated from that palaces. This relationship established with young men and women in the Ottoman Empire is in a certain hierarchy. As in other societies, young men are forced to be passive during sexual intercourse.

"In the Ottoman Empire, attention was paid to the fact that the young people who were captured, recruited, and bought were handsome and bright, as well as that their feelings of masculinity were not sufficiently developed and as a result, the boys had to be passive (passive) as slaves" (Oksaan, 2012: 200).

In addition to these, it is known that these young men and women were subjected to harassment and rape. In addition, it is a tradition of the Ottoman period that young men and women are gifted to influential people in the ruling class. When someone else's interest in these young men and women belonging to the Sultan is noticed in the palace, the person is sentenced to death. This is an important situation in terms of understanding the hierarchical structure of the period and how these young people were abused in many ways. It is possible to say that young boys and girls committed sexual slavery to people from a certain class in the palace.

"The historian Ali of Gallipoli clearly states that it is unthinkable for the hairless and blemish-free boys and servants serving in palaces and mansions to not engage in passive sexual intercourse" (Cited in Oksaan, 2012: 213-214).

The existence of homosexual relationships between young men and women in servant duty is also mentioned. Another noteworthy situation is that these relationships, which can be considered as paedophilia¹, are considered normal in the Ottoman Empire, while it is condemned for individuals to have both active and passive sexual relationships that are not delineated. Again, in the literary texts created in the same period, there are some guiding texts that mention young men. These texts guide the influential section of society for young male partners. Thus, it is possible to understand that those very institutional, hierarchical and legitimate sexual relations were experienced within the Ottoman Empire, too. It is also stated in the sources that the group called Janissaries, which was the military force of the period, sexually assaulted and raped young men and women. Young Osman, the sultan, can be given as a striking example of these sexual attacks. It is stated in some sources that he was raped by janissaries before he was killed after his death was ordered.

Gay men take part in the entertainment of the Ottoman Empire as an element of comedy. Looking at today's television programs and films, it is possible to say that there is a relationship between the presentation of feminine-looking men as comedy to the society and the perception of gay men as an element of entertainment in the Ottoman period.

According to Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli, "It is possible to see the intense interest in boys in different periods of Ottoman history and especially in entertainment life. Hairless, bright boys are indispensable for dinings, meetings and entertainment with alcoholic drinks" (Cited in Oksaan, 2012: 244).

It is known that in the Ottoman Empire, young men were engaged in sex work with their feminine and quite fancy appearances. However, despite this situation, it is not tolerated to have a female appearance or to "be like a woman" in this society.

It is stated that young men who are working as Zenne (drag queen) and Kek (belly dancer) in the society do this as a profession and they receive education, but also homosexual relationships with these people are commonly stated. It is possible to say that these people who are zenne and kek were the backbone of the entertainment life.

¹Pedophilia "Over a period of at least 6 months, if a person has sexual intercourse with a child or children entered puberty sexual urges, or behaviors was defined as the emergence of recurrent" (Erdoėan, A. 2012: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/pgy/issue/11162/133440>). Retrieved date: 17.04.2020

Nowadays, we come across with some entertainers as *zenne* and *köçek* in these kinds of entertainment in media products and these people are generally represented as homosexuals.

In the palace life of the period, the perspective on homosexual relations also appears as a kind of power and benefit obtained from these relationships. It is known that especially influential female sultans in the harem supported this kind of homosexual relationship.

"Kösem Sultan, in order to prevent the emergence of Haseki Sultan who will defeat her and become a sultan's wife who will take his son under his word and influence, she oriented IV.Murad to young men" (Oksaan, 2012: 261).

It is known that homosexual relations between young men and adult men in the Ottoman Empire were almost never condemned and even often supported. Although Islam made homosexuality unlawful, religion did not affect this situation much. But there is another period when homosexuality is hidden, not tolerated so much and becomes "abnormal" in society. The important point in this transition period is the developments and social changes in the West. During this period, the West began to dislike homosexuality and the Ottoman Empire was also affected by this situation.

"The factor that hides the sodomy and homosexual relations to the Ottoman ruling classes is the nationalist and democratic revolutions of the West with the democracy value and understanding that affected the Ottoman Empire" (Oksaan, 2012: 266).

In the following period, homosexuality is then considered as a social problem with social changes. Today it is evaluated in similar ways.

Another important issue in the context of the social history of homosexuality is the people who went down in history as 'eunuchs'. Being castrated is an unusual practice in many communities that most people are subjected to for various reasons. This is the cutting process of men's genitals or limbs in the genitals. This practice is done by masculine communities and some power issues are important here.

Due to the importance given to the masculinity, male power and male race, this practice, which was born out of the need for another man to protect the passive woman, has

victimized many people. According to this point of view born by the male sexual organ-centred power structure, the man who should protect the woman under the auspices of the rulers should not have any sexual intercourse with him. It is also possible to talk about the importance attached to lineage here. In this case, the genitals of other men, who would protect the woman, were cut off so that the woman would not carry someone else's lineage. Eunuch was a practice made regardless of whether people wanted it or not. In some communities, this is used as a punishment method. Whatever the reason may be, it is a practice that is extremely against human rights for a person to be cut without being asked. In addition, it is stated in the sources that this procedure was an extremely difficult surgical operation, and many people lost their lives with this outdated application.

To summarize, eunuchs also had sexual relations, despite the practice of castration so that they could not have any sexual activity or have children. The worthless perspective in society against eunuchs is also a problem encountered. In societies that associate men with reproduction and render women unworthy, eunuchs are rendered worthless just like women.

When it comes to the social history of homosexuality in the capitalist society and the new order we are in, it is no longer possible to talk about the relationship between teacher-student, slave-master, as in previous periods and societies. In today's world, everything is commodified as a result of the capitalist order. Now everything in the world, more precisely in the world market, becomes tradable. People's bodies can now be counted as a commodity. It is possible to say that in the capitalist world where the labour of the worker is exploited, there is a culture of pleasure in order to make the masses compatible with the order happy. The culture of pleasure that emerges in order to relieve working and tired working people, and to maintain the "world of freedom" perception of the system, is based on providing psychological and physical satisfaction with individualist ideology. It is possible to say that this period when women were not confined to the home to a certain extent, as in previous periods, although it may seem egalitarian in terms of gender, this is not the case. Patriarchal codes are also at work in the capitalist order. It is possible to say that the woman is still a secondary position, even if she has participated in working life, socialized, and started social production. The woman is in the secondary position. In an order where women are in the secondary position, it is inevitable for LGBTI+ to be in a

secondary position. Although the capitalist system, which claims that everyone has equal rights and freedoms and that people of all sexes and differences are equal, is apparently presented in this way, it can be said that this is not the case. Here, it is possible to talk about the perfect functioning of the system. In summary, this system “pretends” and manages the masses in the direction desired by the rulers and while doing this, it convinces people that they “live a free life”.

In today's societies, homosexuality is no longer subject to death sentences or imprisonment and is not considered a crime. This situation does not include countries that are religious and governed by theocracy. In addition to these, a concept that needs to be deepened is homophobia. Homophobia can bring discriminatory, insulting discourses and even hate crimes with it. Another important point here is that it is not possible to say homophobic for everyone in the society, but anyone who does not agree with the “normal” perception in people's minds is marginalized knowingly or unknowingly. It is this kind of marginalization that LGBTI+ people are exposed to in today's society. The stereotypes that society insists on, such as ‘being a woman, behaving like a woman’ or ‘being a man and behaving like a man’ and accepting the heterosexual relationships as the only true, acceptable type of relationship can lead to the emergence of this marginalization.

“The concepts of masculinity-femininity are concepts that change according to the period, condition, place and society, rather than being concepts that the society draws its boundaries within general lines. In homosexual partnerships, the fact that the roles of masculinity and femininity among individuals are not clearly differentiated reflects the attitude of homosexuals towards straight stereotypes. Homosexuals, with their understanding, perception, thought pattern and concepts, think much differently and broadly than the general value judgments of the society” (Corazze, 1991, cited in Oksa an, 2012: 332).

In summary, every person who goes beyond the values and ideals of the society - which is not just an issue of sexual identity and orientation. Concepts such as religion, race, colour, language, and ethnic origin can also be included in this situation. - is subjected to marginalization.

It was explained how homosexuality was experienced and evaluated in which societies in social history and how it shaped it culturally. It will be enlightening to look at homosexuality experienced from the very beginning of the social and cultural structure, and also to look at the natural history and to understand the processes.

3.2 Examining Homosexuality in Natural History

Natural history is a historical field of study that covers many disciplines such as geology, anthropology, and psychology, and attaches importance to observation along with scientific studies and includes animals, plants, and people as its subject.

It is seen that approaches to homosexuality differ from society to society according to the belief, culture, and political status of societies in social history. In order to understand the historical process of homosexuality, it may not be enough to just look at social history.

For this reason, it will be enlightening to look from a natural history perspective. For the information in the natural history section, Psychiatrist Francis Mark Mondimore's book *A Natural History of Homosexuality* was used. In the book, which was published in 1999, Mondimore explains how homosexuality has been understood and defined from ancient times to the present. While doing this, he feeds on different disciplines to understand and explain the issue of homosexuality by focusing on biology, history, psychology, anthropology, and genetics.

Also, in natural history, homosexual behaviours differ from society to society. For example, the word homosexual was not used in Ancient Greek. The reason for this situation was that homosexuality was a natural condition that did not require a separate category within society.

“Many different forms of male-male, female-female and male-female sexuality have been observed over time and across cultures. Because each culture constructs its forms of sexuality. According to this view, sexual roles and behaviors arise out of a culture’s religious, moral, and ethical beliefs, its legal traditions, politics, aesthetics, whatever scientific or traditional views of biology and psychology it may have, even factors like geography and climate” (Mondimore, 1999: 46).

As Mondimore's book, *A Natural History of Homosexuality*, conveys, even though homosexuality has continued to exist as a phenomenon that changes from culture to culture, it began to be defined as sin and crime in the Middle Ages. With this situation, it is

seen that some words have been started to use to define homosexuals. In these periods, homosexuality was also punished among the crimes called 'sodomy'. Sodomy meant crimes against nature, and among these crimes, all non-reproductive sexual relations, as well as homosexuality, were included.

By the 19th century, it has been expressed that homosexuality should not be included in sodomy crimes. Debates continue during this period and homosexuality is still considered a crime in most societies. In the same period, the issue of homosexuality is gradually being investigated and discussed in the fields of medicine and psychiatry. As a result of this situation, the thought that 'homosexuality is a mental illness', which will come to the present day, remains on the agenda of history for a long time.

"Psychiatry had joined religion in condemning homosexuals as outcasts and pariahs. The view that homosexuals are mentally ill became nearly fixed in modern psychiatry- only recently, and still incompletely, dislodged. Countless thousands of homosexual men and women would submit themselves to 'treatment' based on scientifically untenable theory and data" (Mondimore, 1999: 72).

The social history of homosexuality was established on a male-centred history. The main reason for this is that women cannot participate in production in societies and are almost only condemned to a life confined inside the home for reproductive purposes. In addition, the fact that the literacy rate is extremely low among women and the records of the period are kept by men can be another reason. When it comes to the natural history perspective, there are few records at least. Thanks to these records, although it is not as detailed as the history of the relationships between men, one can have more or less idea about the relationships between women.

Due to the limited resources on homosexual relationships that women have experienced in history, the issue cannot be grasped well enough as men's homosexuality. But when examined in the light of the information in the sources, perspective on relations between women is generally considered as a situation that does not pose a problem in societies. The characteristics like being emotional, affectionate, etc. attributed to women create a perspective that isolates women from their sexuality. For this reason, relations between women are evaluated in the context of friendship rather than sexuality. As long as the love between women is not a problem for men, it can be a welcome or even supported

situation. This point of view is valid if it does not contain any sexuality (Mondimore, 1999).

“Since heterosexual relationships were considered to be contaminated by the carnal desires of men, women were thought to be able to express their sentimental nature more completely in their relationships with their children and with their women friends. These attitudes may have encouraged the expression of lesbian feelings among more homoerotically oriented women, especially since intense emotional bonds between women were not stigmatized or even discouraged. A long history of romantic friendships can be discerned in the lives and writings of many women through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” (Mondimore, 1999: 99).

Regarding women, women were thought to be asexual. The prevailing idea is that no sexual drive would be possible without men. Studies on this subject are also conducted by men. But men fall short of understanding and explaining the sexual acts among women. For this reason, female sexuality has not been understood for a long time. The state of disapproval in relations between women emerges with the thought that women threaten the position of masculinity and the distribution of sexual roles attributed to men. (Mondimore, 1999).

“Passionate friendships between women became unacceptable as soon as women in these relationships appropriated what had previously been thought of as an exclusively masculine prerogative: sexual expression” (Mondimore, 1999: 112).

While the discourses about women's homosexuality were established as its described without much written sources, the other important issue to be addressed, regardless of gender, is the attribution of women or men as “sick” because they are homosexual. It can be said that this 'illness' discourse continues until today and to a lesser extent today. It will be useful to look at the stages of the history of psychiatry/psychology in the production of this 'illness' discourse.

The period in the history of homosexuality, when homosexuals began to be counted as mentally ill, is important in terms of the perspective of homosexuals and their position and representation. In this context, it will be useful to examine the fields of psychiatry, in terms of medical education and mental health and neurological diseases, and psychology,

as a science based on the study of human and animal behaviour. Psychiatry and psychology are parallel fields in terms of the subjects of this study. The treatment method, which is called psychoanalysis and is based on identifying and eliminating mental problems by focusing on the unconsciousness of people, will be enlightening in terms of understanding the studies conducted in history. For this reason, psychoanalysis has been used as a field that complements studies in the field of homosexuality.

“Psychoanalysis has often been seen as complicit in dominant social constructions and constrictions of homosexuality, and there is certainly some evidence for this in the classic psychoanalytic texts, from the early works of Freud onwards. Certain parts of the psychoanalytic institution in some historical periods have been particularly wedded to such social orthodoxies, the post-war American school for instance; and even today, theories and practices of psychoanalysis at large are not entirely free of homophobic positions. As a whole, across its historical and geographical range, psychoanalysis has achieved rather ambivalent forms of recognition for gay and lesbian sexualities” (Webber, 2011: 49).

Sigmund Freud is the first name that comes to mind when talking about the field of psychoanalysis. Studies have been conducted in the field of homosexuality in psychoanalysis, but Freud, who is the most competent theorist, did not develop any theory on this subject. Freud thought it was impossible to abolish homosexuality and replace it with heterosexuality, and he did not define homosexuality as a disease. The "homosexual profile" drawn by psychoanalysts after Freud, with the full domination of psychoanalysis in the field of psychiatry in the 20th century, it is possible to say that it has enabled homosexuals to become widespread as “people with a personality disorder” or “sick people”. The general attitude of scientists working in the field of psychoanalysis, especially Edmund Bergler with the statement “There are no healthy homosexuals.” that he wrote in 1956, was that homosexuality was a negative and pathological thing (Mondimore, 1999).

“Analysts wrote that homosexuals were disturbed in all their relationships: obsessive, narcissistic, immature, even paranoid, driven by fear, disappointment, and hatred in both sexual and nonsexual relationships. Psychoanalytic theorists came to define homosexuals as defective in many areas of life-incapable of mature relationships, "fixated" at an infantile moment of disappointment and abandonment and rage, relentlessly acting out subconscious conflicts in futile, narcissistic, shallow, and short-lived relationships” (Mondimore, 1999: 125).

In this period when homosexuals were poorly defined and classified, first the belief system and then the psychiatric studies carried this "bad, sick" argument forward.

“After Freud, analysts such as Reich, Rado, Bieber, Socarides defined homosexuality as a disease and perversion. Wilhelm Reich, a psychoanalyst criticized and even attacked for his advocacy of sexual liberation, said that homosexuality of both sexes was an unusual sexual development, that many homosexuals were sexually as well as mentally ill. He also mentioned the necessity of protecting young people from homosexuality” (Engindeniz, N. 2014: Kaos GL Magazine “Queer and Psychoanalysis” <https://kaosgl.org/gokkusagi-forumu-kose-yazisi/psikanalizde-escinsellik> Erişim Tarihi: 12.03.2020).

However, it can be said that two other studies conducted besides this have opened new horizons in terms of the perception of homosexuals and reliability. The first was made by a biologist named Alfred Kinsey. Kinsey's studies are important in terms of understanding the superficial and unscientific nature of the studies conducted until that time. The most important characteristic of Kinsey is that homosexuals selected as a sample are the individuals chosen from among healthy people who can easily lead a life in the society, instead of unhappy people with psychological problems. The same is true for the research done by a behavioural scientist named Evelyn Hooker, an academic.

According to Mondimore, up to this study, the most important result of Kinsey's research in the context of research on homosexuals:

"Kinsey's major conclusion about homosexuality was that same-sex eroticism and homosexual behaviour did not stigmatize a person as a monster and should be considered neither criminal nor an excuse for ostracizing individuals from the society” (Mondimore, 1999: 138-139).

However, although this study was important, it was ignored and criticized.

“Almost thirty years later American psychiatry would begin to understand what Kinsey had demonstrated as the facts about homosexuality in his work -that homosexual activity was common in many individuals at least at some point in their lives and should not be regarded as a serious mental disorder” (Mondimore, 1999: 141).

In 1958, an academic named Evelyn Hooker conducted a similar study. In the study, a group of gay men and heterosexual men was selected as a sample and applied psychological tests to these people. The important point here is that the healthy homosexual people were selected as a sample and the experts who evaluated the research results did not know the orientations of the selected groups in the study. By this way, the prejudices of these experts against homosexuals were eliminated.

“Hooker was one of the first behavioural scientists to claim that most of the ‘unconformity’ seen by clinicians in gay men and lesbians were the result of living in a hostile society where they were relentlessly persecuted” (Mondimore, 1999: 148).

In summary, these two studies are the first to reveal that homosexuality has no clinical side.

“For a thousand years, first the church and then the psychiatric establishment had been instructing society on what was moral and normal in sexual matters, and homosexuality was not on either list” (Mondimore, 1999: 149).

While examining the history of homosexuality, biological research have also been done in addition to sociological and psychological conditions. As a result of the research done, understanding or trying to explain homosexuality is limited to individual areas and is not sufficient. In this context, it is important to understand the shortcomings of studies conducted in a historical perspective. For this reason, it will be enlightening to mention about the studies on the brain structure and hormones, as well as the aforementioned research.

3.3 Biological and Medical Studies on Homosexuality

Biological sex is assigned at birth to every human being, female or male. People are named and defined as male and female according to the biological sex assigned to them. As a person grows, they learn from the environment and society to behave like a woman if a female or like a man if a male. This situation constitutes the gender roles rather than the biological sex assigned to the person. In this chapter, studies to understand and explain

homosexuality through concepts such as biological sex factors, hormones, brain structure and the inheritance will be discussed.

While babies are in the embryonic phase before birth, their gender cannot be distinguished until the 12th week. The sexes develop with the development process in the womb, and people are usually born male and female. Although the gender identity and orientation of people are very confused concepts, they are actually very different from each other. Gender identity is the gender with which a person defines himself. Generally, people describe themselves as male or female. Even though it is perceived as the rule and the only truth in heteronormative order; gender identities can also be as variable as orientations, people may feel belonging to the opposite sex or not belonging to both sexes. Then, limiting the gender to be male or female will create an exclusionary situation for those who feel themselves outside of these two patterns (Mondimore, 1999).

Although several biological studies in history cannot fully explain the condition of homosexuality, several diagnosed medical conditions can be considered as a biological factor that is thought to be linked to homosexuality. A few prenatal syndromes are effective in some individuals' sexual identity and orientation, but this certainly does not constitute a general opinion or reason. These syndromes, hormones, conditions etc. alone are not enough to explain homosexuality, but it can be considered as a factor.

In addition, these syndromes can be considered as a few examples that would undermine the certainty of belonging to the assigned biological sex. In other words, it will be able to set an example in terms of questioning the heteronormative order, which is considered to be single correct.

"Androgen indifference syndrome" can be cited as an example of one of these conditions.

“When these individuals are born, they have female genitalia because the testosterone signal was never received by any of the usual tissues during development. Because the testes normally produce some estrogen as well as testosterone, these individuals develop female breasts and body contours at puberty. Since they have normal female genitalia, they are naturally raised as girls by their parents. Their "true" sex is usually not discovered until they are young adults when they come for a medical evaluation because of a failure to menstruate or for an infertility evaluation. Studies of the

sexual orientation of these women (to all appearances, they are women) have found that they are sexually attracted to men. This raises an interesting question: are they "homosexual"? After all, they are genetic males who are attracted to males—once again, the realities of nature confound the categories created by science” (Mondimore, 1999: 164-165).

This example is deemed important for every person subject to categorization. Although this situation is completely biological, it is beneficial in terms of eliminating the binary perspective in society. It can provide rethinking of the behaviour patterns expected from individuals in contexts such as roles assigned according to biological sex or external appearance, expression, attitude, and behaviour. It is important to understand that those general arguments such as masculine women being lesbians or feminine men being gay are untrue.

Another example is people with CAH (Congenital Virilizing Adrenal Hyperplasia) syndrome. It will be enlightening to talk about the effects of the syndrome on the body in order to understand the situation.

“The adrenal glands, present in both males and females and located above the kidneys, produce a variety of important hormones which regulate blood pressure, sugar metabolism, and other important functions. The adrenal glands also produce testosterone—in males and females (normally in much smaller amounts than the testes do). CAH occurs when an abnormal enlargement of the adrenal glands or some other genetic defect causes them to secrete an abnormally large amount of testosterone. These high levels of circulating adrenal testosterone during embryonic development cause genetic females with this syndrome to develop masculinized genitalia. (Genetic males are relatively unaffected)” (Mondimore, 1999: 165).

The results of studies conducted on girls with CAH syndrome show that hormones affect the brain and sexual orientation of people. Again, although there is no exact reason, it can be considered as an effective situation. Accordingly, girls with CAH syndrome prefer activities preferred by boys in social activities they participate and display more masculine attitudes. In a study conducted on adults, it is revealed that they are lesbians that they are interested in their fellows in terms of sexual orientation.

Another case is the children of women who received Synthetic Hormone Diethylstilbestrol treatment during pregnancy.

“During the 1940s and 1950s, DES and other synthetic hormones were administered to women with a history of miscarriage to "shore up" deficiencies of the placental hormones needed to sustain pregnancy until term. (DES turned out to increase the chances of cancer developing in persons whose mothers had been treated with it during their pregnancies, and its use has been abandoned.) The study of these individuals is revealing about the effect of hormones on sexual development because DES is very similar to testosterone but has no significant effect on the development of the sex organs - it affects only the brain. These individuals can be thought of as having had only their nervous systems exposed to high testosterone levels during development. In a follow-up study of females who had been exposed to DES during development, a definite increase of homosexual and bisexual fantasy and behaviour was noted. Although the numbers of women available for study were small, the percentages are impressive. In one report, 25 percent of the DES-exposed women considered themselves lesbian or bisexual- perhaps ten times the expected rate” (Ehrhardt, cited in Mondimore, 1999: 167).

Finally, 5-alpha-reductase (a reducing hormone) deficiency syndrome can be mentioned.

“In this syndrome, genetic males lack an enzyme necessary for normal development of the external genitalia (5-alpha-reductase is the enzyme that converts testosterone to a slightly different form of the hormone necessary for normal development of the penis and scrotum). These genetic males have normal testicular tissue and normal testosterone levels -but at birth they have genitalia that appear to be female. Therefore they are raised by their families as girls. At puberty, however, their testes begin to secrete the usual high levels of testosterone, and these "girls" seem to change into boys. Their voices deepen, their muscles and body fat distribution take on a masculine pattern, and their "clitoris" enlarges into a penis-sized organ” (Le Vay, cited in Mondimore, 1999: 168).

As a result of a large study conducted with these children, it is revealed that although they were raised like girls, they exhibit male behaviour in their adolescence and are attracted to the opposite sex. In summary, upbringing does not affect people's own identities.

The few examples of syndromes given above do not cover a large generalization but show that many prenatal hormones affect people's sexual development. In addition, it makes the concepts of gender and sexual orientation put into certain stereotypes open to

questioning and it is considered only as a factor without creating a reason for homosexuality.

It would be appropriate to talk about inheritance as another important factor. In accordance with the research done, it is in the direction that inheritance affects homosexuality, but it cannot be considered as a sole cause.

“Like previous investigators, Hamer and his colleagues had first looked at the family histories of homosexuals and had found that the family tree of a gay person frequently revealed other the family. In looking at the families of gay men, they found that 13.5 percent of the gay subjects they had recruited for the study had a gay brother, and these men also frequently had uncle or cousin on the mothers side (about 7.5 percent had a gay maternal uncle or maternal cousin). Although not all the family trees showed this pattern, in several families the inheritance of male homosexuality through the mother’s side of the family across several generations was strikingly apparent” (Mondimore, 1999: 215).

The biological, hormonal, and genetic factors mentioned in this section are insufficient to understand or explain homosexuality. Although hormones and genes do not provide clear reasons for both homosexuality and heterosexuality, it can be said that they are only factors in the formation of a person's gender identity or sexual orientation. In addition to these, it is possible to add social upbringing to these factors. In summary, people's sexual orientation cannot be explained within a single discipline or singular reasons. It is possible to say that various factors come together to create the characteristics that make people themselves.

“Sexual orientation seems to follow too many biological "rules" for homosexuality to be nothing but a social "construction." Critical periods², hormonal effects, differences in brain structure and functioning all indicate that there is a biology of sexual orientation. But as Kinsey discovered, individuals cannot be divided into "sheep and goats." And orientation toward one or the other or both genders can occur in many different proportions. Unique life experiences interact with unique biological potentials to produce each individual's unique sexuality” (Mondimore, 1999: 231).

In summary, although all research and studies conducted to understand and explain the cause of homosexuality have revealed important factors, they do not give a definite

² If certain behaviors in Child Development are not acquired in certain periods, they cannot be acquired in later periods or are very difficult to gain. These periods are called critical periods.

result. It would be more correct to say that the sexuality of every human being is specific and unique like personality traits and genes.

Along with the periods when homosexuality was regarded as 'bad', 'disease' or even 'crime', homosexuality started to be used against people by the government in society. While sexual politics have always been a power in the hands of the rulers, the slandering of people over homosexuality and the continuation of life in a system where criminal sanctions can be applied have negatively affected the lives of many people in terms of career, social life and relationships. Looking at the examples of these victimized people recorded in the historical process will be enlightening to understand both sexual politics and the domination of the rulers over homosexuals.

3.4 Defamation with Sexual Politics and Homosexuality Bias

So far, the areas and the discussions where the cause of homosexuality is sought have been mentioned. Another important point that should be mentioned is that in the periods when homosexuality was considered a crime and a sin, using sexual policies as an element of defamation, and imposing criminal sanctions and tortures with the accusation of homosexuality, regardless of whether they are homosexual or not. The effects of the period when homosexuality was considered a crime, or a sin are still visible today. Although some of the societies are more conscious about this issue, or they seem like that, the majority of homosexuals still prefer to live their lives by keeping their orientation secret. Although hiding does not apply to every gay person, the percentage of people who hide it is probably very high. It can be said that there are many people living by adopting two different lives, especially in business life and generally in social life, in order not to be discriminated against. It will be explanatory to look at these negative examples in history in order to understand both the characters' own perceptions and the society's perspective on them in some of the representations in the films that will be examined in this study.

During the periods when homosexuality was considered a crime and a sin, the discriminatory attitude towards homosexuality made use of science and religion to prove its reliability and accuracy. Based on the thoughts and wishes of the rulers of the period, people were found guilty and sinful through homosexuality, and as a result of this defamation, people were oppressed for a long time. Homosexuality, in that period, is more related to political, social, power ambition or personal relationships rather than a personal situation and orientation. Homosexuality can be a trump card that can be used for financial gain and interests. In problems or conflicts of interest between individuals or institutions, stigmatizing the other as homosexual can provide someone an advantage to beat out the other side.

“Homosexuals are not the only victims of antihomosexual bias. When hatred of homosexuals is acceptable within a society, accusations of homosexuality provide an efficient and effective means of intimidating, silencing, or even eliminating political opponents, regardless of their sexual orientation” (Mondimore, 1999: 291).

Oscar Wilde's experience can be given as an example of this situation. Wilde is well known in the literary and art communities of London and highly successful in the field of literature. He had a relationship with Alfred Douglas, son of John Douglas, one of the influential figures of the time. Despite all the objections of John Douglas, his son Alfred does not listen to him and continues his relationship with Wilde. After a while, John Douglas begins to blame Wilde for all the problems with his son (which he does not like his son's effeminate behaviours). He hires detectives and learns many things about Wilde's private life and sends a card accusing him of sodomy. Wilde then takes John Douglas to court, but Douglas proves his homosexuality by bringing 10 men into court, who had a relationship with Wilde. The court found Wilde guilty in the second session and sentenced him to 2 years of hard labour, although the hearing was not decided in the first session. Wilde, who settled in France after he was released from prison, had to fight against severe alcoholism and poverty and died after 3 years. It is possible to say that Oscar Wilde was the victim of discriminatory politics against homosexuals (Mondimore, 1999).

In addition to this example, when he was in power in Germany, Adolf Hitler massacred many homosexuals in concentration camps and Nazi doctors used homosexuals

in their medical experiments. After the Nazi rule, homosexuality continued to be considered a crime in Germany, the section of the current law on homosexuals was not changed, and compensation received by other Nazi victims were not given to people arrested for their homosexuality. In summary, the Nazis' genocide of homosexuals has been ignored compared to others. It is also necessary that the Nazis' genocide should not be considered only before homosexuals. During their time in power, they also massacred Jews, Gypsies and people with disabilities. Although this genocide is generally defined by Jews, it is known that there are many non-Jews who lost their lives (Mondimore, 1999).

All these accusations of crime and sin against homosexuality started as early as the 4th century and continued throughout the Middle Ages. Homosexuality, which is periodically among the "sodomy" crimes at first, then defined as "crimes committed against nature, immoral acts" and continued until the 18th and 19th centuries. Even if homosexuals were no longer killed in the last-mentioned centuries, punishments and smears have continued. The examples above illustrate this situation.

All these examples are still important today in understanding the negative, exclusionary and marginalizing prejudices against homosexuals. Throughout history, homosexuals have had to struggle with negative attitudes and behaviours attributed to them. It is possible to see the effects of this long-term mindset today, too. It is essential to mention these details in history in order to understand the examples of films to be analyzed.

When the period of criminalization of homosexuality and the application of criminal sanctions came to an end, legal sanctions gave way to psychiatry/psychology. In this period, homosexuals are now defined as "patients" instead of being punished and harmonization policies come into play.

3.5 Harmonization Policies with Compensation and Repair

In this study, where the representation of homosexuality will be analyzed through selected films, it is an indisputable fact that it is also necessary to mention the history of homosexuality. In ancient times in history, the period here is called Antiquity. There has been a period when homosexuality is considered "crime" and "sin" after the period in which homosexuality is dealt with in the nature and naturalness of human without the need for a separate definition in society. This period is the period that coincides with the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages is the period when extremely strict rules were applied under the influence of Christianity and the concept of "sodomy" emerged. With the Renaissance and Reformation movements, the decline of religious-based thought and with the Age of Enlightenment, the increase in discoveries and inventions, people turned to reason and science. They have adopted a new social order, a new and more rational system of thinking. The Age of Enlightenment is a change that also lays the foundation for the French Revolution. In summary, the formation of modern society took place within these historical events.

With the transition to modern society, many political, legal, economic, commercial and social developments have taken place in the world where reason and science now rule. However, the issue of homosexuality was freed from the domination of religion and this time was subjected to the pressure of science. Homosexuals are now defined as "mentally ill" rather than "pervert" or "sinful". This time, modern society establishes its domination on homosexuals from the fields of medicine and psychiatry. Instead of being punished or executed who are excluded from society, they are trying to "harmonize". This harmonization policy also comes to life as "expert opinion" in psychiatry and medicine. In today's world, despite the technological developments, social and cultural changes, political, legal and economic development, homosexuality is still not considered within human nature as in the first period. The effects of marginalization, exclusion from society and criminal sanctions that homosexuals have been exposed to for many years still continue. The excluded from society can be called "harmonization" policies.

“The decision to see any behaviour or experience as a “psychological disorder” or “mentally” rather than a difference, strangeness, crime or a reaction to an oppressive situation is not a scientific

decision, but a moral and political choice, and it takes its bases from the social, cultural and economic norms that determine which behaviours can be accepted” (Gökçeoğlu, A. et al. 2017: 25).

Social norms and the politics of power are important factors in creating and maintaining these negative perceptions. For many years, with the promise of "normalization", homosexuals and other people excluded by being categorized into different sexual orientation categories have been exposed to various psychiatric treatments.

“Efforts to ‘repair’ homosexuals are nothing more than social prejudice garbed in psychological accoutrements” (Bryant Welch's report, American Psychiatric Association, February 26, 1990, cited in Mondimore, 1999: 331).

These "repair and harmonization" arguments are still continued today by some psychiatrists and psychologists. Sexual policies developed with this repair and treatment are accepted without much questioning in terms of reliability since they are fed by science. These kinds of practices, which are a result of today's "modern" world, are the most effective method used by the society in terms of keeping those who are not part of it under control and subjecting them to a categorization. Such policies, which were carried out by religion in the past, are now mostly governed by science in this age. The effects of religion are still seen as an authority, but the field of science and psychiatry/psychology constitutes an important scientific control area and control mechanism for today's world. Looking at the history of LGBTI + in general, it is possible to see the sanctions of religion, law, and medicine.

“When we look at this history, we can see that how medicine, religion, and law treat sexuality (prohibition, punishment, treatment, etc.) are quite parallel: the issue is not just homosexuality but “all kinds of non-reproductive sexualities”. When we look at the history of modern psychiatry and psychology formed on such a ground, we can say that the theories and approaches related to gender/sexuality have a dichotomous and heteronormative framework (Gökçeoğlu, A. et al. 2017: 31).

Throughout history, research and studies on homosexuality have not proven that it has a definite cause. Singular and separate factors - inheritance, biology, social factors, etc. - come together to affect the orientation of the person, but this situation does not contain a

definite cause and effect relationship. Homosexuality is a condition that can develop under many possible conditions without being dependent on a single condition, and every human being's sexuality is unique.

3.6 Evaluation

Until now, the periods LGBTI+s lived through in social and natural history were mentioned. Understanding how the political, legal, social, and cultural changes experienced in world history affect LGBTI+s is important to understand the present. While homosexuality was considered as a natural feature of human beings in Antiquity, it was evaluated as "crime and sin" with the effect of the religious-based changes experienced in the Middle Ages, and criminal sanctions, executions, and attitudes and behaviours incompatible with human rights against LGBTI+s were recorded by history. Then, with the end of the Middle Ages, Psychiatry/Psychology came into the scene instead of religion, and "marginalization and exclusion" continued with different methods. At this time, LGBTI+s were the victims of the "mentally ill" label and "harmonization" policies.

The reason for homosexuality has been tried to be explained with biological research within the scope of natural history. Although there is no exact cause in the findings, some factors have been revealed. It has been emphasized that the possibility of being homosexual can occur by coming together of different factors, but it has been also revealed that this situation cannot be set to a certain standard for every person and that each person's sexuality is unique. In long-term studies, the problems caused by the homosexuals who were selected as samples from prisons or people with mental disorders have emerged, and for the first time, studies have been conducted with homosexuals who are healthy and continue their life in the society without any problems. These studies have to some extent retracted the argument that "homosexuals are mentally ill". Although this argument has been retracted, it has not been completely eliminated. This is a situation related to the domination of power. Even though these 'marginalizing' domination policies have decreased, they still continue today.

In summary, in this section, we witnessed the processes that homosexuality experienced from different perspectives, the changes, the "othering" they were exposed to, the domination policies of modern society, and the positive developments experienced despite all these negativities.

“We can gather the arguments against homosexuality under three main headings: Homosexuality as sin, homosexuality as crime, and homosexuality as disease. The common point that these three main headings that evaluate and judge homosexuality from different perspectives meet is that homosexuality is "against nature" and it must be eliminated, prevented, banned and its practitioners must be punished in some way. Although the effects of these efforts from past to present differ from society to society or from culture to culture, they still create great pressure on homosexuals and prevent them from expressing their existence” (Alacaoğlu, 2014: 5).

Modern society and changing political, legal, social, and cultural changes have brought the idea of organizing to LGBTI+s. LGBTI+s had the chance to come together in order to end the negativities they had experienced for many years and started to seek their rights. The riot, known as the Stonewall Riots, is a revolution and is considered as the first in this organized history. It will be enlightening to look at this revolutionary movement.

4. A TURNING POINT: THE STONEWALL RIOTS

LGBTI+ history has been examined with its situation in the social structure, natural history, and place in psychiatry/psychology. There have been different periods for LGBTI+s who have existed since the beginning of human history. Social changes that started in many societies in the 1960s (feminist movement, black revolt, etc.) also affected LGBTI+s. LGBTI+s, who lived behind closed doors and under pressure until this period, took action with social changes. The first and most effective movement known is the Stonewall Riots.

In order to understand the Stonewall Riots, it will be enlightening to talk about the conditions of the period in the USA, covering the 1950s and 1960s. Parks, cafes, cinemas and bars have been places where homosexuals come together, socialize and contact each other. Some of these venues could only belong to homosexuals. Since most people conceal their homosexuality, work, school, family environment and some social areas were not sufficient in terms of meeting the social needs of homosexuals, and it was also impossible given the reactions they would receive. Stonewall was a gay bar where only gays go.

Although the mentioned LGBTI + movement covered the 1960s, it is known that homosexuals and their venues and bars existed in the 1950s as well, that is, homosexuals started to form their own subculture in the society as most excluded groups did before the 1960s. Gay bars, which are known to be few in number, increased in during World War II and afterwards. The reason for the increase in numbers is that LGBTI+ people come together and become aware of each other during the war and the following period. LGBTI+ people living in the countryside and who were not aware of people like them had the chance to come together in big cities during the war and afterwards.

“But if the United States lagged behind Weimar Germany or Edwardian England in the pre-World War II period, the experiences of gay men and lesbians during that war went a long way toward creating the needed critical mass of consciousness in this country that could eventuate in an organized political movement. During World War II many men and women who had grown up in rural areas or small towns and had regarded themselves as singular freaks, discovered in military service legions of others who shared their sexual orientation. The experiences and bonding that followed led many gay men and lesbians to decide, after the war, against returning to their hometowns and in favor of settling

down in one of the subcultural enclaves that existed in the large cities, and particularly on the two coasts” (Duberman, 2008: 95).

In his book *Stonewall* (2008), Martin Duberman describes how the Stonewall Riots took place through the biographies of LGBTI+ activists who carried out the riot. He explained the negative attitudes and behaviours towards LGBTI+ people in the USA in the 1960s and before, under the social, cultural, political, and legal conditions of the period. It is possible to see how the oppressive devices of the government complement the functioning of the domination against LGBTI+s. It is also possible to understand how this pressure is driving people towards resistance. It is seen how the lives of six LGBTI+ people who act unaware of each other intersect with organized resistance.

The migration from villages or towns to the city during the Second World War caused homosexuals to communicate with each other. Homosexuals, who feel lonely, have the opportunity to meet people like themselves, create their own sub-cultures, have the opportunity to be together, and have created spaces where they can feel better socially. In this case, despite all its negativities, the war led to urbanization and turned into a positive opportunity for LGBTI+s. With urbanization, LGBTI+ people have had the opportunity to be together.

World War II and social pressure have prepared the ground for LGBTI+s to be organized. Thus, gay men and women came together and found a collective ground to establish various organizations. Although there were gay bars and some organizations in this period, which coincided with the 1950s, LGBTI+ people were still living under various pressures. When not obeying rules such as that each person should be dressed according to their own gender - gay sex workers were able to wear dresses of the opposite sex to a certain extent - people could be arrested and not even taken into gay bars by homosexuals. At the same time, the police could treat LGBT+ people in a derogatory and exclusionary manner as they wished, and even could detain them. When LGBTI+ were detained, they were kept separate from other prisoners in prison and exposed to many humiliations.

“Which for prisoners in the Queens’ Tank, as Craig quickly learned, meant no commissary privileges, no movies, and no recreation beyond the walk from their cells to meals” (Duberman, 2008:107).

It can be said that the LGBTI + movement started to spread with the other liberation movements in the 1960s. In this period, the point of view towards homosexuality has not changed and continued with the context of "homosexuality is an illness", which was the basic idea of psychoanalysis. Yet the arguments stating that homosexuality is not a disease also began to be put forward during this period. As the Stonewall Riots approached, the harsh stance of religion, police and law against homosexuals had to soften a little bit (Duberman, 2008).

“Heterosexual ministers had spoken up not to denounce gays but to defend their humanity; the courts had sided with homosexuals; the police, previously behaving as if invested with a natural right to harass gays, had been reprimanded and curtailed; and gay activists had learned the precious lesson that open, organized defiance could yield positive results” (Duberman, 2008: 125).

The 1960s emerges as a very active and important period in terms of social changes. By 1965, the number of LGBTI+ associations and members of these associations increased considerably.

Police raids on gay bars became routine in the 1960s. Until this year, the view that regarded homosexuality as a 'minority' and a community that should be constantly 'oppressed' prevailed. Homosexuals could be taken into custody for arbitrary reasons, without the need for much justification. The gay community in New York was the largest in the country, and this was further consolidated after 1940. In the 1960s, there was a lively gay life in the city, consisting of more than 40 gay bars and clubs and three or four lesbian bars as well.

Looking at its background in the political environment of 1969, the religious conservative and socially oppressive Republican Party was in power. The government that held this view was also putting pressure on homosexuals, whom it regarded as 'minority' and marginalized, in many areas in the society. Homosexuals could not find a job, were

dismissed and isolated from social life. Smear campaigns were launched against homosexuals in the press and a negative attitude towards homosexuals was imposed on the society. The thoughts that homosexuals threaten the family institution and that they are 'immoral' and 'perverted' were supported in society. This situation prompted homosexuals to create their own spaces to socialize. For this reason, bars, cafes and cinemas continued to be the choice of gays. The government's identity politics and "othering" method were affecting homosexuals negatively. It was among the groups that were seen as a threat to the 'ideal' of the power consists of white, heterosexual and religious people. Thus, LGBTI+s were heavily subjected to oppression. The government has tried to direct Americans, who have different political views, ethnicities and economic status, to an anti-gay policy under the claim of preserving the American family unity. This policy tries to confine the society to the identity problem rather than the class problem. The fragmented policy of the government against society was quite effective.

As a result of a raid on the famous gay bar Stonewall Inn on the night of June 28, 1969, the conflict between the police and LGBTI+s took its place in LGBTI+ history. The Stonewall riots are very important in terms of both visibility and resistance. Remembrance and marches of this event are still held in many countries every year. Stonewall is a revolution in seeking the rights of LGBTI+s and resisting. After the riot, LGBTI+s struggled effectively to make their voices heard, to gain many rights and to act in an organized manner. These struggles and gains are also associated with the changes that trigger each other, including the struggles of other minorities and women.

“When these young gay and lesbian radicals now flocked to join the Gay Liberation Front, they brought with them a rich set of insights from their prior involvements: from the black civil rights movement came an awareness of the inequities of American life; from the women’s movement, consciousness of sexism and the profoundly important idea that the personal is the political, that one’s experience mattered; from the antiwar struggle, the revelation that the government operated as a bulwark of conformity and privilege; from the countercultural revolution, the injunction to reject all received authority, to ‘do it now, to be what you want to be’” (Duberman, 2008: 289).

In summary, Stonewall was a very important movement that initiated a new era for LGBTI+ people. With Stonewall, LGBTI+s have seen that they can act in an organized manner and get rewarded for their struggles. The oppressive USA of the 1960s forced

LGBTI+ people to get their rights. This is a very important development in LGBTI+ history. In addition, the Stonewall movement has shaken the identity politics of the government. Similar problems are still encountered in most societies today, but LGBTI+s are now in a more conscious, nationally and internationally organized and strong position.

These stages and processes experienced by LGBTI+ people in the historical period were continuing simultaneously and similarly in most countries. In this study, as the films selected as samples belongs to Turkey's Cinema, it is necessary to look at the periods related to LGBT+s in Turkey.



5. AN OVERVIEW OF THE LGBTI+ HISTORY IN TURKEY

In this section, LGBTI+s' history in Turkey will be examined. The first one of the sources that will shed light on this process is Pınar Selek's book *Maskeler, Süvariler, Gacılar; Ülker Sokak: Bir Altkültürün Dışlanma Mekânı* and the second is Asuman Suner's book *Ghost House Belonging, Identity and Memory in New Turkish Cinema*. The first edition of Pınar Selek's book *Maskeler, Süvariler, Gacılar; Ülker Sokak: Bir Altkültürün Dışlanma Mekânı* was published in 2001, and the second was in 2007. The first edition was published in 2001, and the second was in 2007. In the book, the events that took place in Ülker Street of Cihangir district just before the project named HABİTAT II ³ in 1996 were discussed. Ülker Street was a street where transvestites and transsexuals lived in those years, while transsexuals and transvestites who lived there for a long time did not experience a problem, in 1996, with the cooperation of the police, residents of the neighbourhood, Beyoğlu and Ayaspaşa Beautification Association and Grey Wolves, they were exposed to violence and have been forced to migrate from Ülker Street.

The book conveys all these periods through the experiences between the two groups. Interviews were made with both parties in the book. These interviews are important in terms of understanding the attitude towards transsexuals and transvestites living in Ülker Sokak. Because it contains a small representation of the general judgments of society. In addition, the way the events are presented to the audience by the media is important in terms of questioning the objectivity of the media. The reason why this book was chosen as the source is that it is a study which sheds light on LGBTI+ history in Turkey from political, social and cultural perspectives by examining Ülker Street Events.

It will be enlightening to examine the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey in terms of both seeing the reflection of history in this geography and analyzing the films selected as a sample. Understanding the history of the movement and the political, economic, and cultural situation of that historical period can provide important insights in understanding these representations and the perspective of the society.

³ 1996 HABİTAT II: Its project is an urban project affiliated to the United Nations. "The Habitat Agenda adopts a development-oriented approach in line with the main goals of " suitable housing for all " and "sustainable development of human settlements"; it includes recommendations and goals for implementation at the global level (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bm-insan-yerlesimleri-programi.tr.mfa> Retrieved date: 26.04.2020)

Turkey, along with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and after the experienced Republican, has entered into a modernization process. The important point here is that the development and modernization process in Turkey is a top-down modernization process, unlike the returns of a natural process in West. This sudden political, social, economic and cultural change is a challenging period in terms of the adaptation of the people, because in this change some traditional old concepts, although they are not transformative, have been adopted.

“The patriarchal structure undergoes little change despite the reforms carried out with the republic and the developments such as women's rights. The republic, which is not based on strong class, cultural, economic upheavals, and social dynamics, and is mostly shaped by the accumulation in the state mechanism, inherits the heritage that is the all-out soldier and all-out male. The executors of this legacy consist of recruits who have 'given their manhood' to the state and who have resigned themselves to his masculinity. The republic establishes the state-bureaucrat relationship with the same mentality. The dependence of the society that does not develop new dynamics to the political power and the intertwining of political and social values in the pattern of masculinity continue" (Selek, 2007: 94).

This modernization has adopted a more traditional structure based on patriarchal discourses. The reason for this is that the political, social and cultural structure was inherited from the past communities throughout the periods from the previous times to the Republic period.

“The dominant Turkish politics has been institutionalized through male-dominated values and symbols since its establishment. The Turkic Beyliks in Anatolia, and Seljuq and Ottoman empires are the strongest representatives of social masculinity. One of the indicators of this is that they achieve their sovereignty not only with weapons but also with sexual possession. It is important to be believed that the confinement of girls and boys belonging to the ruling classes in the occupied territories to the harem of the state and their use by the Sultan, who is the representative of the state, for sexual satisfaction strengthens the state, that is, makes it more masculine. The state that uses not only military violence but also dominant male violence against the peoples and communities whose will is wanted to be broken, thus, the state who rapes, confines to its harem, castrates, is also a kind of family father for the people who are considered as servants and are at the back service of the army and dependent on its organizational structure since they are obliged to raise soldiers. The state, which prohibits alcohol every once in a while, calculates the length of women's veils, raids coffeehouses, loves and beats at the same time as a father, has a say in every aspect of life” (Selek, 2007: 92-93).

The reason why the state still has a say in every issue and intervenes to everything from economy, politics, social and cultural life to daily life even today is the adoption and continuation of these inherited male-centred values. In addition, perceiving those who go beyond the set of values consisting of this "masculinity" symbol as a threat, and exclusion, marginalization or "harmonization" mechanisms come into play at this point. Women and LGBTI+s are the target groups of these mechanisms among those who are exposed to this exclusion.

With modernization, although it is important in terms of the participation of women in social life and production, it has done this again within patriarchal boundaries. In other words, the oppressive mechanism has not disappeared but become more flexible. The freedom granted to women is confined to the limits set by men. This area of freedom that is coded over the roles attributed to the woman -as being mother, wife, housewife, etc.- by excluding her own gender identity does not constitute an innovative area.

"Distorted experiencing of the modernization process in Turkey has also affected the formation process of the identities. Since it did not develop from the bottom up, modernization was drawn not by the transformation of the cultural structure, but by imposing the created identities on the cultural structure, so there was a constant tension between the created identities and the cultural structure (Selek, 2007: 108).

The shaping of the situation on a path that fosters patriarchy has affected LGBTI+ people as well as women. Homosexual relationships that have always existed in the Ottoman tradition (which exist with certain power structures and nurturing patriarchy) evolved into a process of creating an identity as a result of the modernization period. Regarding the patriarchy that feeds the values of masculinity, Selek touches on the issue of homosexuality in the context of hegemonic masculinity:

Even though it is taken under the category of "impure", the most legitimate version of a homosexual relationship is "sodomism" that feeds patriarchy. Sodomy is very common in all Eastern societies, including Greek culture. Moreover, this is not considered as a kind of homosexual relationship. The age hierarchy justifies this relationship. Because hegemonic masculinity gets stronger as it takes women, children, youth, everything to its service. As masculinity grows stronger, it does not only dominate women but wants to have everything (Selek, 2007: 98).

This patriarchal, possessive, discriminatory attitude is still important to understand the situation that can be considered hypocritical against homosexuals today.

“Any man can have a relationship with homosexuals. But a fag is homosexual. Being a fag is the worst thing a man can be. Because sexuality is a tool of power, homosexuality is considered a sign of impotence. For hegemonic masculinity, "impotent men" are also needed, so homosexuals, forcibly "sodomized" young men are not outside of social life, but within. However, as they are surrounded by permanent male domination, they are exposed to various forms of violence. Their history is unwritten” (Selek, 2007: 99).

Sodomy is a very important concept in the context of patriarchy glorification and its continuity. The construction and continuation of male hegemony is where his possessive and aggressive stance is reciprocated. For this reason, ‘impotent men’ come to life in a position that is needed in society as an element that enhances masculinity but is also ‘marginalized’. Masculine and heterosexual men establish hegemony over others, and while doing this, they feed on patriarchy. These discriminatory attitudes and behaviours turn into a realm of power for them, while doing so they make it as a show of violence and power. For this reason, the "others" are in a position that is hated but also needed.

Today, the way the capitalist order creates its discriminatory discourses also develops from these patriarchal attitudes. Here, too, through the media, which is the most effective mechanism of capitalism, it legitimizes this violence and tries to make these violent discourses positive in people's perception.

The objectivity of history is always considered a problematic area when it comes to historiography. When looking at the questions "Who writes history and how is it written?", objectivity needs to be rethought. Usually, historiography has been in the monopoly of the winning parties or the ruling classes. It is difficult to find the written history of one who is not in power or cannot win. For all these reasons, the written history of LGBTI+s is quite limited. Violence against LGBTI+ people is legitimized and from the discourse of those who wrote history, LGBTI+s are generally excluded and presented as 'other', considered as a threat factor, and for the concept of family, they do not fit into the gender categories that society in general cares about and deems necessary. These discriminatory discourses are

adopted, nurtured and reproduced by the power and the society in connection with it. Because of all these, as Selek said, "Their history is unwritten."

The idea and perception of LGBTI+s created by this prejudiced, discriminatory and marginalizing discourse and attitudes come to life in similar representations. These representations correspond to the LGBTI+ characters presented as victims in the films selected as samples, and the negative situation about LGBTI+ in the general perception of the society. The representation and perception built on these negative, marginalizing, and discriminatory discourses, which are the reason for the verbal, psychological, physical, emotional abuse and even rape experienced by homosexuals due to being homosexual, feed each other. The stories and representations created come to life from this base. It is not possible to say, "These do not exist in real life", but the establishment of all representations through these stereotypes is an extremely limited and problematic area.

The situation that transgender women and transvestites are mostly "sex workers" is a stereotypical representation. Having to do sex work in society and reproduction of this position with representations should be evaluated together. In this way, the system that does not allow any other means of survival is overlooked. Transsexual women and transvestites, who are constantly excluded from the society in social and economic terms, often do sex work because no other field and job opportunities are created for them. This situation is presented to society with a perception of destiny. Therefore, the problematic representations encountered in films are seen as verbal, physical, sexual and psychological abuse or rape against homosexuals. The situations that gays are constantly exposed to physical or verbal abuse by heterosexual men and that transsexual women or transvestites are sex workers are completely stereotyped, therefore, they are negative representations that cannot go beyond feeding the negative perceptions at the base of the society.

The best examples of the ambivalent point of view in society are Zeki Müren and Bülent Ersoy. Besides phobia, prejudice and hatred towards LGBTI+ people, Zeki Müren, a transvestite, is referred to as "the Art Sun" and Bülent Ersoy, a transgender woman, as "Diva". Being an element of entertainment still continues to exist as another problematic

area that breaks homosexuality from its ties and brings it to a point of entertainment and consumption.

The change that started with the Republican era caused changes in the social, political and legal fields. Along with the management style, there have been changes towards modernization in other areas of society. With this change, modernization has prepared the ground for the development of the concept of identity in society.

“Turkish modernization started in military barracks. Its spread to the general public is also based on patriarchal discourses and traditions, and new identities have been filled by old values” (Selek, 2007: 107).

The emergence of LGBTI+ as a subculture also occurs in the same period.

“The new social and political identities created by Turkish modernization, which is disconnected from cultural reality, set out from how it should be instead of how it is, and even deny what has happened, could not coincide with the cultural structure. "Westernization" imposed through political power caused the cultural structure to become distorted and various cultural elements to live in the form of some subcultures or to manifest themselves with different identities” (Selek, 2007: 108).

In the light of the political, legal, and social changes, the LGBTI+s in Turkey have struggled to create their own identity in a male-dominated society and existed as a subculture consisting of other different identities until now. Selek describes the struggles of LGBTI+s in the context of subculture as follows:

“The 'masculinity' barrier in front of the lesbian and gay identity struggle causes many gays to reveal themselves in a female identity, that is, as transvestite and transsexual. The belief that "if he rejects a man's sexual power, he is not a man, he has a disorder, so he is a woman ..." makes transvestites and transsexuals more acceptable in these lands than lesbianism and gayness. In Turkey, transvestism, transsexuality, lesbianism, gayness, bisexuality is therefore quite intertwined and affect each other's sub-cultural background” (Selek, 2007: 110).

The exclusion faced by homosexuals who are marginalized within this discriminatory attitude emerges as a situation that holds them together, organizes them and causes them to form a style similar to the othering they experience. This situation is happening in big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir rather than rural areas. Places,

where homosexuals met in Turkey, are parks, baths, cinemas and bars. Güneş Sineması is considered one of the major venues that allow gay subcultures to occur in Turkey. Because for gays, who hide in social areas such as work, school, family and friends, the places where they can coexist were generally gay cinemas, cafes and bars. Likewise, Yeni Sinema in Ankara, and Efes Sineması and Cep Sineması in İzmir are considered important in this sense since they are the places that LGBTI+s come together. The organization of homosexuals, who have the opportunity to meet and be together with those like them, has been developing after the '70s. This situation develops more among the classes and students where the education level and opportunities are increased more (Selek, 2007).

Organization and collective places are also very important in terms of creating their own living spaces that allow LGBTI+s to behave and feel comfortable as they wish. Another point that can be considered important here is that women do not participate in these gatherings and organized movements developed in some universities. Lesbianism is generally experienced more closely in Turkey. In fact, many lesbians do not even have the sexual experience that gays have. This is also linked to the underdevelopment of the lesbian movement in Turkey, inability to feed on feminism as in Europe and USA and be heard enough since it takes place in a narrower space (Selek, 2007).

Feminism in Turkey is not a grassroots movement developed by the struggle of women. The boundaries of the freedom and rights given to women were drawn again by the male-state. In the films, even the relationship of lesbians is often told by men and the roles assigned to two women are depicted as if one is a woman and the other is a man. This also applies to gays, transvestites and transgender women, not just women. Atıf Yılmaz's film *Düş Gezginleri*, which is included in the subject of this study, is a suitable example of this situation. While describing the relationship between two women, both social status and the relationship between characters are patterned with heteronormative stories. The story of two women, told as if one was a dominant man, and the other was a more harmonious woman, is well suited to patriarchal codes. Similarly, the relationship between men in cinema is presented with the same heteronormative codes. Kutluğ Ataman's film *Lola + Bilidikid* is an example of this. The relationship between the two men is presented in the same way. The different point at this film is that Lola is a transvestite and is pressured by her lover to be a woman. One of the films that can be

given as a similar example is Çağan Irmak's *İssiz Adam*. There is no mention of homosexuality here, even the characters are presented to the audience as heterosexual, but when one of the characters is analyzed in depth, clues about homosexuality draw attention. The man who can never be happy and confines himself to loneliness is as if he has not even admitted his homosexuality to himself, he is depressed and unhappy. These examples are important examples to understand how homosexuals are represented within heteronormative and patriarchal values.

Entertainment venues are very important, both because they are places that allow subcultures to coexist, and because people in these places feel farther from social pressure and can behave as they are. The subcultural style created in these venues maintains its characteristic of being a common language that allows these people to get to know each other outside of these entertainment venues. It is worth noting that any event or change in societies should not be considered separately from political economy. The exclusion of LGBTI+s and other groups from society for various reasons (ethnicity, religious, colour, sexual orientation and gender identity etc.) is intertwined with the concept of “normal” or “ideal” of power and LGBTI+s are often excluded from this “normal” or “ideal”. Power is also a guide in the perception of society. LGBTI+ stereotype representations in Cinema or the media are examples of this situation. The perception of the audience is such as to support the negative attitudes fed by prejudices against LGBTI+s.

5.1 LGBTI+s in the Years of the Republican Period and Afterwards in Turkey

LGBTI+s had created themselves as a subculture in the society with the changes in political, legal, and social life with the republic and managed to create their own social spaces. (Selek, 2007).

As discussed in the article, “*Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin Sınıf Dinamiği: Türkiye LGBT Hareketi*” [*Class Dynamics of the New Social Movements: Turkey’s LGBT Movement*], in the 1980s, there was no very important political change or an organized and

effective movement for LGBTI+s other than their struggle to create an identity and their ability to exist as a subculture.

“Although there had been some changes in the historical process, it is seen that the social perception of homosexuality in Turkey, does not show great development for a long time. There are no laws banning homosexuality in Turkey, on the other hand, there is no expression such as "sexual orientation" in the civil law. Although homosexuality is not legally a crime, political governments either ignored homosexuality in the public sphere or displayed hostile attitudes towards homosexuals” (Erdoğan, E. & Köten, B. 2014: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/1167> Retrieved date: 21.01.2020).

The book titled *80'lerde Lubunya Olmak* will be used to convey information on the political, legal and social life of the 1980s. It was published in February 2012 by the "Black Pink Triangle Izmir Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Research and Solidarity Against Discrimination Association". The book was prepared as a result of 9 interviews made with LGBTI+ individuals who live in the '80s.

When it comes to 1980s, the 12 September 1980 coup has caused many changes in Turkey. The 1980s was a period when neoliberal policies began to be implemented - albeit under military control- in the economic field, and when Turkey has undergone a rapid change process with technological investments, legal regulations, privatizations that will accelerate its adaptation to the globalization process. Asuman Suner describes this change process as follows:

“In parallel with these developments, we are also witnessing the emergence of new identity politics and the beginning of different social segments to express themselves in the public sphere in Turkey since the 1980s. Before the coup, especially in the late 1970s, while the political sphere was reduced to a militarized right-left polarization, since the second half of the 1980s, the spokespersons of new social movements such as feminists, environmentalists, homosexuals began to appear with different social requests expressing a different social opposition and democratic society understanding and they will appear” (Suner, 2020: 20).

Groups with different ethnic, religious and sexual identities have started to make different social demands and criticize the authoritarian understanding of the state since the 1990s. From the period after the military coup, beginning with this polyphony, the social, political, economic expansions have started a transformation process in Turkey by affecting each other. As a result of neoliberal economic policies, cultural, economic and

social differences between the lower and upper classes in the society rapidly deepen and it creates a structure like urban poverty that can benefit from social rights and services such as health, education, housing at the lowest level; as opposed to this, it has led to the formation of an upper-middle class that can benefit from social rights and services such as education, culture, housing, health, etc in the best way (Suner, 2020).

“In today's Turkey, it is possible to capture one dimension of the tension around the issue of belonging in the deepening economic and social gap between the lower and upper classes. However, the area where this tension gains the most visibility and discussion will be the way in which they are articulated with the ‘identity’ problem, rather than direct class differences. ‘Identity’ has been a concept, which is often pronounced in Turkey during the 1990s and mostly used to refer to cultural, ethnic and religious differences” (Suner, 2020: 23).

While neoliberal policies deepen class conflict, it reveals this as identity politics rather than class conflict. With the politicization of identities, economic and cultural differences within the society become clear. The other segment that does not belong to the dominant class created as the ideal of society is outside of this ideal and the “others” of the dominant ideology are constructed in this way. In this way, identity politics serve a practice of exclusion.

With the effect of these political, economic and social changes experienced in Turkey, the 1980s generally goes down in history as the years when LGBTI+ people were exposed to a lot of violence and discrimination. For this period where the voices of lesbians were again not heard, the evaluation will be carried out through an oral history study based on the stories of gays, transgender women and transvestites. During this period, transvestite and transgender women, who are doing sex work, were exposed to many discrimination and marginalization. Often, they were subjected to arbitrary violence and torture by law enforcement officers.

“Belgin: In those days they were bludgeoning us according to our hometown’s plate code number. Where are you from? Antep. What is its plate code number? 27 ... Aww, you will get 27 batons. Although no person in that unit was from Antep in real, surely someone among them would come along as if he's from Antep. "Hey Ahmet, you said, such things wouldn't happen in Antep, huh?" We stayed there for days. 50-60 people, waiting in violence, persecution, torture; looking unkempt. Then, they put us on the minibuses and drive to Haydarpaşa Train Station. They dragged us to a train, kicking, saying ugly things in front of the people. They closed the compartment, locked the doors...

Vice officers were pacing and cursing along the corridors. Gay friends were also sitting on the ground with a stamp on their arms” (80’lerde Lubunya Olmak, 2012: 82).

These people, who were isolated from Abanoz Street in 1978 before the coup, then moved to Dolapdere but were not able to live there either. After the 1980 coup, they were put on trains from Istanbul and tried to be exiled. During this period, LGBTI+s were prohibited from taking part in the media and on the stage. In the early '80s, transsexuals who were in a gender transition period also faced problems such as state sanctions and not being able to get their identity cards even though the process was completed. During this period, although homosexuality did not constitute a crime and there was no criminal sanction for it, most homosexuals were treated like criminals. The only positive change in this period was the legalization of transition surgeries in 1988. The most prominent figure related to this legalization in popular culture was Bülent Ersoy.

Demet: “In the 80s, Bülent Ersoy was banned from the stage. Not only Bülent Ersoy but also many feminine homosexuals and transvestites were banned either. Stage bans lasted for 10 years. A large number of gays and transsexuals who were singers were sentenced to unemployment with a single order. Many of them had to do sex work. Gender reassignment surgeries were cancelled, banned. Those who had surgery shortly before the ban were able to get their identity 10 years later” (80’lerde Lubunya Olmak, 2012:140).

In addition to the ban on LGBTI+ people in this period in the media, the representations and the language used in the news were also informing the society in a very negative way. In summary, the '80s went down in history as the years when LGBTI+s were exposed to a lot of discrimination, violence and marginalization (80’lerde Lubunya Olmak, 2012).

“As homosexuality does not seem ‘normal’, of course, the news related to it could not be presented normally either. News containing homosexuality or evoking homosexuality is presented to the reader as "breaking news". The media, which does not refrain from feeding on sexist and racist mentalities, does not hesitate to reproduce this mentality in news about homosexuality and homosexuals. Lies, exaggeration, humiliation, discrimination are the usual ornaments of this "breaking news" (80’lerde Lubunya Olmak, 2012: 15).

It is important in the sense that the '80s were the most intense years of violence against LGBTI+s, as well as being a period when homosexuals banned from stage and media. After the bans were lifted, they were still represented negatively and the foundations of these negative representations remained until today were also laid at that time. The negative representations inherited from the 80s are also reflected in the films selected as samples in the study. This subject will be emphasized in the section where films are analyzed.

While mentioning the political, legal and social changes of the 90s, the book titled *90'larda Lubunya Olmak* was used. It's the sequel of the book *80'lerde Lubunya Olmak*. It differs in terms of persons and dates. When it comes to 1990s, Turkey reached the most important decade in terms of LGBTI+ history. The most important developments in the LGBTI+ movement started in the 90s. After the oppressive and violent attitude of the 80s, the 90s witnessed many developments and organized movements. As it is quoted from the book *90'larda Lubunya Olmak*;

“The most important feature of the 90s is that the struggle against homophobia and transphobia, which we define today as the ‘LGBTI Movement’, was born” (*90'larda Lubunya Olmak*, 2013: 12).

During this period, various LGBTI+ associations, civil society organizations and publications emerged. Lamdaistanbul in Istanbul, Kaos GL in Ankara, Bilinçli Eşcinseller Topluluğu [Conscious Gays Community] in Eskişehir, Spartaküs in Bursa were founded. Women, on the other hand, were organized under the names of Venüs'ün Kız Kardeşleri [Sisters of Venus] in Istanbul and Sappho'nun Kızları [Sappho's Daughters] in Ankara. At the same time, the student club LEGATO appeared in METU and Boğaziçi universities during this period.

In addition to all these, the police intervened in the Pride March⁴, which was intended to be organized within the scope of Sexual Freedom Week in 1993, and those

⁴ Pride March: The March of Honor is a series of events and ceremonies celebrated around the world at the end of June each year on the anniversary of the “Stonewall Uprising”, with the participation of LGBTI individuals and people supporting LGBTI individuals. A number of events and ceremonies are held to commemorate the “Stonewall Uprising”.

coming from abroad were deported. Also, the governor's office did not give permission to the march in 1995 on the grounds that "it is not suitable for the customs and traditions of the society". In Turkey, Pride could be organized for the first time in 2003. It has been held every year since then. In 1994, a group of male and female homosexuals came together in Ankara and organized in accordance with the release of *Kaos GL* magazine. The prohibitions in 1993 and 95 also led to the establishment of Lambdaistanbul. Another important feature of the 1990s is that *Kaos GL* and Lambdaistanbul started to fight together by uniting. It is a very important development in terms of LGBTI+ movement in Turkey (90'larda Lubunya Olmak, 2013).

"In the '90s, the LGBT movement started to write its own history with the publication of *Kaos GL*, 100% Lesbian and Gay (published by Lambdaistanbul) and *Spartacus* magazines. *Kaos GL* defined itself from an anti-authoritarian, anti-militarist and anti-nationalist position. This definition then spread to the whole movement" (90'larda Lubunya Olmak, 2013: 15).

Some positive steps have been taken with the establishment and active work of LGBTI+ associations and organizations. *Kaos GL Magazine* is the most influential of these formations and with the works of *Kaos GL Magazine*, Turkey became acquainted with the definitions of "hate crime, hate murder" for the first time. At the same time, the first gay and lesbian radio program began airing in Turkey with the establishment of Açık Radyo in 1996. Also, the Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi [Freedom and Solidarity Party] established during this period and it was the first party to address LGBT+ issues. In addition, after the negative response of the applications made by a group of gay activists for the establishment of a Gay and Lesbian Rights Commission in the Human Rights Association Ankara Branch in 1994, *Kaos GL* was established by these activists.

In summary, the 90s are considered a turning point in terms of the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey. During this period, the LGBTI + movement has come a long way in

<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/onur-yuruyusu-nedir-onur-yuruyusu-tarihcesi-40500465>
(Retrieved date: 04.04.2020)

The first Honor March was held simultaneously in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles on June 28, 1970, the first anniversary of the "Stonewall Uprising."

The first "Honor March" in Europe took place in 1972 in Münster, Germany with the participation of 200 people.

<https://t24.com.tr/haber/5-maddede-onur-yuruyusu,664270>
(Retrieved date: 04.04.2020)

social life, while continuing to keep the homosexual culture alive in hammams, parks and cinemas, on the other hand, gay bars continued to be opened in this period.

“The '90s were the years when artists became more encouraged and started to produce direct works in this field regarding homosexuality. This topic has ceased to be "unspeakable" and has become a part of our daily life. This period has been the period that enabled the end of the period in which homosexuality was avoided even being spoken of and to spread its own culture in many areas. Also, representations in the cinema reinforced this spread and visibility” (90’larda Lubunya Olmak, 2013: 17).

In addition to all these developments, the 90s were also the years when LGBTI+ people were subjected to pressure and violence by the state. The Ülker Street Events against transvestites and transsexuals in 1996 constitute the most important example of this. It will be enlightening to talk about Ülker Street events, which is important for Turkey’s LGBTI+ history.

In the '90s, Ülker Street, located between Taksim and Cihangir, was a street where sex worker transvestites and transsexuals lived. These people, who were isolated from their places of residence for various reasons, started to live on Ülker Street as their last stop. Transvestites and transsexuals who lived there for a long time were forced out of their homes in 1996 with the cooperation of the residents of the neighbourhood, Grey Wolves, some associations and the media. The front, which was created against these people who were subjected to violence and had to leave their homes, has taken its place in history as a gang organization that caused these people to be victims, to lose their jobs, their homes and even their lives. The violence used here has also been legitimized through patriarchal norms (honour, nationalism, morality, etc.) and the media in that period also enabled the legitimization of this victimhood.

Looking at the background of the violence on Ülker Street will be enlightening in terms of understanding this exclusion story. What did the cooperation between the residents of the neighbourhood, Beyoğlu and Ayaspaşa Beautification Association, police, Grey Wolves and media serve? It is inevitable to talk about the concept of gentrification here.

“Since the second half of the 20th century, one of the approaches that try to explain spatial and social changes is gentrification. Gentrification, which was first defined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 as the settlement of middle and upper classes in the working-class settlements in London, began to be accepted as the urban strategy of neoliberal urbanism in the 21st century (Smith, 2006). Gentrification, which started in the UK as a local process in the 1960s, has been globalized since the 1980s and 1990s and has spread in many different cities from Western European cities to America, from Mumbai to Istanbul” (Altıntaş, 2016: 117).

Gentrification is the example of the effect of adopting capitalism, which presents everything as an open market, as the important principle of increasing the profit margin on cities. It is presented as the reconstruction of spaces, reconstruction or restoration of buildings and the rearrangement of the district, which are generally subcultural and sub-class living spaces close to city centres. The aim here is to increase the profit margin. The increase in the prices of rents and buildings increases the income from this and creates market competition. Gentrification generally takes the form of a project where construction companies, municipalities, associations belonging to that district and the state work together. This project is perceived as a physical situation, but a cultural transformation should also be mentioned here. In gentrification, which has become a kind of "cleaning" operation, people living in the region are removed from their homes and neighbourhoods.

“Gentrification is a physical, economic, cultural and social occupation of ‘twilight zones’ that were previously inhabited by the working class and shared by many groups. This is usually carried out by middle classes or higher income groups via the expulsion or displacement of their inhabitants” (Ergün, 2004: 392).

In cases which the people of that district resist, people living there are driven away from that area by force. When the "cleaning" operation ends, the region is offered to the middle and upper class which more profit can be made from. This process often causes the confrontation of the poor and middle class and results in the displacement of the poor. It is very important in terms of giving privilege to some classes in this society and understanding that this situation is entirely based on economic and political origins.

“While urban centres are transformed into the living and consumption areas of the middle and upper classes, with practices such as marketing the cities, making them ready for the investments of local and international capital, and reorganizing the city centres to be an attractive area for tourism, lower-income groups, the workers in industry or services with low wages and under bad

conditions, the people that make up the labour force of the informal economy, migrants and asylum-seekers are also expelled from the centre of the city, and central and local governments assume an effective and determining role in these processes (Sönmez, 2014: 43).

The gentrification process in Istanbul is handled in three waves.

“The first wave was experienced in the 1980s on the Bosphorus Coast, where Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy were located, the second wave was in the 1990s in Beyoğlu, where Cihangir, Galata and Asmalımescit were located, and the last one was in the late 1990s in the Golden Horn especially in Fener-Balat districts. Recently, Süleymaniye, Tarlabası, Tophane and Sulukule has been added in this gentrification wave” (Altıntaş, 2016: 118).

Along with the concept of gentrification, it will be more integrative to understand the processes experienced in Ülker Street Events. The confrontation of the groups living in the neighbourhood and the displacement of transsexuals, transvestites and sex workers - because they are in the lower-class positions- through violence and the association of this exile with the project named HABITAT II is a complete example of the concept of gentrification. In addition, who earned their lives on the streets, such as street children, shoe painters and handkerchief sellers were also expelled from the area. Thus, the "cleaning" operation became successful, Ülker Street was made ready for its new middle- and upper-class guests and the property owners became able to raise their rent as they wished. In this whole period, the policy carried out was established using concepts such as "morality, honour, nationalism". not only transsexuals and transvestites, but also other people.

“Moreover, history was always repeating with the same scene. Hypocrisy was always the same. The culture of discrimination and marginalization was the same. So is the limitlessness of violence... This was again legitimized by various sacrednesses. The process of exclusion was turning into a show of heroism" (Selek, 2007: 13).

As Selek mentioned, what happened in Ülker Street was a repetition of the policy that was previously experienced in other districts in Istanbul, aimed at increasing the profit margin by displacing the residents. The media, the state, the police, the residents of the neighbourhood and Grey Wolves all joined forces to legitimize the violence here. As a result of these events, the victims lost their homes, neighbourhoods, friends and jobs, even they lost their lives, but this situation did not take place in any medium. Although this situation contains a lot of state violence and oppression, on the other hand, it is also a very

important period for the LGBTI+ movement in the 90s. The 90s in Turkey are the period when LGBTI+ people made their voices heard in politics, social life and art as a result of their struggles. With the civil society organizations and university clubs founded in the 90s, LGBTI+s started to live more effectively in society. After 1990, LGBTI + started to create its own culture in fields such as art, media and literature. Therefore, it will be enlightening to look at the developments after 1990.

5.2 LGBTI+ Movement from the 1990s to the Present

It is possible to say that the LGBTI+ movement continues to hold the rights it gained in the 90s and to struggle. LGBTI+s, who have existed since the beginning of humanity and had to deal with many problems in various societies and various periods, still have to struggle today. Although the need for struggle differs from geography to geography, LGBTI+s can still exist only as ‘the other’ in many places today.

The situation is not very different in Turkey. Although the pressures of the '80s and the resistance of the '90s caused some changes, LGBTI+ people still have to hide themselves in most areas of society. They still experience exclusion both in business life, family relations and social life, and they have to live by creating themselves as a subculture. While homosexual women and men have to deal with their social problems by not revealing their orientation, the situation is different for transsexuals. Especially transsexual women who are isolated from business life are generally treated as if sex work is the only alternative for them, and these people are forced to do this job. The problem is that no alternative is created or even allowed for these people and their right to work is restrained. This is serviced by the media as an ordinary situation and also reproduced by normalizing. Since 2015, the emergence of the negative attitudes and prohibitions and violent police interventions to the pride marches, which held annually every year in Turkey, can be cited as an example of this situation.

In addition to all these, although the oppressive environment has not changed, LGBTI+ people continue to struggle. It can be said that with LGBTI+ students clubs in many universities, associations and non-governmental organizations, more published books and magazines, academic studies on this subject, cinema films, theatre plays, radio

programs, LGBTI+ celebrities in the media, the venues and various activities held there, the ways are sought to stand against the authority trying to digest the LGBTI+ culture and history.



6. GENDER

In this section where the concept of gender is explained, firstly, Prof. Dr. Zehra Yaşın Dökmen's book *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sosyal Psikolojik Açıklamalar* [Gender & Social Psychological Explanations] will be used. The first edition of the book was published in 2004 and the tenth edition was published in 2019. In this book, Dökmen examined the concept of gender in six perspectives: basic concepts, related theories, gender stereotypes and gender roles, mass media and gender roles, the relationship of the differences between men and women with reality, gender stereotypes and the consequences of gender roles. Secondly, Sociologist Assoc. Dr. Feryal Saygılıgil's book *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tartışmaları* [Gender Discussions], in which 16 authors have articles on gender, will be used. The book was published in 2006. Finally, Sociologist Assoc. Dr. Celalettin Vatandaş's article *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsiyet Rollerinin Algılanışı* [Perception of Gender and Gender Roles], published in 2011, will be used.

In order to understand the concept of gender, it may be useful to first look at the meanings and differences of the concepts of sex and gender. Sex is used to describe the biological status assigned to individuals at birth and by looking at their reproductive organs. There are two categories: these are the biological sexes defined as male and female. Unlike the biological sex assigned by birth, gender, on the other hand, refers to a social structure that determines the behaviours of "being a woman" and "like a woman", "being a man" and "being like a man", shaping people's behaviours and thoughts according to their biological sex. Unlike sex, gender is not a biological but a sociological phenomenon. It is created by society and culture. It survives and reproduces itself as a long process that affects the colour of the ID cards of newborn babies, the goods bought for the babies, their upbringing, the professions they choose, their thinking and behaviour. The separation of the concepts of sex and gender from each other and the scientific studies carried out on this subject began in the 1970s in the world, but it came to Turkey in the 1990s.

“The term sex refers to the biological aspect of being a woman or a man and corresponds to a biological structure. Sex is a demographic category determined based on the individual's biological sex. The sex written on people's ID cards corresponds to the meaning of this term. The term gender refers to the meanings and expectations imposed by society and culture to be man or woman; it meets a cultural structure and includes psychological features that are generally associated with the biological structure of the individual. Gender is the psychosocial characteristics that characterize the individual as feminine and masculine” (Rice, 1996 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 20).

Gender can be considered as a concept that accepts the binary system consisting of man and woman as the norm. The acceptance of this binary system as the norm paves the way for other people who are born male, whose gender identity is a man and who is not heterosexual in society, to be marginalized and in a secondary position. The reason for this subordination and marginalization is gender-based and patriarchal thinking. Because of the structure whose subject is heterosexual men and that accepts the gender binary system as the norm, in such societies in addition to women, people with different sexual orientations and gender identity are excluded and face many problems in the society.

“Gender is also determinant in the status of people with different sexual orientations in society. The sexist perspective manifests itself at every stage of daily life, in determining the labour force in the labour market, situations such as a woman or an LGBTI individual getting lower wages or hardly getting a job than a man doing the same job, exclusion or limited involvement in politics, in short, at all levels of the private and public sphere” (Saygılıgil, 2016: 7).

The fact that gender roles are not determinant in the sexual orientation of people means that every woman and man is not always "feminine" and "masculine" as expected. The behaviours or femininity and masculinity of the individuals do not provide reasons and certainty for them to fall into other categories. In summary, not every man who is described as feminine is necessarily gay. Likewise, not all masculine women maybe lesbians. The problems experienced by LGBTI+ people are related to these categories.

“Fausto-sterling (1998) opposes the categorization of people as necessarily male or female; according to him, it is not enough to think of people as belonging to one of the sexes, some people's biological structures may not fit into this binary system. Fausto-sterling emphasizes that five sexes can be mentioned. In addition to males and females, there are biologically both male and female (hermaphrodites), predominantly male but also female (male pseudohermaphrodites), and predominantly female but also have male characteristics (female pseudohermaphrodites)” (Fausto-sterling, 1998 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 21).

It will be enlightening to examine the differences between the concepts of sex and gender. There are many examples that can make men and women think that they are very different from each other. Looking at social norms, it can be seen that women are more emotional, caring and compassionate and men are more cold-blooded, independent and self-ordained in general. Based on these thoughts, very clear boundaries are drawn between men and women in every field of society and the distribution of roles that affect the survival of men and women emerges. The certainty and accuracy of these differences should be discussed.

Biologically, it is possible to talk about some biological differences between male and female. XX and XY chromosomes found in male and female are sex chromosomes. XX is found in females, XY in males. These chromosomes regulate the reproductive organs, their functions, and hormones. These are called differences based on primary sex characteristics. In addition, physical differences between male and female, such as voice and breast differences are called differences based on secondary sex characteristics. At the same time, male and female may differ among themselves depending on secondary sex characteristics. These differences are biological and materially traceable differences. But gender is not like these differences. Together with the socialization process, it is the result of a cultural process that determines the “appropriate” behaviour, feelings, attitudes and roles of boys and girls according to their sex. Gender differences are determined by society and culture and may differ from culture to culture. In summary, gender is formed when society imposes “appropriate” and “right” patterns on individuals and reproduces itself in every generation.

“Biological sex differences are not learned; they are the differences observed between male and female in terms of innate characteristics. Gender differences are the differences observed between people in terms of the characteristics learned and acquired during the socialization process. Gender differences show some changes from individual to individual, from culture to culture” (Dökmen, 2019: 25).

When talking about the formation of gender, it will also be enlightening to talk about gender roles and stereotypes. Roles refer to the rules that are assigned to people in the society they live in and that affect and direct their responsibilities, privileges and relationships with other people, by expected to be treated in accordance with those roles. A person has more than one role in the community. For example, the fact that women are usually mothers, spouses, nurses, teachers, etc., and men are usually fathers, police, pilots,

etc., can be an example of this situation. These roles are effective in all of the professions in the society, relationships within and outside the family, and relations established with the social environment. Gender roles are effective in pointing out the roles assigned to individuals by addressing the differences between men and women. These gender-based roles can be thought of as being a woman, acting like a woman, assuming the roles assigned to a woman or being a man, being like a man, and assuming the roles assigned to a man.

Stereotypes, on the other hand, can be defined as the adoption of a set of expectations and beliefs towards a particular group. Dökmen quotes the stereotypes from Franzoi as follows:

“The tendency of people from various groups such as race, sex, region, nationality and profession groups to be thought of as showing the same characteristics by categorizing them, even though they actually display various characteristics, is called stereotyped thinking” (Franzoi, 1996 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 31).

One of the most influential categories of these stereotypes is sex. Here people are divided into two separate groups as men and women. Certain characteristics are attributed to both sexes.

“The characteristics that society expects women as a group and men as a group to demonstrate are called gender stereotypes” (Franzoi, 1996 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 32).

While these stereotypes attribute passive, caring, affectionate, emotional, etc. characteristics to women, they can attribute active, strong, successful, independent, cool-blooded, etc. characteristics to men. These stereotypes start in the family and continue in the school and social environment. Mass media are very effective in reproducing this perception. It is possible to say that television broadcasts, children's books, books, magazines, newspapers, series and video clips, and cinema also play a major role in the production and maintenance of this perception. In the following sections, the contribution of the mass media to the reproduction of the concept of gender will be discussed. But before moving on to this subject, it will be illuminating to examine gender in more depth.

Gender as a variable is addressed and studied by many disciplines. Along with psychology, it is also the subject of sociology, anthropology, social psychology and now social sciences. Many studies have been done on the concept of gender and these studies are still ongoing today. Considering gender only based on sex, considering it only as of the subject of psychology or considering it separately from the political economy context causes this concept to be ‘naturalized’ and perceived as ‘natural’ and reinforces this concept.

“Since psychology was closed to all the diversity of human beings until recently, it can be mentioned that it does not take into account the differences of race, class, culture, age, sexual orientation, etc., as well as gender. (Burn, 1996) In most of the classical studies, samples were composed only of men. Most of the important experiments conducted in the West have been carried out with only data from middle-class white men” (Dökmen, 2019: 36).

Standardizing men's behaviour as the behaviour of all people in gender studies until today undermines the reliability and accuracy of the studies. This situation is similar to the fact that the people who were selected as samples for LGBTI+ studies described in the first section were generally selected from mental hospitals or prisons and supported the reinforcement of stereotypes.

Considering the history of the field of social psychology, where gender studies are most intense, it is seen that it has passed through several periods.

“Previously (in the early 1900s), gender was considered only as a subject variable, the differences between men and women were considered as individual differences, and femininity and masculinity were tried to be measured similar to other similar differences. From the 1930s to the 1970s, gender was seen as a one-dimensional psychological feature reflected in personality. There is masculinity at one end of this dimension and femininity at the other. After the 1970s, the idea of femininity and masculinity as a single dimension was opposed, it was accepted that femininity and masculinity were independent of each other and the widely accepted concept of androgyny⁵ was put forward. In the 1980s, gender began to be viewed as a social category and gender was considered as a process, not a permanent personality trait. From this point of view, gender is considered as a dynamic and situational characteristic, and the differences between men and women are determined by considering their relative prestige and power in society. It is accepted that such social realities affect how the individual thinks, acts and feels. In the 1990s, new theories addressing gender at the interpersonal level or the self-level were added to many previous theories, and the self-concept started to dominate” (Dökmen, 2019: 39).

⁵ Androgyny is a term formed by combining the words "andro" meaning male in Greek and "gyne" meaning female; it is an expression of opposition to the traditional feminine and masculine categories and that people can be both feminine and masculine (Bem, 1993). People who show both feminine and masculine characteristics at a high level are called androgynous (Dökmen, 2019: 74).

Gender is encountered as a concept that has hosted different views in different periods. Many different disciplines and theories have tried to explain gender. Some theories suggest that gender is biologically based or in the context of human nature, while others have argued that it emerges in a sociological context. However, gender is not a biological-based or an innate feature, but a way of thinking, feeling and behaving imposed by society.

6.1 Stereotypes, Prejudices, Discrimination and Gender

Stereotypes are beliefs that adopt the characteristics and behaviours of a group in the most general sense. It is possible to say that these beliefs may not be related to reality, they may be attributed to that group by society, and they are generally so. Prejudices are formed not only based on gender but also based on language, religion, race, colour, ethnic origin, sexual orientation and gender identity. Stereotypes serve a sort of marginalizing function in society, cannot be changed easily, and are reproduced in society, family, school, social relations and especially in the media. Dökmen describes the stereotypes and their formation as follows:

“There are stereotypes regarding various groups. By categorizing people based on gender, race, religion and sexual orientation, etc., some stereotypes have been developed about them. These stereotypes greatly shape perceptions and interactions about other people. Gender stereotypes are one of them. Gender stereotypes can form the basis for gender prejudices” (Dökmen, 2019: 98).

Prejudice is another concept that emerges similar to stereotypes. In conjunction with each other, prejudice is a negative attitude, thought, and behaviour pattern towards a group as stereotypes. It is generally aimed at the group rather than the individual. Marshall describes prejudice as follows:

“Prejudice is most commonly about the negative beliefs and thoughts of members of one community towards members of another. Prejudice is characterized by stereotyped beliefs that are not tested against reality, but rather have to do with a person’s own feelings and attitudes” (Marshall, 1999: 559).

Stereotypes and prejudices are in a relationship that feeds and breeds each other. Another concept that should be emphasized here is discrimination. Discrimination can be defined as the transformation of prejudices and stereotypes into behavioural situations. It is a form of behaviour that turns into actions in accordance with stereotypes and prejudices towards an individual or a group. These behaviours can again occur based on religion, language, race, sexual orientation or gender identity. The negative attitudes, thoughts and behaviours that LGBTI+ people are exposed to are the examples of this situation (Dökmen, 2019).

Stereotypes and prejudices also affect the formation of gender prejudices and gender discrimination. Gender prejudices and gender discrimination will be explained in the following heading.

6.2 Gender Prejudices and Gender Discrimination

Gender prejudices are unrealistic beliefs and expectations based on men and women. It expresses beliefs about the discourses that determine what differences there should be between men and women in the society, and how they behave and think. Gender prejudices towards women are higher than that of men.

Gender discrimination is the fact that women are kept in a lower position than men in many areas such as work, education, social and economic life in patriarchal societies, and this situation negatively affects the lives of women in the mentioned areas. The term sexism is also used for gender discrimination. Dökmen quotes gender discrimination against women from Sakallı and Uğurlu as follows:

“It is defined as keeping women in lower positions compared to men in social, cultural, political and economic fields as a result of the reflection of negative attitudes towards women as discrimination in life in male-dominated society” (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2002 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 117).

Sexism towards women occurs in two ways. The first is defined as “hostile sexism” where a discriminatory perspective prevails that women are kept inferior to men and men

are portrayed as agents and women as passive and dependent. The second is “benevolent sexism”. Benevolent sexism has discourses formed with so-called positive thoughts that portray women as “a being that needs to be protected, loved and glorified”, but actually express that women are weaker and at a lower level compared to men. However, both situations overlap on the basis of discriminatory discourses that portray women dependent on men and weaker (Dökmen, 2019: 117-118). This situation occurs in women's education, career choice, business and social life. As a result of this, it is seen that there are women who cannot have the profession they want or cannot get the chance to rise sufficiently because the professions are selected according to gender. Examples of sexism in social life, such as the fact that there are more women than men who have less or no education, that girls are not admitted to certain schools, or that they do not receive equal payment despite doing the same job.

Even though sexism seems to have decreased due to factors such as women's entering into business life, obtaining their own rights, and being able to live an independent life, it still exists in different ways. Although sexism has not disappeared, it has declined and changed shape. Although these gender stereotypes vary from society to society, they are being progressed not very clear anymore. Dökmen explains transforming of sexism as follows:

“While old-fashioned sexism involves inquiries about women's mental competence, modern sexism involves less susceptibility to women's issues. These two are interrelated, so those with modern sexist beliefs are likely to carry traditional beliefs about women. Besides, modern sexists consider women's experiences in workplaces to be different, and they perceive more equality in workplaces than it really is: they more often think that gender differences may be due to individual reasons rather than gender discrimination or gender prejudices. These perceptions result in not supporting the social and political changes to be made to improve the situation of women” (Dökmen, 2019: 123).

Although gender prejudices and sexism are not seen explicitly, they exist implicitly. Many areas, secretly and indirectly, are the monopoly of men. Although gender prejudices and stereotypes are predominantly towards women, it is a situation that causes men to encounter certain problems. It can be said that the roles assigned to men and women by the society force people to many things and prevent them from acting according to their own desires. This situation causes both men and women to experience some physical, mental and social problems. Dökmen conveys the prejudice and sexism at the root of the problems

that these people experience due to the social roles assigned to both men and women which are created by these stereotypes as follows:

“It is possible to see these stereotypes, prejudices and sexism based on the various physical and mental problems of women and men, and their encounters with problems in home, education, work and social life” (Dökmen, 2019: 131).

Gender roles affect the lives of men and women in professions and job distribution as in many other fields. The choice of profession and job distribution, in which women are mostly affected negatively, will be examined under the following heading.

6.3 Gender Roles, Professions and Job Distribution

Gender roles and the formation of these roles have been mentioned above. In addition to this, it will be enlightening to explain the subject by giving examples. It was mentioned that gender is cultural and there are roles assigned by the society based on gender. The roles generally attributed to men and women affect the lives of these people in many areas. Although gender is a learned situation, it can be said that it starts with the roles assigned to a baby before it is born. After learning the gender of the baby, the preparation process in the family starts. For example, this situation starts with raising girls as it should be, by supporting the feelings, behaviours and attitudes accordingly, and purchasing appropriate toys and dressing them properly. Likewise, boys go through the same process. Therefore, babies are born into this order, and as this situation begins in the family and continues with the school and social environment, the child internalizes this in time and shapes their life accordingly, thinks and acts as expected, even chooses his profession according to their 'gender'. This is a lifelong situation. In his article titled *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsiyet Rollerinin Algılanışı* [Perception of Gender and Gender Roles], Celalettin Vatandaş describes the gender-based order and people's internalization of the concept of gender as follows:

“Despite the radical changes affecting the lives of societies and the effects of the industrial and the information society, gender prejudices continue to exist with practices that separate women from men” (Vatandaş, 2007: 39).

One of the clearest examples of this is the choice of profession. Discourses that distinguish men and women from each other in the choice of profession are built by society and internalized by men and women, thus, affect the choices in people's lives. Vatandaş conveys the mentality that includes discrimination against women regarding the choice of profession as follows:

“In the dimension of the division of labour reflected in the public sphere, the representation status and positions of the sexes in professions are not based on equality, but based on difference and even discrimination. Although it is debatable whether these differences in professions are in favour of men, there is no doubt that they are mostly against women” (Vatandaş, 2007: 42).

In fact, this situation is assimilated in such a way that professions are thought to have gender. A female pilot does not come to mind when a pilot is mentioned, or the possibility that a firefighter could be a woman is not considered at all. On the contrary, when a nurse or a secretary is mentioned, a male nurse or secretary does not come to mind. Dökmen describes the assignment of gender to professions and its influence on people's choices as follows:

“First of all, there are problems in recruiting women in some fields. While a woman can work in any field, however, some fields are found suitable for women. Professions such as teaching, psychology, pharmacy can be considered among the professions that are more suitable for women” (Dökmen, 2019: 203).

Although women participate in working life and do the same job as men, they face problems such as not being able to rise and not get equal pay. In some sectors, women are not even hired. This situation is referred to as the "glass ceiling effect".

“Women rarely rise in the management hierarchy of the organization in which they work. They encounter existing obstacles that cannot be directly observed; thus, they cannot rise. This situation is described as the glass ceiling effect (Tabak, 1997). The term ‘glass ceiling’ does not mean not being able to rise due to an individual inadequacy, but not being raised just because of being a woman, so towards the top of the hierarchy the number of women decreases or even zeroes. In the studies, glass ceiling effect is determined by examining the salaries, the number and rate of women at the management level, and the real incentives, etc.” (Dökmen, 2019: 204).

Similar to the inability to make progress in the career and job for women, when looking at the responsibilities in the division of labour and child care in the home, these responsibilities are often considered as if they are the duty of women permanently and “naturally”, and women have also internalized taking on these housework responsibilities. Vatandaş conveys the basis of this distinction as follows:

“According to the widely accepted approach that links the reason for the separation in domestic work in terms of sexes to the physiological characteristics of the sexes, gender roles have emerged long ago, especially due to fundamental physiological differences between women and men. Women's being pregnant, bearing children, and feeding and bringing up them forms a basis to that distinction. In primitive times, unlike today, women were either pregnant or caring for children for much of their adult life. Even very much healthy women experienced some limitation in their actions during and after pregnancy. Moreover, they have to be close to their children while they are feeding them. If we add to this the relatively more physical strength of men and the speed of running, the fact that the works that require travelling, strength or endurance are done by men rather than women was naturally formed by the current conditions. Thus, while men became hunters, shepherds or warriors, women stayed at home, took care of the children, did agriculture and ran housework. This differentiation of roles has spread over time to all aspects of life. After all, while men are generally seen as brave, strong, independent and adventurous (qualities necessary for hunting and fighting); women, on the other hand, started to be seen as warm, passive, quiet and caregivers (useful qualities at home and in childcare)” (Vatandaş, 2007: 38).

This distinction may be appropriate for the conditions of the period, but today conditions have changed considerably in social, cultural, political and economic terms. Despite these changes, the perception of domestic work as feminine in the long term and the fact that women internalize it and mostly do not share it with men can be thought to stem from the tendency to consider the interior of the home as their own domain of domination and to see their knowledge, skills and experiences about housework as their own gains. This internalized situation creates an area that supports the concept of gender.

In her study on sharing domestic work with female and male university students, Dökmen quotes from a female university student about the established idea that this responsibility belongs to women as follows:

“It is seen as if things at home are my mother's and my duties. And we are so identified with them that when we disrupt them once, it immediately catches the eye. They have so adopted that housework is our duty, therefore all the work we do is taken for granted and found easy. Not appreciated. For example, when I clean the house, only my mother thanks. This causes household chores to become unappealing and put pressure on me” (Dökmen, 2019: 191).

Although women also work outside the home, they are held responsible for domestic work, setting the ground for the increase in women's workload and the exploitation of their labour in shared responsibilities. In addition, the claims that the home repair works are men's job and women do not "know about" these works or that men's "not doing the cleaning, cooking, etc. good enough" and their "failure in child care" are also related to gender prejudices and stereotypes created.

"The variety and frequency of these works will, of course, vary from house to house and according to the preference of those who do/consume these things, but one of the situations that does not change is that women and men do not take equal responsibility at home in doing these things" (Dökmen, 2019: 194).

Men and women are sharply separated from each other in many areas due to these stereotypes and gender discrimination. These certain boundaries lay the groundwork for creating stereotypes and prejudices for other groups in society, especially for LGBTI+s. Vatandaş conveys the perception of stereotypes and prejudices based on separating the genders from each other with strict boundaries and the social problems experienced by those who are not included in this, through transsexuals as follows:

"Stereotypes and prejudices do not allow any confusion of behaviours, roles and attitudes that differ from each other based on gender; it does not tolerate such confusion and immediately reacts to negligence or indifference in this matter. Difficulties experienced by transsexuals in the social dimension are an important example in terms of showing the sensitivity and power of social control shaped in the context of the issue" (Vatandaş, 2007: 31).

Almost all children born into this order are segregated and raised in certain patterns and this situation is passed on to future generations. Thus, gender stereotypes are always reproduced in society.

Important factors in the production of gender stereotypes are stated as family, school, social environment, etc. In addition to these, mass media play an important role in this process. It initiates the reproduction of these stereotypes and their presentation to society. In the following subtitle, the relationship of the media with the concept of gender will be examined.

6.4 Media and Reproduction of Gender

Mass media is the name given to media organs that reach masses such as radio, television, cinema, magazines and newspapers. It is a very effective way of communication in terms of reaching large masses.

Mass media has an importance that shapes the world-view and affects knowledge and perception. Along with the perception of society, its attitudes and thoughts are also shaped through the media. At this point, it is not possible to escape from the media which is vital anymore. It becomes impossible to escape for the people from the media due to the constant exposure to the visual, auditory and written contents every day that they encountered everywhere in a way that reached up to a level of social imposition. Under favour of smartphones, billboards and the internet as well as tools such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines, the media diversifies and reproduces the content people encounter in every step of their lives.

In this section, the way the media presents gender stereotypes will be examined. It is important that the media present who and how, with which patterns, and with what roles it represents girls and boys, women and men. Dökmen describes the gender-based representations of the media, how and to what extent women and men are shown in the media as follows:

“The way the mass media portrays men and women, boys and girls can be regarded as a standard in both children and adolescents and adults and can be referenced for judgments about what is normal and desirable in life; people can form their attitudes and behaviours by taking these into account rather than their own experiences. Therefore, the issue of how and to what extent women and men are shown in mass media, in which roles and behaviours they display, gains importance” (Dökmen, 2019: 134).

It is almost impossible for people to avoid the influence of the mass media. Television, in particular, is the most accessible medium and is present in almost every home. Television provides information flow as well as being an entertainment element. Along with television, advertisements are inevitably the contents that people are exposed to. Also, advertisements can be regarded as the most effective and broad market of the capitalist order. Advertisements that shape consumption habits prove that everything has

become a sellable product. In this consumption-oriented social order, advertisements take up a very large area and cannot be avoided.

When TV broadcasts are taken into consideration, it is revealed that the streaming schedule is prepared for the audience. While the programs and advertisements in the daytime target women who are not working, the programs in the evening are more aimed at the family. The TV schedule for two different channels, Star TV and Fox TV, are shaped in this direction as seen below.

“Star TV Stream Schedule

01:30 Yüksek Sosyete (R⁶) / Romantic Comedy
 03:20 Dolunay (R) / Other
 05:00 Güzel Köylü (R) / Comedy
 07:00 Mesut Yar ile Bugün / News
 09:20 Evde Hareket Zamanı (R) / Other
 10:10 Dolunay (R) / Other
 13:30 Yüksek Sosyete (R) / Romantic Comedy
 16:00 Güzel Köylü (R) / Comedy
 18:30 Star Haber / News
 20:00 Büyük Oyun / Action Film
 21:45 Büyük Oyun / Action Film
 23:30 Medcezir (R) / Drama

Fox TV Stream Schedule

01:30 Her Yerde Sen (R) / National
 03:30 Zühal Topal'la Sofrada (R) / Competition
 05:30 Aşk Yeniden (R) / Romantic Comedy
 08:00 Çalar Saat / News
 10:45 Çağla ile Yeni Bir Gün / Life Style
 12:45 Yaparsın Aşkım (R) / Competition
 16:15 Bay Yanlış (R) / Romantic Comedy

⁶ R: Rerun

19:00 Fox Ana Haber / News

20:00 Bay Yanlıř / Romantic Comedy

22:30 Bay Yanlıř (R) /Romantic Comedy”

(<https://www.tvyayinakisi.com/star-tv-yayin-akisi/> <https://www.tvyayinakisi.com/fox-yayin-akisi/>)
Retrieved date: 03.07.2020

As seen in TV schedule examples, the target audience at different times of the day is certain. Regardless of the target audience, the concept of gender can be found in all broadcasts. There are gender stereotypes in every production, including cartoons. Thus, it is possible to say that children learn and internalize gender stereotypes, the roles of women and men in society, the distribution of professions from television, as well as from their families.

“A great bias has been observed in the presentation of men and women in programs for both adults and children (Golombok & Fivush, 1996): in general, women and men are shown differently in television programs. Despite being equal in the general population, men appear twice as often as women on television, and women who are featured on television are not typical women. Women who do not have a profession or women in swimsuits, nightgowns are featured more. Similar situations have been observed in television programs for children; for example, in most cartoons the hero is male, there are hardly any women; The majority of female heroes featured are desperate or dependent on men” (Golombok & Fivush, cited in Dökmen, 2019: 134).

As can be seen in the examples given, when looking at the media texts on television, the representations of women and men are quite different from each other. In terms of both the visibility of men and women on television and the roles assigned to gender, it is seen that stereotypes are very common in these texts. Representations produced in this way provide the reproduction of gender in the same way. Looking at stereotypes, women are presented to society in two different ways. In the first model, a woman is represented by features being wife, mother, generally unemployed housewife, passive, dependent on man, moral, etc. These women are the women who are appreciated by the society, “in accordance with the traditional family structure” as they are expected to be. These are the representations especially emerged in Turkey’s TV series productions. In the second model, the woman is often prominent with sexual attraction, even though she has gained her economic freedom by working, she is still somewhat dependent on the man - usually emotionally passive. Unlike the "moral" women who are mostly mothers and wives, these women are portrayed as a deviation from the family model who are in the

forefront with their physical appearance and who live by prioritizing their feminine characteristics or refuse to bear children and focus on their career. Regarding the public portrayal of women who are negatively represented in this way, the audience generally develops negative attitudes towards these women. Ultimately, women represented in this way are either tamed or punished in the story. With these representation policies, representations that will reproduce conservative thinking towards women are created and society's expectations are shaped in this direction. Saygılıgil conveys the negative presentations in the representations of women outside of the ideal woman perception envisaged by the society, especially in the series for the family, from İmançer as follows:

“In family-oriented TV series, no form of violence is used in the resolution of disputes between men and women, but women characters who deviate from the ideal family model envisaged by the society are tamed through personal misfortunes and the disasters they suffer” (İmançer, 2006 cited in Saygılıgil, 216: 173).

In such representations, the audience generally develops negative attitudes towards these women. Contrary to “moral” female representation, the possibility of adopting unwanted, unappreciated and marginalized representations arises. The most striking situation here is the acceptance of “men” as the symbol of authority on television and the presentation of the female body to the audience by commodifying it. How the body is presented to the audience by objectifying it with certain techniques - camera angles, camera movements, etc. - is again measured by norms determined by men. Classified female representations are presented with roles determined by male-dominated thought.

“In most of the television programs, especially in entertainment and competition programs, it is observed that women take part in supporting roles and generally serve the purpose of increasing the rating of the program by showing their bodies. The display of women's bodies in television programs seems to be related to the face-ism phenomenon shown by Archer et al. (1983, as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). The term face-ism refers to the fact that men are depicted more with their heads and less with their bodies in the media, whereas women are, conversely, depicted more with their bodies and less with their heads. Among the television programs, it is possible to see many examples that define women not with their mental abilities but with their physical appearance” (Dökmen, 2019: 134-135).

As Dökmen conveys, the concept of face-ism serves gender-based thinking in the media. In this way, although women are less involved in the media and are at the forefront with their bodies when they appear, the fact that men are more involved in the media and depicted with their intelligence and success rather than their bodies foster a sexist

structuring against women. Although this problem is not limited to television broadcasts, the most common form is encountered in television broadcasts. This subordination towards women also occurs for those who are outside the gendered structure in society. Along with being not seen much in television broadcasts, LGBTI+s, who found the opportunity to be represented in a way, are presented similarly in accordance with this subordination. Many local TV series that take place almost every evening in every channel constitute examples of presentations based on these gender stereotypes and these media texts are regularly consumed by society every day.

“The TV series that present the values of the society to the audience also plays an important role in the continuation of the gender roles we often encounter in social life. For example, the sexist division of labour finds its place in local TV series. Although women have a profession in TV series, even if they are university graduates, they are positioned within the family or home. Because the belief that a woman should prioritize the qualities of a housewife or mother is common in society. The female characters represented in the patriarchal structure in the TV series are used as a tool for reproducing the ongoing traditional discourses” (Saygılıgil, 2016: 172).

As Saygılıgil stated, gender roles are represented in the patriarchal structure. This structure, which is carried out on the values attributed to women especially, creates the "ideal" of the dominant ideology in society and affects people's perceptions. The broadcasts where this is done most frequently are family-oriented TV series. However, this situation is not only valid for TV series. Likewise, it is possible to encounter gender stereotypes in advertisements. Advertisements are the means to persuade societies to consume and they undertake the promotion and marketing of the product to be sold. Therefore, many factors are taken into consideration such as the time the ad will be shown, the consumer audience, etc. Referring to some studies that examine the relationship between advertisements and gender, Dökmen describes how advertisements feed this gendered structure:

“In advertisements, it is emphasized that, with the purchase of the product, men will make a progress socially or professionally and women, on the other hand, will like their families and men more” (Dökmen, 2019: 136).

Women are also less shown in advertisements than men, and they generally play secondary roles. While women are usually presented as consumers in advertisements, men are featured as the "authority" and generally, young women play in the advertisements.

Besides, while men are mostly depicted in outdoor environments, workplaces and as business owners, women are generally seen in the home environment (Dökmen, 2019: 136-137).

Along with television and advertisements, all media texts such as newspapers and magazines, music videos, children's books, cartoons also contain gender stereotypes. Saygılıgil describes the production of the gendered view in these media content as follows:

“Media follows patriarchal representation strategies in its social gender presentations. Women are represented as objects in TV series, news, programs, advertisements etc. ... The woman is presented either in traditional roles or as a sexual object. By showing this dual structure, the message of which role she should adopt is given to the woman. The commodification of women in the media causes women to be de-identified, subordinated in society, seen as an object of consumption and triggers the production of a discriminatory language in the media (Saygılıgil, 2016: 170).

Compared to women, men are featured much more in newspapers and magazines. In addition, topics such as good housewifery and childcare are included in women's magazines, in accordance with traditional women's stereotypes. In some tabloid magazines published in some studies until the '90s, men are depicted in works such as repairs and gardens, while women are depicted in works such as housework and child care (Dökmen, 2019: 140). These representations also feed the gender stereotypes that imprison women in the home. With the 1990s, these forms of representation have changed and now men are being shown in works such as childcare and housework (Dökmen, 2019: 140). Although there were a few changes during this period, gender stereotypes did not disappear completely. These stereotypes are also encountered in all types of publications that include representation, such as cartoons and music clips. While female sexuality is highlighted in cartoons, music videos also do not differ, and women are portrayed similarly. Women's sexuality and body are prioritized (Dökmen, 2019: 139-140).

As can be seen in all these media contents, the gender-based patriarchal structure is encountered in every medium. In addition to women, the patriarchal society and the media maintain their taming or discriminatory attitude towards LGBTI+s, whom they exclude from their "ideal". LGBTI+ people generally do not appear in mainstream media. When they take place, they are also shown in negative positions in accordance with the patriarchal media's own discourse. Everyone who jeopardizes the media ideal, the “family” model, is presented by the media with discriminatory attitudes. The family, which is

accepted as a value glorified by capitalism and patriarchal social structure, is considered as the sacred of the period which we live in. These discourses, which are loaded on the concept of the marriage institution and the family and constitute the ideal of the dominant ideology, foster marginalizing discourses and attitudes towards heterosexual people or LGBTI+ people who do not marry or want to found a family. These discourses, which the dominant ideology assigns as "normal" and "abnormal", also negatively affect LGBTI+ people who want to get married. This creates a situation against human rights for LGBTI+s who cannot legally marry. The idea that a family cannot be founded without being heterosexual is an extremely discriminatory and reproductive-oriented discourse. Ultimately, heterosexuals who do not want to marry or LGBTI+ people who want to marry are marginalized in society due to the general perception of the "ideal family model" and the reflections of alternative lifestyles in the media are realized with negative representations on this basis.

According to Saygılıgil:

“In the patriarchal social order, figures that deviate from dominant gender values are doomed to fail. A homosexual figure can never start a family. The negative evaluation of homosexuality is camouflaged by the adoption of the 'family' lifestyle” (Saygılıgil, 2006: 174).

In summary, the effect of media on society is a fact that cannot be ignored. The media that is exposed since childhood has an important place in people's lives. For this reason, when looking at the presentations of men and women, although this situation varies from society to society and from culture to culture, generally women are depicted in a weak, passive and inferior position compared to men. With the continuation of this situation, these stereotypes transfer themselves from generation to generation. In societies established and maintained with patriarchal values, gender stereotypes, unfortunately, affect all people, especially women, in most areas of their lives. In order to reduce the effects of gender roles, gender discrimination and gender prejudices and to ensure that these concepts lose their effects, instead of ensuring that mass media and content producers reproduce these conventional discourses and situations, they need to evaluate women and men based on reality, present the genders in accordance with the truth without confining them to categories and roles, and they should get rid of these stereotypes.

These supposed differences between men and women are imposed on society in all mediums such as family, school, social life and the media. The studies about whether these differences exist or how much they are will be examined under the following subtitle by taking reference from Dökmen.

6.5 Research on the Differences Between Men and Women

It was mentioned that the differences between men and women are a subject studied by many disciplines. Revealing these differences socially is effective for both sides in all matters throughout life. The assumed difference affects many areas such as family, work, social life and bilateral relations of women and men, and it is effective in shaping people's lives and making decisions. The answer to the question “Do these differences really exist?” can be enlightening in understanding the issue of gender.

It was mentioned that there are innate, bodily and hormonal biological differences between men and women. These biological differences are differences that come with sex and are important for various biological factors. Hormonal and physical differences fall under primary and secondary sex differences. It should be noted that evaluating these primary and secondary sex differences as “normal” or “ordinary” is a comment that generally excludes non-binary, genderqueer or transgender people who do not feel belonging to either sex.

Except for physical and biological differences, all other differences are purely social and cultural. The concept of gender is also formed by social and cultural patterns. It is seen that the “anticipated” gender-based differences between men and women are effective in matters such as choice of profession, education, skills, social areas and bilateral relations. The relationship of these assumptions with reality continues to be a problematic area. All of these views are socially and culturally coded and they are not related to reality. It may be enlightening to give examples on the subject with the studies conducted on this subject. When it comes to comparing the two sexes, Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990) express them on two grounds. These are called “similarities approach” and “differences approach”. The first type of error that can be fell into during the hypothesis testing process

in the research was called alpha bias⁷, and the second was beta bias⁸. Pointing out that these two approaches of Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990) have common aspects, Dökmen states as follows:

“Both take the male as the standard of comparison, see gender as characteristics of individuals, not as all relationships of men and women, and they neither oppose the gender hierarchy nor goes beyond the status quo. According to Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990), gender is not a characteristic of individuals, it is a socially determined relationship, a process and a social construction” (cited in Dökmen, 2019: 145).

In summary, in the similarities approach of these two approaches, women and men are quite similar to each other in terms of mental and social skills. In the differences approach, it is claimed that men and women are completely different from each other. When both approaches are taken into account, no conclusion has been reached that the differences exist with certainty and are proven.

Examining the studies, it can be seen that various methods are used when investigating gender differences (experimental, correlational, longitudinal scanning, etc.), but as it should be in every study, one must be careful when investigating gender differences. Choosing the research group, deciding on the research method, not ignoring cultural diversity (race, social class, etc.), and evaluating the data correctly and objectively are important. Incorrect and biased inferences or interpretations may result in the transmission of incorrect information to society and negatively affect the issue of gender differences, which is already a problematic area. The situations such as the interpretation of these differences as deficiencies, and accepting the value of subjects in which women are more talented less valuable than those in which men are talented fosters an androcentric perspective. In this context, social values attributed to these talents should be reviewed.

“During the analysis and interpretation of the data, it should also be avoided from the wrong methods such as necessarily searching for the difference between the two sexes, ignoring the similarity, drawing conclusions for humans from animal research, or commenting on all of the people with findings obtained from only one sex, expressing similar behaviours of men and women with different names, misinterpretation depending on androcentric norms (for example, associating 'success' with out-of-home activities)” (Dökmen, 2019: 147).

⁷ In alpha bias, the differences between man and woman are emphasized, and it even embraces that men and women are considered as opposites to each other. This bias sometimes plays an important role in maintaining the status quo. (Dökmen, 2019: 145)

⁸ In beta bias, differences are either ignored or minimized; thus, it forms basis efforts for equality between the sexes, but can sometimes lead to ignoring the specific needs of women. (Dökmen, 2019: 145)

As Dökmen said, conducting and interpreting the studies from an androcentric perspective serves the patriarchal structure. In this case, heterosexual and non-men, that is, women and LGBTI+s are subordinated. It will be useful to remind the example of exclusion that LGBTI+s are considered as "mentally ill" or "sick" due to incorrect or incomplete sample selections, methods and interpretations made as a result of research conducted in areas such as sex, gender, gender roles, and gender identity. Lack of research has condemned these people to live outside the society and to be marginalized for years, and its effects still continue today.

In addition to these, “gender differences” is also a very sensitive issue. In order to avoid the mistakes mentioned above and to examine them in depth, the quotations given below will provide information about the studies and methods on gender differences. The studies on gender differences differ from each other with some points. These studies are considered in three main groups. Dökmen describes these three main groups as follows:

“The first group is the studies that consider gender as a variable, although their real subject is not gender differences. In these studies, if a gender difference is found in terms of behaviour examined, this finding is usually included in the published article, but if there is no significant gender difference, this finding is not mentioned. The second group is those that really consider gender as a variable in a group of studies on gender difference and focus on gender differences. The third group is meta-analyzes. With meta-analysis, the gender difference can be looked at in a statistically more precise manner. Meta-analysis is a method that determines the reliability of a finding by examining the results obtained from many different studies. In meta-analyzes, more objective results are achieved and their reproducibility is higher compared to traditional methods. The results of the study combined with the meta-analysis are transformed into a common unit” (Dökmen, 2019: 148-149).

These methods are important for the depth and reliability of the studies. While investigating the supposed differences between men and women, research methods should be impartial and reliable in terms of not feeding the gender and patriarchal structure with androcentric perspective and research. The first major research in the field of gender differences was conducted by Maccoby and Jacklin. In this study, many studies stating that whether there is any gender-based differences between men and women have been examined, and it has been revealed that the differences based on gender differences between men and women are lower than expected (Dökmen, 2019: 150).

Within the other studies conducted after this study, it was concluded that these differences were actually less. The fact that the differences emerging as a result of the studies do not indicate a significant difference shows that the assumed gender differences are socially based and there is no scientific difference. It has been revealed that gender differences based on society are less, and they can change over time as well. Dökmen cites the results of recent studies from Berk as follows:

“In recent searches, especially in meta-analyzes, there was even less difference than Maccoby and Jacklin found, and it was stated that the differences between girls and boys or between women and men were actually very small. It has been reported that only five per cent of the differences found in any trait are due to gender, and the major part of the difference is explained by other factors. Although this five per cent difference is small, it is a significant difference. Differences between the genders have also changed over time. In recent studies, it has been stated that the differences between them have decreased” (Berk, 1994 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 150-151).

As can be seen in the examples given, although it is thought that gender-based differences between women and men in the society are considered to be in many areas and even they are accepted as such, scientifically based “definite” differences cannot be proven. In the light of this information, the differences between males and females in childhood and adulthood were examined in detail.

Research conducted on childhood will be conveyed from Dökmen, taking the studies of Beal (1994), Berk (1994), Golombok and Fivush (1996) as reference. In the research conducted for aggressive behaviour, it was observed that young boys were more aggressive than girls, but it was concluded that this situation decreased with the increasing of age. It is concluded that the tendency of boys to be more aggressive and girls to be less aggressive is related to social stereotypes. The fact that the behaviours expected from girls are not aggressive or that boys are aggressive progress in accordance with the behaviours expected from the gender of the child (Beal, 1994, cited in Dökmen: 152).

It comes out that there is not much difference between boys and girls for benevolence and caring behaviour. However, it is mentioned that girls are more caregiving. This situation is again related to the behaviour expected of the child's gender. Just as women are attributed to caregivers in gender stereotypes, girls are born into the same culture and their responsibilities develop accordingly. There is no significant difference in school success. Again, there is a difference in gender stereotypes regarding the

achievement motive. With the perception of success as "masculine" and "feminine", boys are heading towards the fields such as sports, numerical sciences, while girls tend to focus on areas such as language and art. Behaviours expected from gender, regardless of any scientific basis, are also in question here. It is observed that girls are more sensitive about emotional sensitivity and express themselves better. Regarding psychological and developmental problems, it is observed that boys and girls experience problems in different areas. While girls are worried about failure, boys behave in a more active and risky way and can lead to situations such as injury. It is observed that boys have more identity problems than girls (pretending to be a counter identity or wanting to do so) (Dökmen, 2019).

During adolescence, girls can express themselves better than boys in the problems they experience. When it comes to adaptation and dependency, girls behave more obediently than boys, while boys behave more dominant and assertive. This situation can be evaluated within the scope of social stereotypes and behaviour expected from sex. While girls prefer intimate and face-to-face friendships in smaller groups without observing a distinct difference between girls and boys in terms of play and friendship, boys tend to focus on the team, discussion and rule by establishing more distant relationships in larger groups (Dökmen, 2019).

In summary, the situations that are seen as a difference between girls and boys without any definite and scientifically based difference are generally sociological in origin and related to the concept of gender. The information provided from the studies here is important in terms of understanding how the gender-based patriarchal perspective has been effective since childhood. Although it has not been scientifically proven, boys and girls are raised according to this structure.

It will be enlightening to look at some gender differences observed in adulthood. In the studies conducted for verbal abilities, it was observed that women were better in this area with a small difference, without any significant difference (Hyde and Mckinley 1997, cited in Dökmen, 2019: 156).

Within the studies conducted in the field of mathematics, it can be said that the performance of boys is better than girls with a small difference. While girls are more successful in the early period, then this difference is closed and boys become better in high school and university periods. This situation may also be related to gender stereotypes. Both the choice of profession and the fact that men prefer numerical sciences more are effective in this matter (Hyde, Fennema and Lamon 1990, cited in Dökmen, 2019: 157).

In the studies conducted in the field of science, men were found to be more successful with a small difference. Here again, the situation is related to the fact that boys prefer science more than girls (Fleming and Malone, 1983 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 159).

Regarding adaptation behaviour, there is generally a prejudice in the society that women are much more adaptable than men. Some researchers also support the view that women are more adaptable. But there are also researchers who oppose this situation.

“In a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly and Carli (1981), 146 studies between 1949-1977 were discussed. Only 16 per cent of the studies found that women are more easily affected, and this result may mean that there is no significant difference in the general population. The results of the research showing that women are more adaptable than men are considered as methodological errors (Eagly and Carli, 1981 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 160-161).

In the light of this information, adaptation behaviour is one of the gender stereotypes attributed to women by society. As can be seen, this stereotype is not based on a scientific reality. Aggressive behaviour is also related to gender stereotypes. Aggression is one of the social roles usually encoded to men. In studies conducted for adulthood, men again show more aggressive behaviours than women. While the rate of men is higher in the rate of physical aggression, it is stated that the difference between men and women is less in the rate of verbal aggression.

"According to Bettencourt and Miller (1996), these results support the social role model; when the effect of gender roles is eliminated, no significant gender difference occurs in terms of aggression, gender difference appears to be related to social roles" (Cited in Dökmen, 2019: 162).

It is observed that women are more concerned about aggressive behaviour than men. This situation is again related to gender stereotypes. Generally, girls experience negative reactions from their families when they display aggressive behaviour. At the same time, it is usually women who are subjected to aggressive attitudes in society. Aggressive

behaviours are also associated with traditional gender roles. Dökmen describes this relationship as follows:

“Another aspect of aggressive behaviour is who is most attacked. It is possible to observe aggression towards women and children more. Because aggression against women is generally approved by the society, it appears in advertisements and videoclips in various forms and is accepted naturally. Women are mostly exposed to violence by their husbands. Mostly, men with traditional gender roles inflict violence on women” (Dökmen, 2019: 162).

As Dökmen said, aggression is closely related to violence and the social structure to whom that violence is directed. Similarly, nonverbal behaviours have been examined within the scope of gender differences. What is meant here are body language, facial expressions, gestures and mimics. When non-verbal behaviours of women were evaluated, it was found that they were more successful than men (McClure, 2000 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 161).

Considering the studies conducted in terms of small group behaviours and leadership, it can be said that there are prejudices in the society that women cannot lead. This situation is generally considered as the return of the patriarchal world order in which men dominate the upper positions. The situation here is that these differences between men and women are less than similarities. There is only a situation that includes differences in leadership styles. While men perform an attitude in which all powers are held alone and power is concentrated in a single-centre, women complete their management processes by giving more importance to interpersonal communication. Therefore, the argument that women cannot lead appears to be a gender-based social stereotype (Karau and Makhijani, 1995 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 166).

The behaviour of helping, which is another behaviour researched within the scope of gender differences, is a behaviour style generally attributed to women in society. However, research has found that this situation changes depending on the conditions and even men tend to help more than women (Eagly and Crowley 1986 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 168).

Similarly, the subject of self is a subject that has been researched in the context of gender differences. It will be enlightening to explain the self-concept in terms of the correct evaluation of some differences that are thought to exist between men and women.

“All kinds of features and processes that distinguish “I” from the “other” or “others” are defined as self. Self is important because it directs and controls any individual or social behaviour and activity. Our perception of the world and people, our memory, ourselves and all our inferences about it are entirely based on our point of view and are aimed at increasing our self-worth. Our self not only shapes our social world but also is shaped by our social world” (Dökmen, 2019: 169).

The self is affected by society. In this case, the society that men and women are in is extremely important in self-perception. Gender roles also affect the selves of men and women immensely. Therefore, culture is extremely important in self-perception. According to the structure of social life and the way of association, for individualist societies, women generally attach more importance to family and social relations, while men give importance to success. There is no such gender-based difference or distinction in collectivist societies. In summary, there is no other difference between men and women except that some based on social issues, and this difference decreases with age (Kling et al. 1999, cited in Dökmen, 2019: 169).

Social structure affects interpersonal relationships in almost every aspect as well as in friendship. Friendship is also one of the issues examined in the context of gender differences. Studies have shown that there are some differences in the friendship between men and women at all stages of their lives. These differences show that women establish friendships with their friends in a way that gives importance to more sincere and emotional sharing, and that they have more friends than men. By adult males, their spouses are generally defined as the closest friends (Franzoi, 1996 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 175).

Studies on self-disclosure reveal that women are closer to their close friends and lovers and are more sharing than men in terms of self-disclosure, but there is no big difference. On the other hand, it turns out that men open themselves up to issues such as sports and technology that are attributed to being masculine. In this case, it is possible to say that gender roles are effective (Dindia and Allen, 1992 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 175).

When the subject of love is examined, it is seen that there are some differences between men and women. Differing culturally and historically, love can be considered a complex subject. Dökmen describes the subject of love depending on references from some studies:

“Studies are showing that women are more romantic than men in heterosexual relationships. Men believe more in love at first sight, the necessity of love for marriage, and the perfect romantic relationship they have with their loved ones, compared to women. In some studies, it has been found that men fall in love faster than women and leave their lovers more difficult. These results do not mean that women are less romantic. Once women are in love, they are as emotional as men. It has been shown that women actually experience more intense feelings for their lovers than men and have more vivid memories about their romantic relationships” (Dökmen, 2019: 177).

These differences in relationships are explained in two ways. The first is related to sociocultural differences; as women in society are generally evaluated with a lower status than men, their status is considered through the status of their partners. In this situation, women feel obliged to adopt this situation instead of acting independently from their male partners. For this reason, while women care about social status in choosing a partner, men prioritize physical attraction.

The second approach is the sociobiological approach. This approach explains some of the alleged differences between men and women by linking them to biological factors. Accordingly, while the instinct of the male to inseminate more females is in question for the continuation of the generation, the female tends to find the partner with the best genes because she has a limited number of egg cells. In summary, there are some differences in the perception and lifestyles of women and men. While women prefer rational and possessive love styles, men adopt a more playful love (polygamy, fun, passion and sexuality) style. It is revealed that gender roles are also effective here. The way women and men experience and adopt love is parallel to the gender roles assigned to them (Dökmen, 2019). Dökmen describes the differences in love between partners as follows:

“Androgens have adopted passionate love, rational love and altruistic love⁹, while masculines have adopted love like play, and feminines more possessive and altruistic love” (Dökmen, 2019: 179).

Studies on the alleged differences between women and men in terms of sexual attitudes and behaviours reveal that men are more experienced than women and their point of view is different in many subjects. It turns out that men are different from women in

⁹ “Altruistic love is a love style that loves the other despite its flaws, is forgiving, supportive and thinks about the other side’s well-being more than their own good” (Lee, cited in Dökmen, 2019: 179).

terms of the frequency of having sexual intercourse, having sexual intercourse with multiple partners, premarital sexual intercourse, masturbation, having homosexual intercourse. It has been observed that women feel more anxiety and shame about sexuality, and there are huge differences between men and their practices, especially regarding premarital intercourse and masturbation. Although it is stated that these differences are decreasing today, it can be said that they are related to gender stereotypes. Sexuality is generally considered a taboo for women, and sexual behaviour is generally considered among the masculine traits. While the sexual life of men is accepted naturally by the society, women's experiences are not natural (Baile, Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987, Hendrick & Hendrick, 2002 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 180). The distinction between men and women is clearer, as sexual issues and behaviours are subjects that are perceived and accepted as taboo in society. Concepts such as morality and honour built over women ensure that women stay one step behind men in terms of sexuality. For this reason, sexuality, which is accepted as a taboo everywhere, creates representation problems against women in every field, especially in the media, starting from the family. In addition, some of the gender-based behaviours based on "masculinity" also affect men. Risk-taking behaviour, like aggression, also affects men by being built on concepts such as "hard, fearless, etc."

In studies examining risk-taking behaviour, it has been observed that men engage in risky behaviours more than women. It is also possible to associate this situation with gender roles. Strong, fearless, masculine characteristics such as "I can accomplish any job" adopted by men allow them to take risks (Byrnes, Miller, & Schafer, 1999 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 181).

The effect of masculine discourse negatively affects men in risk-taking behaviour. Besides, issues such as physical health are important issues for women and men in society. Gender-based differences affect both genders in physical health and body perception. Especially body perception can negatively affect people who are outside the "ideal" determined by the dominant ideology. Media representations feed this unrealistic perception. Scientific research shows that these perceptions are social impositions rather than reality.

According to research in the fields of physical health and body perception, women are considered to be healthy, beautiful and feminine when they are thinner, while men are considered to be healthier and more masculine when they are of medium weight. In terms of dietary habits, it turns out that men live unhealthier. Alcohol and cigarette consumption is higher in men. Likewise, situations such as work pace, intensive work, work stress cause some health problems. For this reason, the death rate of men is stated to be higher. It is stated that the dietary habits of women are healthier and they pay more attention to important health issues such as sleep and vitamins, etc. (Wersch, 1998 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 181). These gender-based stereotypes affect the lives of men and more women in many ways. The fact that the representations in the media constantly produce “ideal bodies” and impose them on society is also effective here.

Similarly, body image affects the lives of men and women. Body image is a state of how one defines their own body. Studies show that body images of women are more negative than men. In other words, according to these studies, women are more dissatisfied with their bodies than men. Here, it is possible to say that gender stereotypes have an effect. Men and women who are outside of these created “ideal bodies” are negatively affected by this imposition. Stereotyped body representations in the media set an example for this situation. In the world, which is perceived through dual contrasts, people who fall outside of these definitions are marginalized by impositions such as male-female, beautiful-ugly, heterosexual-homosexual.

“Body image is related to how a person looks, and the concept of body image is important in relation to this. It has been reported that the body images of men and women are different. It has been found that the body images of women are more negative than the body images of men, that is, women are less satisfied with the appearance of their bodies” (Dökmen, 2019: 181).

Since society acts as having a say about the female body, women are more negative about their bodies. Women feel they are fatter or less attractive than they are, as they feel out of the norm as a result of this unrealistic pressure. In summary, there are differences based on gender stereotypes about body image between women and men (Wersch, 1998, Feingold & Mazella, 1998, Hovardaoğlu, 1990 cited in Dökmen, 2019: 183).

According to the research on the issues mentioned in this section, there are no scientific-based definite differences between men and women, apart from the biological difference, contrary to the assumed differences in society. The differences that exist are also behavioural-based differences, regardless of gender, and society becomes a highly influential factor in people's thoughts, attitudes, perceptions of the world and behaviours. Considering the behaviours based on gender, these differences can be perceived as gender differences, but behaviour should not be considered as a gender feature.

“It can be said that gender differences found are not much. Generally, in social behaviour, the differences (within-sex - within-group variance) within women and men themselves (within the same sex) are greater than the difference between women and men (between gender-between group variation). It is possible to mention that the differences that can be observed between men and women are exaggerated” (Dökmen, 2019: 185).

In addition, studies reveal that the similarities between men and women are greater than the differences. But research has often focused on differences. In this case, while the differences created by gender stereotypes are always investigated, the concept of gender and its effects in society are not or much less studied.

“The most obvious gender differences were observed in aggression and non-verbal communication. Few of the gender differences based on gender stereotypes have been supported by research. ...It has been said that society and psychology constantly emphasize the small differences between men and women, thus, gender stereotypes continue to be supported” (Dökmen, 2019: 186).

Under these headings, what the concept of gender is, how it affects people in society and how it reproduces itself is explained.

6.6 Evaluation

When the concept of gender is examined in detail, it is understood that it is completely social and culturally related. The concept of gender, which takes into account the differences between men and women based on sexes, includes the social roles assigned to women and men as mentioned above, and deals with the situations of being a woman / “being like a woman”, and being a man / “being like a man”. By attributing different roles to women and men, it affects people's thoughts, attitudes and behaviours throughout their lives. This effect spreads to every aspect of one's life, from self-perception to career choice, social life, family life and relationships with others.

It is almost impossible to escape from the concept of gender. This process, which starts before the birth of the child, continues in the family, school, social life and business life. In addition, these roles are constantly reproduced by mass media. People born into this system and always exposed to it adopt this situation without questioning, and their perception of life is shaped in parallel with the concept of gender. Culture and society occupy an important place among the determinants of a person's consciousness and perspective in their life.

The understanding of gender is fed by prejudices and stereotypes, and it has some negative consequences in the lives of both women and men. It can cause people to be unable to live and behave as they want, unable to choose or do the profession they want, unable to be like themselves and to realize themselves. This causes people to be unhappy and their health to be negatively affected. It can be said that gender definitions and limits create more negative effects, especially for women. Gender, which is constructed in parallel with an androcentric perspective, causes women to face greater difficulties in all aspects of their lives than men.

In summary, gender affects the lives of men and women negatively by accepting only the binary system, separating them from each other and categorizing them only based on their sexes. But the truth is that there are more similarities than differences between men and women, and these differences are completely social and cultural, except for some biological differences. Also, the understanding of gender that puts women in a more disadvantaged position than men only recognizes two genders as women and men and creates a more discriminatory attitude for people who do not feel belonging to these genders or any gender.

The characters in the films that will be examined in this study are also characters that do not fit the "ideal" of the patriarchal society and the media. In films that the representations of LGBTI+ are examined, the patriarchal society and the media feed on the concept of gender and reproduce their discriminatory and marginalizing discourse to the society through these characters. For this reason, it is important to understand the concept of gender and to read the differences arising from it correctly in the context of the analysis of motion pictures.

7. REPRESENTATION

In this section, which examines the concept of representation and representation policies in cinema, this concept will first be explained, and then how representation policies work in cinema will be discussed. In order to understand the representation policies in cinema, it is essential to examine the concept of representation and to analyze the character representations of the samples selected in the study.

One of the most important names working in the field of representation is Stuart Hall. The book entitled *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (2017) edited by Hall will be used as the main source in this section. In this work, which includes articles by different authors, the subject of representation and representation policies is discussed in detail from different perspectives.

The definitions of representation cited by Stuart Hall from the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* are as follows:

“1. To represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses; as, for example, in the sentence, *This picture represents the murder of Abel by Cain*. 2. To represent also means to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen of, or to substitute for; as in the sentence, *In Christianity, the cross represents the suffering and crucifixion of Christ*” (Hall, 2017:24).

Representation, by Hall's own definition:

“One common-sense usage of the term is as follows: ‘Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.’... Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things” (Hall, 2017: 23).

As can be understood from the definitions, representation is a concept that expresses the meaning of "things" in people's minds in a way related to culture and language. In order to make sense of the world, people give meaning to things through language with this mental process and express these complex thoughts to other people or communicate in a way that they can understand in order to convey these thoughts. Another important concept along with the language is culture. Although language and culture vary from society to society, it is a social system that enables people to understand each other similarly by using a common language.

Representation takes place in two stages. Hall describes this representation process as follows:

“First, the concepts which are formed in the mind function as a system of mental representation which classifies and organizes the world into meaningful categories. If we have a concept for something, we can say we know its 'meaning'. But we cannot communicate this meaning without a second system of representation, a language. Language consists of signs organized into various relationships. But signs can only convey meaning if we possess codes which allow us to translate our concepts into language and vice versa. These codes are crucial for meaning and representation. They do not exist in nature but are the result of social conventions. They are a crucial part of our culture -our shared 'maps of meaning'- which we learn and unconsciously internalize as we become members of our culture. This constructionist approach to language thus introduces the symbolic domain of life, where words and things function as signs, into the very heart of social life itself” (Hall, 2017: 40).

The process of representation, which takes place in this way, enables people to make sense of the world and to communicate with others. If we talk about the constructivist approach here:

“Things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems -concepts and signs. Hence it is called the constructivist or constructionist approach to meaning in language. According to this approach, we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate. Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others” (Hall, 2017: 36).

Although communication can be made with common symbols in similar ways, another important factor here is that the meanings produced cannot be fixed and are variable. The reason for this variability can be explained by cultural difference. Language and culture differ from society to society based on many factors - geographical region, historical process, etc. - and this variability continues. For this reason, it is not possible to fix the meanings produced. Hall states that the meanings produced cannot be fixed as follows:

“Representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning. Already, this definition carries the important premise that things -objects, people, events, in the world- do not have in themselves any fixed final or true meaning. It is us -in society, within human cultures- who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another. There is no guarantee that every object in one culture will have an equivalent meaning in another, precisely because cultures differ, sometimes radically, from one another in their codes -the ways they carve up, classify and assign meaning to the world” (Hall, 2017: 81).

What is the concept of representation, how it works, what happens in the communication process, by which stages it is transferred from person to person, and its relationship with language and culture has been conveyed from Hall. From this point of view, representation policies and what methods are used while implementing these policies, how representation affects people and how “the other” is presented will be examined with examples from cinema and media. The examples given from the media texts here will be useful in terms of understanding representation, power relations, stereotyping and the presentation of the other.

7.1. Representation, Power Relations, Stereotyping and Presentation of the “Other”

After defining the concept of representation, we will talk about how power relations in societies affect representation. Power relations can be defined in general as the relationship between the ruling class and the dominated class in society. The power held by the ruling class contains most of the economic, political, social and cultural elements of society. Power relations indicate a hierarchical structure in all class societies. These power relations are effective in every aspect of people's lives in society because, as stated above, power relations are not only economically based but also social and cultural. For this reason, this relationship, which is also related to social and cultural life, affects all areas of people's lives. It will be enlightening to include the ideas of some important thinkers in order to better understand power relations.

German philosopher Karl Marx, one of the most important thinkers of the 19th century, made extremely important studies on power relations. Marx describes the power relations that the concept of representation includes in the social and cultural context as follows:

“The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one [...]” (Marx, Engels, 2015: 72).

As Marx said, the ruling class not only holds the material and political power, but also the social and cultural power that determines the ideology of the society.

Similarly, another important thinker, French philosopher Michel Foucault, describes the power relations as follows:

Power relations permeate all levels of social existence and are therefore to be found operating at every site of social life- in the private spheres of the family and sexuality as much as in the public spheres of politics, the economy and the law. What's more, power is not only negative, repressing what it seeks to control. It is also productive. It doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but it traverses and produces things. It induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be thought of as a productive network which runs through the whole social body" (Foucault, 1980 cited in Hall, 2017: 67).

As Foucault stated, power always exists in people's social and cultural lives, produces discourses and ensures the continuation of this production. Here, by whom the discourse is produced and to whom it is presented is important in the context of power relations. Generally, discourse is produced by the ruling class, that is, power, and presented to other classes in society. Here, it will be enlightening to talk about "hegemony" which is an important concept.

In its most general form, hegemony can be defined as the struggle of one group to gain the consent of another group in order to gain the upper hand in a community. Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci carried out very important studies on the concept of hegemony.

Gramsci conveys the concept of hegemony as follows:

"It concerns the execution of both the proletariat as a ruling class and the administration. This means the coercion that the ruling class will necessarily exert on opposing groups. But this also means the management of its allies in the field of ideas and culture, who are ready to cooperate with the proletariat. Hegemony also develops the positive side of administration" (Gramsci, 1997: 28).

Hegemony is established very effectively in the context of power relations within the capitalist system. Representations in mass media are created and presented in the interests of the ruling classes. Representations formed in accordance with the ideology of the ruling class establish hegemony over other classes through the media and their reproduction is ensured. It will be enlightening to define the concept of "other" here.

“The ‘other’ is a word used by different parties in defining each other in a lexical sense, and the parties have equal conditions in defining each other as the other. However, it is seen in the cultural usage of the word that the concept of the other is mostly used in defining what is different from the dominant culture, more precisely, only the definition of ‘other’ of cultural power is accepted as a result of cultural hegemony” (Devrani, 2017: 930).

As can be understood from the definition of the “other”, the others created in accordance with the dominant ideology are formed by the method of stereotyping, and in the stereotyping method, the most effective concept is representation.

In its most general form, stereotyping is to adopt unreal thoughts, attitudes and behaviours towards a person or group, to generalize and expect behaviour belonging to the person and the group. Stereotyping is part of representation policies. The class outside the ruling class is divided by being divided under various identities and presented as the "other" by being exposed to stereotyping with representations. The concept of "difference" is important in order to carry out this process of marginalization effectively. This difference is necessary to distinguish one from the other. According to Hall, people usually think over binary contrasts and their way of making sense of life is based on these oppositions. Representations are also created through this structure. It is necessary to know the difference in order to be able to say other to something. The mindset based on this binary opposition fosters othering because the process of stereotyping is in a parallel relationship with this otherness. Although this rigid binary oppositional structure is a situation needed to make sense of life, it also creates a dangerous situation. There are power relations within this structure again (Hall, 2017: 304).

In order to understand the exclusion practice more clearly, it will be useful to examine the concept of stereotyping in the light of this information. Hall describes the practices of representation in which stereotypes turn into an exclusion practice as follows:

“Stereotypes get hold of the few ‘simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized’ characteristics about a person, reduce everything about the person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to eternity. (...) So, the first point is -stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’. Secondly, stereotyping deploys a strategy of ‘splitting’. It divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable. It then excludes or expels everything which does not fit. (...) Stereotyping, in other words, is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It sets up a symbolic frontier between the ‘normal’ and the ‘deviant’ the ‘normal’ and the ‘pathological’ the ‘acceptable’ and the ‘unacceptable’ what ‘belongs’ and what does not or is ‘Other’ between ‘insiders’

and ‘outsiders’, Us and Them. It facilitates the ‘binding’ or bonding together of all of Us who are ‘normal’ into one ‘imagined community’; and it sends into symbolic exile all of Them – ‘the Others’ – who are in some way different – ‘beyond the pale’. (...) The third point is that stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group. (...) In short, stereotyping is what Foucault called a ‘power/knowledge’ sort of game. It classifies people according to a norm and constructs the excluded as ‘other’. Interestingly, it is also what Gramsci would have called an aspect of the struggle for hegemony. (Hall, 2017: 333)

As conveyed by Hall, the ruling class creates and presents the "other" with the method of stereotyping by using representation practices. British academic and film critic Richard Dyer describes the transfer of the discourse of the ruling class to society as follows:

“The establishment of normalcy (i.e. what is accepted as ‘normal’) through social- and stereotypes is one aspect of the habit of ruling groups to attempt to fashion the whole of society according to their own world view, value system, sensibility and ideology. So right is this world view for the ruling groups that they make it appear (as it does appear to them) as ‘natural’ and ‘inevitable’ -and for everyone- and, in so far as they succeed, they establish their hegemony.” (Dyer, 1977: 30).

In the light of all this information, it is seen how the practices of representation form the "other" with the method of stereotyping and how this situation imposes the discourse of the ruling class on other segments of the society in the context of power relations. In the following sections, it will be useful to give examples of the presentation of the other from media texts in the context of understanding these representation practices.

In this study, where the representation of LGBTI+s is examined through the characters in selected movies, it will first be examined how LGBTI+s are represented in the media by being imprisoned to stereotypes.

7.2 LGBTI+ Representation Policies and Othering in Media: News, Advertisements, TV Series and Television Programs

In this section, which will be exemplified by Turkey’s media, the book named *LGBTİ Bireyler ve Medya* [LGBTI Individuals and Media] (2019) will be used as a source, which is compiled by Yasemin İnceoğlu and Savaş Çoban containing the articles of nineteen authors.

Representation policies can be defined as the realization of discourses against the groups represented in accordance with the ideology of the ruling class. The discourse of the ruling class and the media is generally a conservative view that establishes heterosexism, gender roles, nationalism and religion, by sanctifying their values through these discourses. Persons and groups that are not included in this classification include people and groups with ethnicity, religion, language, colour, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation that do not constitute the majority. İnceoğlu and Çoban convey this extremely distinctive language example in the introduction of the book:

“The media presents LGBTI news with violent third-page news, sexually content, contrary to social morality, and LGBTI individuals are presented as 'deviant' or 'monster'. This is actually true for all 'others' in general. In Turkey, being an Armenian, Kurdish, Assyrian, Greek, Laz, Circassian, Gypsy, Alevi, Shafi, Christian, socialist, communist, gay, lesbian, etc. is meant to be on the target of hate. These groups, which are the target of discursive and actual attacks in social terms, are not only oppressed but also constantly exposed to ideological violence” (İnceoğlu and Çoban 2014 cited in İnceoğlu and Çoban, 2019: 10).

In this study, especially the representations of people with different gender identity and sexual orientation will be examined because LGBTI+s are presented with negative representations and stereotypes in the media.

The processes experienced by LGBTI+ people throughout the history of humanity were examined in detail in the first section of the study. LGBTI+people, sometimes attributed to positive values and sometimes negative values, started to take place in the media with the development of technology and via the mass media becoming the common communication network of societies. Recently, LGBTI+s find more representation opportunities in media channels such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio and cinema compared to the past.

One of the most important points to be addressed when talking about media texts is the ownership relations of the media. The relationship in the context of representation and power is parallel to this. In order to understand the representations created in the media, the questions of who created these texts and to whom these texts were presented are important. Generally, the discourses of the media and the ruling class are common. The government, which holds the power, also holds the media and imposes its own dominant discourse on the society in this way. The ruling class, which owns the mass media, has the privilege of influencing the society, managing perception and controlling the media at the same time.

The discourses and representations created in accordance with these power relations are transmitted directly to the society, since the society's sources of accessing “correct” information and being aware of the world are generally newspapers and television news. İnceoğlu and Çoban describe this situation, citing from Kaos GL magazine, as follows:

“The influence of the media is greater than that of other social institutions and it is normally a necessity to act responsibly. ‘The social context constituting the ideological background that leads to hate crimes is determined by law, media, human relations, generally intergroup relations, power and hegemonic structures, in short, by the system’ (Kaos GL, 2012: 205). In this sense, hate cannot be considered independent of the dominant ideology and in general, all media organs are at the service of the dominant ideology except the alternative/opposition media” (İnceoğlu, Çoban, 2019: 42).

With representation policies, LGBTI+s are generally presented to the society by marginalizing them. The most obvious examples of this are encountered in news broadcasts. The situation encountered in the news can often go beyond stereotyping and othering and become hate speech. It would be enlightening to talk about hate speech here. In her manual on hate speech, Anne Weber defines hate speech -based on the definition in a recommendation of the Council of Europe in 1997- as follows:

“The term ‘hate speech’ shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin. In this sense, ‘hate speech’ covers comments which are necessarily directed against a person or a particular group of persons” (Weber, 2009: 3).

Hate speech is generally defined as a situation that includes individuals and groups that the dominant ideology defines as "minorities", but in the case of LGBTI+ people, it may be more likely to encounter hate speech. The news, which functions as the information source of the society, are the mediums where hate speech takes place. Especially in Turkey, hate speech is intense in the news related to LGBTI+s. This situation is also in contradiction with the principle that the news should be impartial, but this is where the ownership relations of the media come into play and hate speech is produced against the marginalized group. In order to understand hate speech, a news example is provided below:

“This Time, Children are on Target! LGBTI Perverts Take Action

LGBTI perverts, who took it upon themselves to eliminate the **Muslim Turkish family structure**, took action through children this time. **Moral terrorists** tried to spread their **dirty ambitions** by using children.

LGBTI **perverts**, who swore to create **a sexless society** and to disrupt the **Muslim Turkish family structure**, this time used children in their dirty campaigns.

Perverts, trying to eradicate **our family tradition**, asked children to draw colours that symbolize them and hang them on their windows. Children who are not even aware of what LGBTI is, became a tool in this plan.”

(<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/bu-kez-hedefte-cocuklar-var-lgbtli-sapkinlar-harekete-gecti-1150120.html>) Retrieved date: 27.04.2020

Hate speech against LGBTI+ people is clearly seen in the news of *Yeni Akit Newspaper*. By emphasizing that this is only one newspaper and only one news, attention can be drawn to the concepts in the news.

Hate speech and targeting reveal the attitude towards LGBTI+s. These negative representations and homophobic discourses in the media also negatively affect the perception of society towards LGBTI+s. İnceoğlu and Çoban convey the discriminatory language of the news discourse in the media in their article titled *Türkiye’de Nefret, Ötekileştirme, Medya ve LGBTİ’ler* [Hate, Othering, Media and LGBTIs in Turkey], as follows:

“In general, ‘we often come across news in the media that define being LGBTI as illness, perversion, crime, sin, anomaly; that otherize, marginalize, humiliate, insult LGBTI people, or that use LGBTI beings to insult other groups’ (Kaos GL and Pembehayat, 2016: 13). In this sense, in a society where gender roles are strictly imposed, those seen outside of these roles are marginalized in every sense and are even targeted” (İnceoğlu & Çoban, 2019: 35).

As can be seen in the examples, this discriminatory language in the news is clearly evident. Discourses towards homosexuals are negative not only in the national press but also in the local press. Hate speech is generally produced with approaches that include the patriarchal, nationalist and fundamentalist elements of conservatism. Although not every media organ produces such distinct hate speech, the presentation of the news contains marginalizing elements. When it comes to LGBTI+s, the media generally builds its discourse on the marginalizing discourses of the ruling class. This situation differs slightly in advertisements, which are other important media texts.

It may be enlightening to mention the advertisements, which are the most important media elements of the capitalist system. It is impossible not to be exposed to advertising in the capitalist system where everything becomes a consumable product. Advertisements do not only appear on television, radio, magazines and newspapers, but also on billboards, posters, and even on every product used. In advertising, which is the most important factor of the consumption-oriented pleasure culture imposed by the capitalist system, conditions such as age, marital status, social position, gender are very important in terms of marketing the product. Traditional gender roles are often quite prominent in advertisements. Advertisements for women and men are presented with certain stereotypes. In general, the messages such as their status will rise with the purchased product, and they can have anything they want is given to the public by these advertisements.

Advertisements that appeal to every segment of society have become a market for LGBTI+ people in the 20th and 21st centuries with the political, economic, social and cultural changes in the world. Especially after the Stonewall Riots, the gay movement has become a world-renowned movement and LGBTI+s have gained more visibility. At the same time, this situation paved the way for adding another consumer category to the capitalist system.

“In modern societies where the consumption phenomenon spreads inseparably to all areas of life, the relationship between LGBTI+ individuals and advertisements, which Gross interpreted as the highest level of social acceptance, is very closely related with the historical/social transformation of capitalism, which continues its existence as the dominant production and consumption model in the world, with some exceptions” (Gross, 2001 cited in Aydın, Aydın, Ügümü, 2017: 246).

With the inclusion of LGBTI+s in this consumption, it has been possible to encounter LGBTI+s in advertisements. The point to be examined here is how LGBTI+ representations take place in advertisements. Being represented by hate speech in news and by implicit or explicit homophobic/transphobic speech in television series, LGBTI+s are generally represented positively in advertisements. In this case, it can be said that representation practices also change in mediums where LGBTI+s are the potential consumers. In connection with the myth of "freedom" that capitalism boosts when it comes to consumption, advertisements create a positive effect on everything whose precondition is consumption. In addition, the segment addressed by the ads is also very important here. The brand's positive representation of LGBTI+s and making them visible is positive as the

target audience consists of these people. Compared to news and TV series, this positive representation of LGBTI+s in advertisements can sometimes be supportive in terms of raising awareness. However, the most valid reason for this visibility and positivity is that it is focused on consumption and sales.

Along with news and advertisements, the most preferred broadcasts on television are TV series. TV series, which are shown almost every evening, are among the programs broadcasted for families. Like other broadcast examples, TV series create discourses suitable for traditional gender roles and reproduce the dominant view. The TV series, which are the most preferred television programs, generally produce the dominant discourse based on gender roles of the region where they are broadcasted. According to this dominant ideology, women and men who are suitable for gender roles appear in TV series. At the same time, generally “heterosexual, religious, patriarchal, nationalist and conservative” characters appear in these series. The characters who do not adopt these “dominant values” are represented in accordance with certain stereotypes. LGBTI+ people are also often exposed to this stereotyping. Linneman conveys his research on a series published in the USA in 2008 as follows:

“Although most gays do not engage in feminine behaviour, they are still considered to have feminine behaviours in social relationships. The TV series *Will & Grace* includes representations of masculine as well as feminine gays. However, a thorough content analysis concludes that both types of gay characters are frequently feminized by other characters on the show, and that other characters often attempt to condemn them. The reason why characters are portrayed and interpreted in a feminine way is mostly related to their being gay, not their feminine attitude” (Linneman, 2007: 583)

Similarly, the same stereotyping is valid for the TV series *Friends*, which has a large audience in the USA. This stereotyping is more evident when looking at TV series from Turkey. Although it varies according to the government and the political situation of the country, the series with characters who stand against it have been tamed by the dominant gendered ideology. Taking into consideration the period of the TV series broadcasted over the years in Turkey, Özsoy describes the overall situation as follows:

“In our adventure with the TV series, the representations of the stories and heroes that have an important place in our lives ironically stand before us with their differentiated, fixed and constantly emphasized coding. In the process of differentiation of representations through traditional gender, spouse and mother/father roles (widowed parents, single-parent families, extramarital affairs, parents whose authority is weakened over family and children, the existence of different identities and private sphere, the normality of sexual life and its liberation from taboo), despite their innovative potential, new representations could not escape the control of dominant values and remained within their

borders. In terms of these differentiating representations and values, we can describe the situation as infiltration and opposition to dominant representations and values, rather than a total change and innovation. At the point where the representations in the series-texts begin to differ, the moment the heroes succeeded in being critical, questioning and destructive, the control and limitation of them through traditions made it impossible for the audience to do a liberative reading. Widowed mothers and fathers were tried to be married off, single-parent families were turned into two-parent families, extramarital affairs were punished, mothers and fathers with weakened authority experienced problems, different identities were marginalized and weakened, it was deemed appropriate for the individual to give up their private sphere in the name of sacrifice and responsibilities, and the demonstration and discussion of sexual life were restricted” (Özsoy, 2019: 244-245).

When homosexuals, who are not usually featured in television channels, appear, they are presented to the public with stereotypes. Female homosexuals are almost nonexistent and very few representations are only male homosexuals. Homosexual characters created with negative representations and stereotypes feed the prejudice of society and reproduce the gender-based, patriarchal and marginalizing dominant discourse.

As well as these examples, it may be enlightening to mention Seyfi Dursunoğlu, who has been making television programs as the character Huysuz Virjin for many years, as a positive example in the context of television in Turkey. This character is very important in terms of LGBTI visibility. Huysuz Virjin, which is not very common for television, performs as a drag queen¹⁰. Huysuz Virjin, who is extremely sharp-tongued and often sexual-oriented, continued her television show from the 1970s to the early 2000s. In 2007, the program was censored due to the conservative view of the government. Huysuz Virjin, who has been popularly watched on national television channels for many years, is an unprecedented character in Turkey’s television history. The fact that the society, which does not look very positively towards transvestites and other LGBTI+ characters, likes this character and the people from all strata watch the program with pleasure, can be explained by the fact that LGBTI+ characters always take part in the entertainment industry as a comedy element and in a harmless way. Still, it is very important in terms of visibility that drag culture is featured and loved on television.

¹⁰ Drag Queen are male artists who dress up like a woman, act like a woman and perform stage shows with humor and sarcasm for entertainment purposes. Drag King, on the other hand, is used for female artists who dress like a man, act like a man, and exhibit the same humor and sarcastic performance. Drag performing arts can be performed by both genders, and the characteristic of this art is that it often includes entertainment along with satire. Drag performers can be gay, transvestite, transgender, or heterosexual.

It was mentioned that LGBTI+s had very little representation opportunities on TV and that the representations were negative. Internet platforms such as Netflix, founded in the USA in 1997, and Blu TV, founded in Turkey in 2005, reach the audience with many kinds of movies and series. These platforms, which require membership and are paid, have recently started to attract a lot of attention. These platforms create a variety of content that will suit any average viewer, and the censorship mechanism is more flexible than television. For these reasons, it is possible to come across LGBTI+ representations frequently on these platforms. Also, representations of LGBTI+ are generally more realistic and positive in these contents. Due to the increasingly widespread use of these platforms compared to televisions and the flexibility of the censorship mechanism for broadcasting on the internet, they can be considered as a very positive development in terms of providing representation opportunities for all segments. On these platforms, shows that focus only on the lives of LGBTI+ people, that are out of stereotyped stories and realistic and where all actors are made up of LGBTIs are presented to the audience. For this reason, compared to stereotypical LGBTI+ character representations, which can be featured in TV shows as a comedy element or in side roles, LGBTI+ characters can find a much more positive and realistic representation opportunity on these platforms.

After mentioning all these TV broadcasts, it will be illuminating to look at the main subject of the study, the cinema. Cinema can be considered as a medium where LGBTI+ characters can find representation opportunities more easily. But in the meantime, what is important is how these forms of representation are formed. LGBTI +s have also been in cinema for many years and they continue to do so. The point to be touched upon here is the various representation styles in which LGBTI+s took part in cinema over the years.

7.3 Representation in Cinema and LGBTI+s

Cinema has been effective in many areas of people's lives for many years. It has effects on social, cultural, educational and propaganda fields. Cinema also maintains its existence as a major industry.

Hollywood, which is known as the mainstream and has a worldwide monopoly of cinema, always aims to profit and achieves this goal. This commercial concern is not only valid for mainstream cinema, but also for all types of cinema.

In order to look at the representation in cinema and the situation of LGBTI+s, it may be enlightening to firstly look at the history of cinema and how homosexuals are represented in which periods. When looking at the place of LGBTI+s in the history of cinema, Steven Paul Davies' book called *Out at the Movies: A History of Gay Cinema* (2010) will be used. In the book, which was first published in 2008, Davies examined the representation styles of LGBTI+s in cinema starting from before the 1960s to the 70s, 80s, 90s and 2000s and explained the changing representations in these years by exemplifying them. At the same time, it included directors and actors as well as films that were important according to the period. In addition to the book, the documentary *The Celluloid Closet* (1995), directed by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman, was also used.

In the sources, the stages of homosexuality in the historical process are mentioned. In some periods, homosexuality was considered natural, then it was considered as a crime and even criminal sanctions were imposed. As it approaches today, it has been evaluated as a mental illness and LGBTI+s have been intervened with various reparative therapy applications. So, the issue of homosexuality has always existed in history. Since the 1970s and especially with the 2000s, LGBTI+s have struggled against discrimination in parallel with developments such as social, political and cultural changes, civil rights struggles, women's movement in the world and have created themselves against the rigid and discriminatory policies of the old times and mostly have achieved. These rights and visibility struggles still continue today. As in many other fields in society, LGBTI+s always took place in the cinema. This section of the study focuses on the visibility and representation styles of LGBTI+ people in the cinema.

Films about LGBTI + are also made in the cinema. The important point here is that the film texts and the film industry should not be evaluated independently from the economic, political, social and cultural changes. The issue of homosexuality goes through different periods in the history of cinema and these periods are related to the periodic political, economic, social and cultural situation of the world. As in every field, the dominant ideology affects the cinema. For this reason, as in television and other productions, ownership relations, censorship mechanism, the perspectives of the producers and directors can be considered as important factors for cinema. Davies describes the attitudes of mainstream cinema towards homosexuals in the context of the range of history as follows:

“Hollywood has featured homosexuality since the movies were born but it was always as something to laugh at, or pity, or even fear. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, gay characters were usually cast as the leading man’s effeminate buddy or as the sissy, with their orientation understood, but never discussed. Later, especially from the late 1950s through to the 1970s, gay characters always seemed to be portrayed as emotional wrecks, many of them suicidal. These images of tormented individuals left a lasting legacy, as they not only told straight people what to think about gay people but also gay people what to think about themselves” (Davies, 2010: 17-18).

In the history spanning the 1920s and 1930s, it is seen that male homosexuals still take place in movies as a feminine and comedy element that is still encountered today. It can be said that gay stereotypes, which are still effective today, have come from those times until today. In the late 1920s and 30s, the first lesbian images started to be seen. In 1930, a very important event in terms of cinema was taking the Hollywood industry under the mechanism of censorship. This practice of censorship, also known as Hays Code¹¹, continued until 1968. During these years, this censorship banned the showing of homosexuality in movies along with many other contents.

With this censorship mechanism, homosexuals were not erased from the history of cinema, but they took place by their changed representation forms. Because the feminine,

¹¹Things shall not appear in pictures: 1. Pointed profanity—by either title or lip—this includes the words God, Lord, Jesus, Christ (unless they be used reverently in connection with proper religious ceremonies), Hell, S.O.B., damn, Gawd, and every other profane and vulgar expression however it may be spelled; 2. Any licentious or suggestive nudity—in fact or in silhouette; and any lecherous or licentious notice thereof by other characters in the picture; 3. The illegal traffic in drugs; 4. Any inference of sex perversion; 5. White slavery; 6. Miscegenation (sex relationships between the white and black races); 7. Sex hygiene and venereal diseases; 8. Scenes of actual childbirth—in fact or in silhouette; 9. Children's sex organs; 10. Ridicule of the clergy; 11. Willful offense to any nation, race or creed; (Onat, E.S. 2012: <http://acikerisim.deu.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12397/9609/328088.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> Retrieved date: 11.05.2020)

funny gay stereotype would attract attention, instead of these representations, the directors created homosexual characters who were imprisoned in unhappiness, inevitably dying or suicidal, or cold-blooded brutal murderers. Davies describes the transition between these stereotypes as follows:

“While the Code didn’t manage to completely eliminate the presence of gay characters in films, it ensured that filmmakers had to make them less obvious. So around this time writers and directors ditched the in-your-face camp sissy for another type of homosexual character: the unhappy, suicidal, desperate figure whose inevitable end was to be destroyed. (...) For decades, anyone of questionable sexuality would meet with a bad end by the close of the last reel. Gay characters found their natural comeuppance via bullets, fire or suicide. Another image of the homosexual was as victimiser rather than victim, the shadowy psychopath, cold-hearted villain or perverted killer” (Davies, 2010: 26).

Although the regulation strictly restricted Hollywood, directors managed to cover the subject of homosexuality in sub-texts, and over time, the audience managed to watch films in this way. While cinema censorship was extremely strict in the UK and the USA, in this period, from the 1930s to 1960s, writers and directors in Europe were able to deal with the issue of homosexuality freely. In summary, in this period until the 60s, with the rising masculinity in the 50s, anger towards gays increased even more, and homosexual characters took place with negative and stereotyped representations or sub-texts (Davies, 2010).

By the 1960s, gay characters were becoming more visible. Although men were freer in the 60s, gay characters in cinema were not freely represented. At that time, although the characters were not bad this time, they were condemned to be represented as "crazy", "problematic" and "suicidal" because of the evaluation of homosexuality as a "mental illness". Despite the censorship, the cinema of the 60s was also full of feminine gays. Davies conveys the general character of 60s cinema regarding gay representations as follows:

“Before the rise of independent cinema, it seemed that up to and throughout the 60s, gay and lesbian characters were portrayed as either villains to be feared, or tortured, suicidal individuals to be pitied. For most of the decade, few of these characters of ‘questionable sexuality’ survived the final reel” (Davies, 2010: 64).

The situation was similar in British Cinema as well as in Hollywood. Besides these negative representations, homosexuals were depicted as sexless comedy elements. In the 60's it was very likely to come across these "harmless" representations. *Carry On* is a British comedy film directed by Gerald Thomas, first shot in 1958 and with 31 sequels until 1992. The actors of the movie took place as two popular characters. Davies describes this "sexless" and "harmless" form of representation as follows:

“In British movies, Kenneth Williams and Charles Hawtrey’s *Carry On* characters were two of the most popular of the series’ gang. But they weren’t gay, of course – they were sissies. Their limp hand gestures and airy-fairy ‘ooh-I-say’ tones put the representation of gay characters right back to the era of silent movies; and even by the late 60s, in the era of sexual freedom, many films still featured pitiable homosexuals who do everything for others but neither expect nor get happiness for themselves. It’s an all too familiar notion that gays seem most loveable (or non-threatening) when rendered essentially sexless. And that’s what these characters were – funny quirky, sexless people” (Davies, 2010: 67).

While the representations of LGBTI + characters were depicted negatively or sexless, there was an important development in 1961. The regulation was rearranged in 1961 and censorship was relaxed. By the mid-1960s, avant-garde films about homosexuality started to appear. During this period, Andy Warhol, an American painter, film producer and one of the most important representatives of the Pop Art movement, made a great contribution to gay cinema. Although there had been positive developments regarding gay representation, Hollywood did not abandon stereotypes. LGBTI+s were also featured in movies as an element of comedy. The situation in the UK is a little different than in the USA. *The Killing of Sister*, shot in 1968 and directed by Robert Aldrich, is a film in which lesbian characters are represented naturally and truthfully. The film tells the story of a lesbian woman who lost her young lover and her job on the television channel. The film does not treat homosexuality as a problem or a source of embarrassment but as part of the natural order. One of the most important developments of the 60s is that *Midnight Cowboy*, a 1969 drama film directed by John Schlesinger for the first time as a gay-themed movie, won an Oscar for best film. Although homosexuality is not clearly shown in the film, it is possible to understand homosexuality in sub-texts (Davies, 2010).

When it comes to the 1970s, it is seen that the Stonewall riots had a significant impact on cinema. Along with the women's rights, human rights, political and economic equality movements of blacks, and the anti-war movement that emerged in the mid-60s, it

also affected the gay movement, and all of these changes also affected the cinema. Davies describes the media attitude after the Stonewall riots:

“As a result of the 1969 Stonewall riots and the subsequent shift in attitudes about homosexuality, the media was forced to acknowledge the existence of a gay community and the issues it faced. Although the events in Greenwich Village received little coverage initially, they served as a rallying force and soon many major newspapers and magazines featured in-depth stories concerning the new emergence of homosexual visibility” (Davies, 2010: 96).

After the Stonewall riots, small steps were taken towards positive homosexual representation, and although there was no radical change suddenly, the perception and visibility of homosexuals began to change after the riots.

Although homosexuals still appeared in movies as villains, the changes experienced in the 70s led to some changes in negative representations of homosexuals. Davies describes the change in the 70s as follows:

“Although not quite as many gay villains, victims and sissies appeared in the 70s as the 60s, the revelation of homosexuality still caused suicides in films and was regularly used to typify sleaziness and evil in blaxploitation, espionage dramas, cop thrillers, and prison films. ... Nevertheless, throughout the 70s, there was a definite change for the better in gay cinema” (Davies, 2010: 98).

While there were changes in Hollywood, gay-themed movies were also presented to the audience in Europe. Many television movies with homosexuality were also made in the USA during this period.

In terms of LGBTI+ characters in the cinema of the 70s, positive steps were taken in representation practices compared to previous periods. With the impact of the Stonewall riots, the visibility of homosexuals in cinema increased. While conventional homosexual representations were still in progress, this period also laid the groundwork for the 80 and later periods as a period in which innovative and important steps were taken.

The 1980s were the years when the voice of independent cinema was heard as well as mainstream productions. One of the striking films of this period in gay-themed productions is *Cruising* (1980). The film, directed by William Friedkin, was met with the reaction by homosexuals due to their negative representation and homophobic discourse. Davies conveys this homophobic perspective in the film as follows:

“The truth is that the gay scene, whether it be S&M bars or the commercialised danceclub culture, has always been decadent. Drugs, wild parties, seedy bars, anonymous sex...” (Davies, 2010: 136).

Besides the *Cruising*, films with such homophobic discourses were made in Hollywood in the early '80s. Gays of the early 80s were again featured as either a comedy element or characters who committed suicide or were killed. However, the film *Making Love*, shot by Arthur Hiller in 1982, is outside of these clichés. In the film, which tells about a married man falling in love with an open and gay writer, gay characters are represented naturally and as they are, unlike stereotypes in other movies. Again in the same year, in the film *Personel Best*, directed by Robert Towne, two lesbian women were represented without stereotyping. Davies conveys these lesbian representations as follows:

“In fact in *Personal Best* (1982) they were visible in a Hollywood film that refreshingly did not end with self-hatred and suicide. (...) Tory and Chris, are not depicted as abnormal. They are young and attractive women involved in a relationship that lasts over three years. The two women are in no way ashamed of or embarrassed by the set up, and sex scenes develop without either character breaking down in tears or feeling ‘sick’ about themselves” (Davies, 2010: 138).

The '80s is a period in which representations that can be real were more frequently encountered, as well as stereotyped representations. Positive changes such as rights struggles, civil movements and the acceleration of the gay movement in the world have also been reflected in the cinema. For this reason, LGBTI+ representations have started to become more realistic and positive. Another important issue included in gay cinema during this period is the issue of AIDS. In the 1980s, after the spread of AIDS and gays were held responsible for that, gay-themed films about AIDS have appeared.

“Soon after AIDS appeared, an ‘AIDS cinema’ emerged, coinciding with the mid-80s American indie production boom. Films like *An Early Frost* (1985) and *As Is* (1986) were typical of this genre, which portrayed the plight of white middle-class gay folk in a somewhat maudlin way as they came to terms with the spread of the new terminal disease. Most AIDS movies made at the height of the epidemic tended to be high-minded dramas awash in mournful, teary-eyed scenes, promoting an image of martyr-like victims that much of the gay community really wanted to ditch” (Davies, 2010: 140).

Contrary to Hollywood's harsh attitude, European Cinema has tended to embrace the issue of homosexuality, while the representations in the Hollywood industry and independent American cinema are as reported. In Spain, Pedro Almodovar¹² has treated the theme of homosexuality independently of Hollywood clichés. In the 1980s, gay-themed movies were also made in British Cinema and changes in representation practices began to be seen here as well. Davies describes the change of representations towards homosexuality in British Cinema as follows:

“*My Beautiful Laundrette* was just one British gay-themed film from the 1980s which seemed to celebrate heroic homosexuals, a stance which would have been unthinkable before 1960 when the subject was almost never mentioned in films. The ultimate outsiders, gay men were shown in a variety of historical eras defying the system, social prejudice and middleclass morality in a string of UK productions” (Davies, 2010: 142).

Despite the strict view of homosexuality and the presentation of homosexuals with certain clichés in Hollywood compared to European Cinema, there have been changes in this situation with the development of independent cinema in the USA. The audience has expanded with the naturalized and realized homosexual representations in the cinema of the 80s. With the increase in the audience and the appreciation of the films, this period led to progress in cinema. At the same time, with the weakening of the censorship mechanism and social movements, the visibility of LGBTI+s in cinema has increased, even though the representations constitute a controversial area, cinema has gradually become a freer area. With these advances in the 80s, the foundations of the 90s cinema, which became one step more liberated, were laid.

The 90s generally hosted gay comedies and films featuring glamorous transvestites that followed the AIDS dramas of the 80s. Although the AIDS dramas continued, films about the continuation of life after AIDS took their place in the 90s. In addition to comedy and AIDS dramas, politically oriented, seriously gay-themed films, founded by independent filmmakers in the late 80s, also affected directors in the 90s. During this

¹² Pedro Almodovar, born in 1949, is a Spanish director. He frequently covers the subjects of LGBTI + people in his films. His films are: *Pepi, Luci, Bom* (1980), *Labyrinth of Passion* (1982), *Dark Habits* (1983), *What Have I Done to Deserve This?* (1984), *Matador* (1986), *Law of Desire* (1987), *Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (1988), *Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down!* (1990), *High Heels* (1991), *Kika* (1993), *The Flower of My Secret* (1995), *Live Flesh* (1997), *All About My Mother* (1999), *Talk to Her* (2002), *Bad Education* (2004), *Volver* (2006), *Broken Embraces* (2009), *The Skin I Live In* (2011), *I'm So Excited* (2013), *Julieta* (2016), *Pain and Glory* (2019).

period, LGBTI+ themed films called "new queer cinema" did not achieve success in Hollywood except for a few exceptions. The "new queer" movies shot in this period generally focused on AIDS. Davies comments on Hollywood's insistence on AIDS through the movie, *Philadelphia*¹³ as follows:

"Having ravaged millions of both sexes, including children, especially in Africa, AIDS was still seen in the West predominantly as a gay disease. What had begun as a health crisis quickly became a social crisis, with a steep rise in homophobia and discrimination. So it was a substantial, if calculated, risk for a major movie studio to finance the expensive 1993 mainstream film *Philadelphia*, Hollywood's attempt to deal with AIDS" (Davies, 2010: 175).

Although *Philadelphia* is a gay-themed film that has achieved serious success, it can be said that it has not gotten rid of the stereotypes of gay characters. Homosexuality and gay characters are given within certain limits, and gays are presented in the film in an "ignored" way. In addition to Hollywood cinema, gay-themed movies were made in Britain in the '90s. *Wilde* (1997), a biographical film about Oscar Wilde's life and directed by Brian Gilbert, is one of the important films of this period in terms of understanding the negativities experienced by a person with a homosexual orientation. Apart from this movie, it can be said that most of the gay-themed British movies belonged to the comedy genre in this period. In the mid-90s, Czech director Wiktor Grodecki also made two documentary films¹⁴ about men doing sex work in real life. These documentary films present the experiences of adolescent men doing sex work in Eastern Europe with a realistic perspective. After these films, in the mid-90s, the comedy genre was focused on gay-themed movies. The reason for this is the lack of popularity of the new queer trend and the constantly produced AIDS dramas. Davies explains how gay-themed films turned towards the comedy genre at that time:

¹³ *Philadelphia* (1993), Director: Jonathan Demme. Stars: Tom Hanks, Denzel Washington and Antonio Banderas. Plot: Andrew Beckett, a talented gay lawyer, is fired when it is discovered in his law firm that he has AIDS. Although they have not revealed to him that the cause is AIDS, Beckett is sure that this is the cause and decides to sue this law firm. After being rejected for a while by the lawyers he applied to, he finally manages to hire Joe Miller. Miller is at first reluctant to deal with this case; because he is homophobic and prejudiced against Beckett. But thanks to Beckett, over time he begins to overcome his prejudices and his fears. Beckett, on the other hand, fights for his life, pride and rights, and for justice. (<http://www.beyazperde.com/filmler/film-9432/>) Retrieved date: 16.05.2020

¹⁴ *Not Angels But Angels* (1994) and *Body Without Soul* (1996)

“In the mid-90s, there was a noticeable shift in subject matter for gay filmmakers. Following on from the AIDS dramas and new queer movement, and in some ways an answer to it, gay cinema took a comedic turn for the rest of the decade, starting with a brief obsession with drag” (Davies, 2010: 178-179).

There was a serious increase in international productions along with American and British gay movies from the mid-90s to the end. During these years, gay-themed movies were also shot in Taiwan, Philippines and China. In addition, Ferzan Ozpetek's film *Steam: The Turkish Bath* (1998), has been nominated to represent Turkey at the Academy Awards, but the nomination of the film was revoked by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and a romantic heterosexual drama was preferred to represent Turkey. In the same period, gay-themed movies were shot in Greece, Canada, Germany and France. All these gay-themed movies were welcomed admiringly in their own countries and made an impression in the world.

Another feature of the 90s is that it was a period when the examples of movies about women were proliferated. The '90s is a period when realistic lesbian movies were made. At the same time, this period is a period when the series of comedy elements and stereotypes that have been ongoing for a long time are intense. While revolutionary developments are taking place in terms of visibility, it would not be correct to say the same for representations.

Despite the continuation of character representations with all these gay-themed stereotypes, new steps were taken in terms of representation in the 90s. The 90s gain importance in the sense that the visibility of homosexuals in the cinema increased, despite the conservative nature of the mainstream, it was a period where gay male characters (even if they are stereotypes) were nominated for Oscar awards, and at the same time, gay-themed movies were seen all over the world.

Although the change started in the early 2000s, the cliché comedies that is seen in the 90s continued, that is, in the films, gay characters continued to be ridiculed with stereotyped representations. In the context of understanding the cliché productions of 2000s Hollywood cinema, the comment on *Boat Trip* film shot in 2003 can be an example of gay stereotypes. According to Davies:

“The negativity is pretty constant with gay men portrayed in the usual stereotypical way – so, we see a variety of cross-dressers, old queens, men in dog collars, Gooding Jr mincing about, screeching noisily, and donning drag for the cabaret, all this only feeding into the film’s underlying homophobia” (Davies, 2010: 222).

As can be seen from this example, Hollywood has not abandoned stereotypes for a long time and has gradually strengthened its homophobic attitude with such films. It is still possible to come across films with these homophobic discourses and stereotyped characters today. Although there are films with more positive LGBT + representations compared to the early 2000s and previous periods, it is not possible to say that homophobia is over. Although positive steps were taken regarding gay cinema in the early 2000s, the films of that period continued to maintain the long-standing stereotype tradition. In addition, *When Boys Fly* (2002) and *Circuit* (2001), one of which is a documentary and the other an independent film, which depicts the travel parties that were common among gay men in this period in a realistic language, are important films in terms of explaining the things about the lives of gays in a realistic language. Films made in the same theme in Britain were left to television producers. Another important feature of these films was that documentary films focusing on the lives of LGBTI+ people were made in the 2000s. These films provided more realistic representations than dramas or comedy films full of stereotypes. The 2000s are again the period when lesbian movies increase in visibility (Davies, 2010).

British Cinema also presented natural and realistic characters that did not contain stereotypes in the 2000s. The Irish movie *Cowboys & Angels* was very important in the early 2000s. According to Davies:

“Another film that should be praised for its non-issue treatment of sexuality, *Cowboys & Angels* took an important step towards movies where ‘straight’ and ‘gay’ don’t matter so much as ‘relationships’” (Davies, 2010: 241).

As Davies stated, the 2000s also represent the entrance to a period in which negative gay representations began to take place as well as positive representations, homosexuality was considered as the nature of human in films, and gays were not segregated and marginalized. This period is also the period when LGBTI+ themed films around the world increased in terms of visibility. During this period, examples of gay-

themed movies were seen in Asia and Israeli Cinema, and French Cinema produced gay-themed movies for ten years. In Italy, after his film *Steam: The Turkish Bath*, Ferzan Özpetek drew attention with the film *His Secret Life*, and gay love stories from Spanish Cinema made their name heard during these years. Gay-oriented films continued to be produced in mainstream cinema, which exhibits a more homophobic stance compared to world cinema.

One of the biggest hit films of the 2000s in the mainstream is the film *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) directed by Ang Lee. The film, which was criticized by Christian communities and even banned in some states of the USA, attracted more people's attention due to this sensational situation. Davies describes this situation as follows:

“Back in the real world, however, critics heaped praise on *Brokeback* and millions of cinemagoers packed out theatres to watch the gay love story. Not surprisingly, the film led the posse of gay-themed movies in the Oscars race. In fact, 5 March 2006 is the date that goes down in history as the ‘Gay Oscars’ with Hollywood actively ushering in the ‘year of the queer’” (Davies, 2010: 254).

Brokeback Mountain has an important place in the history of gay cinema, as reported by Davies. The movie is also important in understanding Hollywood's perspective on homosexuality. Although it achieved great success in various festivals and was nominated in eight categories at the Oscar Awards, it could not win the best film award. The same is true for the *Philadelphia* movie. Although the lead actor of the film, Tom Hanks, received the Oscar for best actor, the film did not receive the best picture award. This is related to the attitude of mainstream cinema towards homosexuality. Davies describes the mainstream cinema's attitude towards homosexuality as follows:

“And Hollywood, it seems, isn’t ready to come out of the closet either. It’s interesting that not a single one of the actors who played those characters was actually gay. These straight actors are stars who ‘dare’ to take on gay roles. If straight actors can play gay parts why can’t it work the other way around?” (Davies, 2010: 225).

The implicit homophobic attitude of Hollywood is related to the ideology of the ruling class. Despite the success of the films, their failure to receive awards again brings to mind the heterosexist perspective, which includes the ownership relations of the ruling class and festivals. The white, conservative, heterosexual and gender-based perspective that constitutes the “ideal” of the dominant ideology has overshadowed the success of the

films with homosexual characters that fall outside this “ideal”. In addition, hiding or revealing the homosexuality of actors in Hollywood has also existed in the cinema industry as another problematic area. Although less homophobic attitude was encountered than in the past, homophobia continues in this period as well because the perception of the “ideal” of the capitalist order is fed by heterosexism. In the early 2000s, the low number of gay actors affected the director and producers negatively, and there were also situations in which the directors led homosexual actors to fear that the actors should hide their homosexuality since it negatively affected their fans. While some of the actors came out, others continued their careers in hiding (Davies, 2010). Davies conveys the career situation of one of the actors who came out as follows:

“Rupert Everett is one of the few out and proud gay men in Hollywood, but his career has recently been confined to playing homosexual roles or dressing up in drag. He claims to have lost major roles because of his sexuality. Indeed, many out gay actors play camp roles as an aside to the main story, like the gay best friend, the camp comedy character and so on. But to actually have an openly gay actor playing James Bond? No chance” (Davies, 2010: 257).

While these problems were already being experienced in Hollywood in the early 2000s, the process of change continued. Today, homophobic attitudes and similar problems are also experienced in the cinema industry. The gender-based perspective is still today a concept that the dominant ideology constantly reproduces and imposes. Therefore, in every order where gender exists, industries are also affected by this concept and their content is based on gender. The truths that the concept of gender accepts are the binary gender system consisting of men and women, the roles assigned to these two genders and heterosexual orientation. Apart from these, people with different gender identity and sexual orientation are therefore confronted with homophobic and exclusionary discourses and are generally represented with problematic and negative representation styles in the contents they find the opportunity to represent. In summary, the mainstream cinema industry is not independent from the concept of gender, which constitutes the dominant ideology, only more positive progress is being made despite these problems today.

In the early 2000s, with the influence of the film *Brokeback Mountain*, directors and producers started to make more films on gay themes. In addition to visibility, positive steps have been taken over time in the representation of homosexual characters. Davies describes the period from the pre-60s to the 2000s as follows:

“Over the decades, gay cinema has reflected the community’s journey from persecution to emancipation to acceptance. Politicised dramas like *Victim* in the 60s, *The Naked Civil Servant* in the 70s, and the AIDS cinema of the 80s have given way to films which celebrate a vast array of gay lifestyles. Gay films have undergone a major shift, from the fringe to the mainstream, and the rise of gay imagery in TV and cinema has undoubtedly loosened the stays of straight society. Many gay films were so mired in issues of coming out, discrimination and AIDS that they left little room for fun, but times have changed and gay politics evolved. Four decades on from the legalisation of homosexuality, there’s certainly cause for celebration over what’s been achieved in the representation of gay life on screen. And the argument was never just about ‘positive images’ but images of all kinds. The gay community had been sorely underrepresented in Hollywood, decade after decade, but the taboo has slowly faded and films now more accurately portray our diverse society” (Davies, 2010: 261).

Hollywood, European and world cinema has gone through many stages in the historical process, as Davies said. Similarly, different periods regarding the perspective of homosexuality have been experienced in cinema, just like the stages homosexuality passed through in general. The representation of homosexuality in cinema, ranging from perverts to murderers, from victims to comedy characters, has always been established with the dominant ideology and discourse of the rulers. With the political, social, economic and cultural changes in the world and the gay movement, there are now some changes in the positive context. This change may vary from geography to geography and from society to society. Some social changes that develop earlier in western societies may occur later in eastern societies. For this reason, cinema, which cannot be considered independently from social movements, also shows differences regarding development.

Today, the USA and European Cinema can produce relatively freer and realistic discourses in terms of visibility and representation of gays.

In this study, the production of discourses on gay characters and the representation of LGBTI+s, seen in Turkey’s Cinema after the 90s, will be examined. It will be informative to look at films with LGBTI+ characters in Turkey’s Cinema before analyzing the films selected as samples.

7.4 LGBTI+ s and Their Representations in Turkey's Cinema

As in World Cinema, the representations of LGBTI+ characters are encountered also in Turkey's Cinema. Recently, positive developments have been made regarding the LGBTI+ representations in the World Cinema in terms of visibility and realistic representations. It can be said that Turkey's Cinema is behind this positive about the representation. In this section, the emergence of LGBTIs in Turkey's Cinema and their representations will be examined.

In this section, where LGBTI representations in Turkey's Cinema are examined in the historical process, Ağâh Özgüç's book *Türk Sineması'nda Cinselliğin Tarihi* [History of Sexuality in Turkish Cinema] (1988) will be used. In the book, Özgüç examined the issue of sexuality in Turkey's Cinema in the historical process in a very comprehensive way.

The involvement of LGBTI+s in Turkey's Cinema is a situation encountered in almost every period. Although it was very limited in the early decades, a few LGBTI+ characters took part in the side roles without revealing their gender identity or sexual orientation. The films, in which the leading roles consist of LGBTI+ characters and where their gender identity and sexual orientation are clearly presented with their stories, are revealed in the 80s and 90s.

In this section, firstly, the visibility of LGBTI+s in films will be mentioned and then their representation will be evaluated. One of the first examples of LGBTI+ visibility in Turkey's Cinema can be seen in the film *Leblebici Horhor*, shot by Muhsin Ertuğrul in 1923. It is the first time that a transvestite character - disguised as a woman – appeared in Turkey's Cinema. This character appeared in the film as an element of comedy. Özgüç describes this first transvestite visibility as follows:

“As you can see, the first transvestite event in Turkish Cinema has emerged with a funny opera-film. According to the period, the change in sex has been provided dressing like a woman with traditional religious clothes and veils. As it is known, these kinds of changes were constantly encountered in the plays of the theatre-in-the-round that staged in the Ottoman period before 1923. For example, the Zennes and the Kōçeks in these traditional theatre plays are not different from the transvestites... Today, Seyfi Dursunoğlu continues this kind of performance from the Ottoman period under the name of Huysuz Virjin” (Özgüç, 2006: 57).

Although the first recorded example was a male character who dressed like a woman, after 1959 there were also female characters who dress and behave like a man. The first example of this fashion has emerged with the film *Fosforlu Cevriye*. Then, in films such as *Şoför Nebahat*, *Belalı Torun*, *Gece Kuşu*, *Aslan Yavrusu*, the famous actresses of the period serve as examples of transvestite characters who dress like a man and sometimes even behave like a man.

“While films in which women take on characters in the form of men continue, films in which men dress and act like women have also attracted attention in the 60s. The film *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, directed by Hulki Saner in 1964 as a copy of *Some Like it Hot* has taken place in Turkey’s Cinema. The film, in which Sadri Alışık and İzzet Günay share the leading roles and behave like a woman, is considered to be the first film whose basic elements are based on transvestism” (Özgüç, 2006: 57).

At the same period, in the films *Avanta Kemal* (1964), *Yalancının Mumu* (1965), *Kibar Haydut* (1966), the famous actors of the period continued this fashion by dressing and behaving like women. These transvestite characters have continued this fashion until the '80s, both as a man and a woman. These characters, who took part in films until the '80s, often played side roles as a comedy element to make the audience laugh. Özgüç describes this state of being a comedy element as follows:

“From Behzat Budak (Leblebici Horhor), who first portrayed the transvestite in Turkish Cinema, to the 1980s, the main purpose of these scenes was to make the audience laugh a little, and to tickle the audience a little, with the disguise of those. However, since these characters and the situations remain like an unpleasant patch in the story, of course, it could not be mentioned about any admiration” (Özgüç, 2006: 60).

In the '80s a few changes regarding transvestites started to be noticed. Although the transvestites still appear as comedy elements in the performances, what has changed is the shift of these characters from side roles to the lead roles and the change in their characters. By 1975, transsexual women began to be seen in Turkey’s Cinema. Transsexual actresses such as Emel Aydan, Tijen Erman, Derya Sonay and Aylin Berkay, who appeared in sex films of the 1974-79 period, have not seen much except these films. The most important figure that Turkey faced by transgender women in cinema for the first time is inevitably Bülent Ersoy. Ersoy has been in a different place than other transgender women who act in sex movies. The films *Beddua* (1980) and *Şöhretin Sonu* (1981), in which Bülent Ersoy played the leading role, were important for the '80s. Bülent Ersoy has not yet completed

the gender transition in *Beddua*. Ersoy, who plays a role as a biological man in the film, draws a feminine character and her gender identity is linked to the rape exposed to at a child age. After completing her gender transition in 1981, she again starred in the movie *Şöhretin Sonu*, this time as a woman. Having a transsexual character in the lead role is important in terms of visibility, but these films are quite problematic in terms of representation. In *Şöhretin Sonu*, Bülent Ersoy is constantly exposed to discrimination and marginalization due to her gender identity, although she is a very famous and beloved vocal artist. She is excluded by her family and friends, and the psychological problems she experiences in the film and the tense, capricious and unhappy character frame she draws are reflected as if she will pass by accepting the male gender and living accordingly. At the end of the film, she disguises herself as a man and is humiliated in court, and finally apologizes to the Turkish people. The film contains highly homophobic, transphobic and marginalizing discourses. The fact that the film was shot under the political pressure of the '80s is important for understanding these homophobic and transphobic discourses, but the film is also controversial in terms of conveying the experiences of a transsexual person. Özgüç describes this gender confusion in the films as follows:

"In *Beddua*, directed by Melih Gülsen, which Bülent Ersoy played before going to London became a woman, We watch Bülent Ersoy's transformation to a transvestite by the effects of the rape that he exposed to in his childhood days. In her last film (*Efkarlıyım Abiler*, 1986), which she played after being a woman by surgery, Ersoy is a truck driver with a cap, a leather jacket-trouser suit, a tie, and a rosary in her hand. The male transvestite in *Beddua* turns out to be a female transvestite this time" (Özgüç, 2006: 60).

As Özgüç said, films in which Bülent Ersoy played the leading roles had a complex structure in terms of representation. The alternative to the comedy element was conveyed to the audience as transphobic and homophobic dramas. In the process until the '90s, transvestite samples have progressed over these two types. The 1984 movie *Şabaniye*, starring Kemal Sunal, is important in terms of being a completely transvestite movie. In the same year, the movie called *Deliler Almanya'da* also featured transvestite characters, which Özgüç defined as "cheap frivolity" as a comedy element. According to Özgüç:

"After all, transvestism is the pestled water for contemporary Turkish cinema. I mean making a little laugh and a bit of a tickle... You just try to laugh to these artificial and fake characters. As we said before, isn't that the main function of the work?" (Özgüç, 2006: 61).

According to the examples evaluated by Özgüç until the '90s, the situation proves that transvestites cannot go beyond the comedy element. There is almost no other representation style other than Bülent Ersoy's transphobic and homophobic dramas

*Dönersen Islık Çal*¹⁵ (1992), directed by Orhan Oğuz, is a different film compared to previous periods. The most important difference of the movie is that there is a transvestite character in the lead role and there is no comedy element. The film differs from other films with its genre. The leading roles of *Dönersen Islık Çal* are consists of "the others". The story is also the story of "others". It is a film that focuses on the lives of a dwarf and a transvestite living in the back streets of Beyoğlu, as well as the lives of homosexual characters and sex workers, ie "others". In the same period *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*¹⁶, shot by Atıf Yılmaz in 1993, focuses on the lives of "others", tells the stories of gay characters, transsexuals, sex workers, and features LGBTI+s in the lead roles. Again, the films *Ağır Roman*, *Lola and Billy the Kid* in the 90s and *Anlat İstanbul, Köpek ve Güneşi Gördüm* in the 2000s, are very important films in terms of the leading roles of transvestite and transsexual characters and their stories to be told and visibility.

When lesbian relationships in Turkey's Cinema are examined, the first examples are found in the 60s. Özgüç attributes the absence of representations of homosexuality before 1960 to the fact that Turkey is an extremely conservative, that is, closed society, regarding sexuality.

The first example is the film *Ver Elini İstanbul*, directed by Aydın Arakon in 1962. There is a scene in the film where two actresses (Leyla Sayar and Mualla Kavur) kiss. This scene was cut by the censorship board. The second example is the film *İki Gemi Yan Yana*, directed by Atıf Yılmaz in 1963. The kissing of two actresses (Suzan Avcı and Sevda Nur) is also featured in this film. These two examples can be considered as small examples rather than a conscious lesbian orientation and relationship. Unlike these two examples, the 1965 film *Haremde Dört Kadın* deals with lesbianism. Directed by Halit Refiğ, the film depicts four women in the harem of Sadık Pasha, one of the Ottoman pashas. Among these

¹⁵ Since the film is one of the films selected as a sample in the study, it will not be examined in detail here, but will be detailed in the analysis section.

¹⁶ Since the film is one of the films selected as a sample in the study, it will not be examined in detail here, but will be detailed in the analysis section.

four women, who are often portrayed under pressure, the lesbian relationship that two of them experienced is presented in a long-lasting and understandable way than in other films.

Özgüç describes this lesbian visibility as follows:

“Gülfem, Mihrengiz, Şevkidil and Ruhşan are the four women in Sadık Pasha's harem. Among these women, the love between Mihrengiz and Şevkidil gradually turns into a lesbian relationship. For example, Ayfer Feray and Birsan Menekşeli holding hands and kissing, and Devlet Devrim massaging Birsan Menekşeli on a sofa and touching her legs are hidden images of harem lesbianism. And, of course, such tendencies to homosexuality stemmed from the pressures of Ottoman life. For this reason, the image of lesbianism was not addressed as sexual exploitation. Because underlying this erotic behaviour is not cinematic exploitation, but the hidden sexual realities of the age” (Özgüç, 2006: 178).

Starting with these examples seen in the 60s, the issue of lesbianism in Turkey's Cinema changes shape with the sex comedies that started in 1974 and turns into the sexual exploitation of women. Özgüç describes these films as follows:

“Sexual elements and uncensored pieces of porn are mixed together in these films, obviously, they are intentionally promoted to provoke and exploit the audience. The woman-to-woman sex scenes are undoubtedly the crude examples of this exploitation. Because these scenes outside of eroticism and sexual aesthetics, they are just like a patch. These scenes, which turn into a pornographic act, have no close connection with either the film story or their characters. Therefore, it is not understood why women have sex with each other. Since they do not have psychological or social connections, the reasons for these behaviours are not considered” (Özgüç, 2006: 180).

As Özgüç said, these representations of lesbianism between 1974-79 were nothing but the exploitation of the body and sexuality of women. The female body and sexuality have been commodified and marketed to the target audience of men. It can be said that these representations have no common with the realities felt and experienced about sexual orientation and homosexuality. These productions are shallow examples of commercial concern, based on pornography, prepared for the masculine gaze, without any in-depth psychological or social connection to homosexuality.

After the end of the period of sex comedies, there have been changes in the Turkey Cinema along with political, economic and social changes in Turkey. With the 1980s, important directors of the period started to focus on the issue of women. Women's issues have been one of the interesting topics covered in Turkey's Cinema for a certain period. In particular, Atıf Yılmaz has been the director who has dealt with the issue of women the most. The state of intimacy between women encountered in these films did not include a

purely lesbian relationship, nor merely representations of women that became sexual exploitation. In these films, while close friendships between women are generally mentioned, lesbianism is made to be felt by the audience without being clearly shown. The need for shelter and affection arising from intimacy among women and subtle sexual attraction were made to be felt by the audience. One of the examples that can be given for these films is *İhtiras Fırtınası*, directed by Halit Refiğ in 1983. Similarly, *Dul Bir Kadın*, directed by Atıf Yılmaz in 1985, is also an example of these films. Özgüç evaluates these two films as follows:

“*İhtiras Fırtınası*, in the story set in Abdülhamit’s Turkey, despite the fact that the veteran's daughter Şeref (Gülşen Bubikoğlu) and her nephew Müjgan (Zuhal Olcay) share the same man, the two women stay in the same house for a certain period of time because they can’t separate from each other, and what is it, if not platonic lesbianism? In *Dul Bir Kadın*, Atıf Yılmaz exhibits these approaches in today’s Turkey, in Bodrum that increases sexual feelings. Müjde Ar and Nur Sürer are two lonely women, whose feelings of admiration for each other - especially Nur Sürer’s - started at school desks. Although they share the same man, it brings the two women closer to each other, as in Halit Refiğ's *İhtiras Fırtınası*. The most interesting scenes of the film are undoubtedly the two lonely women sheltering more to each other, especially sleeping naked in the same bed, walking hand in hand in the Bodrum streets. Because the friendship relationship between two women who do not turn into a sexual act is given by making references, that is, in the form of erotic winking” (Özgüç, 2006: 183).

As Özgüç said, in the period following after the sexual and physical exploitation of women, lesbianism was represented as platonic feelings that did not turn into sexual action through feelings of friendship and admiration.

The first film in which lesbianism is clearly represented and made visible, including sexual acts and emotional relationships in Turkey’s Cinema, is the film *Düş Gezginleri*¹⁷, which is directed by Atıf Yılmaz in 1992. In *Düş Gezginleri*, two childhood friends meet and get to know each other after years in a town and their friendship, which started again, turns into love. The leading roles are Meral Oğuz as Nilgün and Lale Mansur as Havva under the alias Anjelik. Nilgün is a doctor and Anjelik is a sex worker working in a brothel in the town. The detail that needs to be emphasized in the film is the presentation of an open lesbian relationship for the first time. In addition, the class conflict between two lovers and the representation of one of the characters with masculine traits imprison the film in a heteronormative discourse.

¹⁷ Since the film is one of the films selected as a sample in the study, it will not be examined in detail here, but will be detailed in the analysis section.

After *Düş Gezginleri*, the issue of lesbianism has improved in terms of visibility. It is seen that Özlem Savaş and Nuray Demiröz, who played the role of friends in *Sekizinci Saat*, directed by Cemal Gözütok in 1994, openly kissed each other in places and continued their relations at their homes. Similarly, in the film *Böcek* (1995), directed by Ümit Elçi, there is a scene where the wife (Nurseli İdiz) of Recai Bey (Halil Ergün), who is in the leading role, has a lesbian relationship with her next-door neighbour (Elif Kramer). Even, Recai Bey suddenly enters the bedroom and catches his wife and neighbour woman while caring and kissing each other's naked body, and he gets very angry with this situation. Similarly, a lesbian relationship is the subject of the film *Sokaktaki Adam*, the literary adaptation of the Atilla İlhan's novel, which is directed by Bilet İlhan.

“Meryem (Suna Yıldızoğlu), who runs two brothels in Tarlabası, and her brunette and short-haired maid Tresula (Süeda Can) kiss and make love in the film... In one scene of the film, Meryem and Tresula want to take Kamarot Hasan (Metin Belgin), a scabby sailor, who is constantly wandering around with a pipe and jacket, as third between them. Here's what happened: While Meryem is having sex with Hasan, Tresula enters the room. This time, it is two women who are thrown into each other's arms and begin kissing. This erotic play, which Hasan watches with disgust, ends before it turns into a three-person orgy with Hasan's getting out of them” (Özgüç, 2006: 188).

As Özgüç said, lesbian relationships became more clearly represented in the 90s and 2000s. Another example is *Dansöz* (2000), directed by Savaş Ay. Although not as visible as *Düş Gezginleri*, one of the female characters in this film also has lesbian traits. The films *Sokaktaki Adam* and *Dansöz* deal with the issue of lesbianism rather superficially. In all the films, characters who live their homosexuality openly and situations where lesbianism is conveyed from many perspectives (social, psychological, etc.) are not seen. On the contrary, men are always included in sexual and emotional acts by giving them superficial intimacy. In these films, lesbianism is constructed with a heteronormative perspective rather than an orientation, through preferences or personal fantasies, or women who shelter in women because of their upsetting or bad experiences.

Other examples for films in which lesbianism is depicted in the 2000s are: *2 Girls* (2005) Kutluğ Ataman, *The Edge of Heaven* (2007) Fatih Akın, *Nar* (2011) Ümit Ünal. The situation is similar in the 2000s, the lesbian character Behiye (Feride Çetin) is represented as a stereotypical lesbian character, with an unrequited love in *İki Genç Kız*. Behiye is portrayed in a combative, rebellious, masculine way. At the same time, rather than lesbianism, the film deals with the class difference between the two female characters.

The Edge of Heaven, on the other hand, is more realistic in representation, but the main subject of the film is political conflict and refuge. Lesbianism is limited in the film. Despite being realistic in terms of visibility, the story of lesbianism ends with the sudden death of one of the characters. *Nar* is a completely open film in terms of visibility. The film features two female characters who live together and have a relationship explicitly. The representation problem here is similar to *Düş Gezginleri*. The social class difference between characters, presentation of a character as a stereotypical masculine lesbian, reproduces the masculine and heteronormative structure. The active and passive forms of representation that are supposed to be among women - women who support the house, who need attention and care, and women who do not work or who are directly engaged in domestic work - reproduce the heteronormative and gendered structure. Another important point here is that almost all films about women and lesbianism are made by men. Gendered patriarchal order and ownership relations are active in most of the cinema. For this reason, women are often represented in many films through the eyes of men.

The situation is different for male homosexuality, although women's homosexuality has gained visibility in cinema from an early period and did not receive many reactions (Özgüç, 2006). Considering the patriarchal order, “masculinity” norms and gender concepts, “being like a woman” attributed to male homosexuals is defined as a degrading and unacceptable situation for hegemonic masculinity. In patriarchal societies, hegemonic masculinity can not only dominate women, but can also be defined as a sphere of power that dominates men other than the “ideal” man created by him. Therefore, gay men are under the pressure of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity strengthens itself through the “others” it has created. The masculine values dominated by this hegemonic masculinity in the society make it inevitable to define homosexual men as “the other”. The concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is already oppressing women, will, of course, put the “woman-like” man under pressure, and will also use gay men to raise and protect their masculine values. This political and social prevailing view distinguishes male homosexuality from female homosexuality, and alienates male homosexuals as unspoken, reacted and excluded. For this reason, it can be said that the visibility of gay characters in Turkey’s cinema has been much later and controversial than lesbians. It can be said that this is also the case for cinema. Gay characters, who entered the cinema much later than lesbians, continued the tradition of being a comedy element in the side roles in Turkey’s

Cinema, and when there was no comedy element, they were portrayed as deceitful, liar, ungrateful and as the characters dressed like a woman, behaved like a woman, and imitated women. Being gay in Turkey's Cinema is reduced to being a feminine man, and this point of view is not a realistic one. Özgüç describes this unrealistic gayness in Turkey's Cinema as follows:

“First, effeminate characters entered Turkish cinema. Singer heroes with high charisma like Zeki Müren ... Later, characters such as Talha Özmen, Ahmet Özkan, Kudret Şandra, which are open to ‘effemination’, in an appearance of ‘girlish beauty’. In the 1970s, these characters were gradually deformed. So it was made ugly. They displayed a series of artificial images with their costumes and feminine behaviours. Especially in ‘sex adventures’ and ‘sex comedies’” (Özgüç, 2006: 387).

As Özgüç said, gay characters joined Turkey's Cinema with unreal artificial presentations. In the section where transvestite and transsexual characters in Turkey's Cinema were mentioned before, the film *Beddua* directed by Melih Gürgen, which was the first gay male-themed movie in 1980, was examined. The film starring Bülent Ersoy is extremely unreal, superficial, even homophobic. Another point that should be mentioned here is that Bülent Ersoy is a transsexual woman, not gay. Ersoy has not yet completed the gender transition in this film and is in love with a woman despite her extremely feminine attitude in the film. Ersoy completed the gender transition a year after this movie. It can be considered unrealistic for a person who identifies themselves as a woman to portray a gay character and fall in love with a woman despite being gay. Although *Beddua* is considered important because it is trying to break a "taboo" for the 1980 period, in this film, which is presented without distinguishing gender identity and sexual orientation, nothing but an unreal and cliché drama is encountered.

Besides *Beddua*, no films with an open “homosexual” man were found until 1989. During this period, gay orientations are implied under “close friendship”. *Acılar Paylaşılmaz* (1989), directed by Eser Zorlu, is a film based on the relationship between a father and his gay son. The film is again superficially depicted in the form of a classic drama, with the father who used violence against his son and rejected him, then forgiving his son. The reason for homosexuality is here also attributed to an unscientific situation such as “growing up without a father”.

The director who brought a different perspective to gayness in 1993 is Atıf Yılmaz. Gay characters with open identities were featured in the film *Gece, Melek ve Bizim*

Çocuklar (1993). This film is different since it makes visible not only gay but also sex worker women, transvestite and transgender women. The general theme of the film includes various LGBTI+ people in terms of focusing on the lives of these people who work as a sex-worker or in similar jobs and live in the back streets of Beyoğlu. Although the relationship between men is not very close to reality, it is outside of the stereotype of "feminine, funny gay". The film depicts the relationship of a middle-aged, wealthy businessman and a young man who continues to be with him for his money. The young man also has a girlfriend, and the woman leaves the young man because of his lover's relationship with another man. Although *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* has no particular gay stereotypes, it is based on similar stereotypes. Other examples of the 90s differ in terms of explicit presentation of the gay orientation. Like Atıf Yılmaz, Mustafa Altıoklar clearly deals with the relationship between men in *Ağır Roman* (1997). The "other" lives in Tarlabası are also the subject of this film. The characters presented in these two films are based on "the other" in their own right. Despite the visibility in that film, the descriptions do not establish a different perspective for the audience other than reproducing the "other" with conventional stereotypes. For this reason, the important thing here is not that the characters are LGBTI+ people, but that they are already positioned within the "other" in every sense. Similarly in Kutluğ Ataman's film, *Lola and Billy the Kid* (1998) the characters are gay or transvestite characters positioned within the "other" as well. *Lola and Billy the Kid* is also a film that shows male homosexuality and transvestism clearly. This feature is also valid for the film *Dönersen Islık Çal* (1992).

At the same time, the common characteristics of these films are that they are mostly drama and that their characters are trapped in unhappy, unresolved, helpless lives or lose their lives within the stereotype in which they are presented. Thus, drama clichés of LGBTI+ people emerge. These films make an impact as examples that will help to boost and reproducing of the existing prejudices of the society towards LGBTI+s such as that these people are only "sex workers" and live in suburbs, they are "immoral" and set a bad example in the society, even they are sick, they were exposed to harassment and rape before and therefore they chose this way.

An example where male homosexuality is presented clearly and without stereotypes is Ferzan Özpetek's film *Steam: The Turkish Bath*. The two men getting close and kissing each other is clearly demonstrated in this movie. The fact that the characters are not stereotyped gays is important since it indicates the closeness of the film to reality, while at the same time showing that alternative gay representations are possible. Its closeness to the reality caused the film to receive some negative reactions. Similarly, Mustafa Altıoklar's film *Istanbul Beneath My Wings* (1996) got reactions due to the presentation of the Ottoman sultan as homosexual and even the screening of the film was banned in some provinces. Özgüç describes the negative reactions to these two films as follows:

“The cinematic images of some realities of any kind can undoubtedly be disturbing. Since homosexuality cannot be tolerated in our social life, Ferzan Özpetek's *Steam: The Turkish Bath*, like *Istanbul Beneath My Wings*, would have its fair share of reactions. Moreover, Özpetek was the most fearless one underlined this phenomenon that Turkish cinema had just discovered. And it was the first time that he bravely photographed two men kissing lip-to-lip in a scene of *Steam: The Turkish Bath*...” (Özgüç, 2006: 391).

As Özgüç told, despite all the forms of reaction and representation, the '90s were the years when visibility for LGBTI + and gays increased. Some of the other examples that tell the stories of gays in the 2000s are as follows: While the film *Küçük Özgürlük* (2003), directed by Yüksel Yavuz, focuses on the relationship between two close friends, in the film *Yazı Tura* (2004), directed by Uğur Yücel, the story of two opposite brothers is told. As a stereotypic representative of the patriarchal order, the film presents the contrasts with certain clichés by putting a feminine gay brother character in front of a masculine, heterosexual, bellicose and tough male character. The gay brother's homosexuality in the film is again attributed to father longing and the abuse he was exposed to in childhood. The most obvious stereotype of gay characters emerges here as well. In 2011, the film *Zenne*¹⁸, directed by Caner Alper and Mehmet Binay, which was adapted from a true story, is important in terms of visibility and the fact that the story belongs entirely to gay and bisexual men. As can be seen, unlike lesbians, gays could not take place in Turkey's cinema for many years due to the dominant and patriarchal viewpoint towards male homosexuality. The visibility of gays increased in the 90s and 2000s.

¹⁸ Since the film is one of the films selected as a sample in the study, it will not be examined in detail here, but will be detailed in the analysis section.

In post-1990 Turkey's Cinema, where the visibility of LGBTI+ characters is considered a positive development, representation practices are a controversial field. The stereotypes in which LGBTI+ characters are imprisoned in post-1990 period films, representation practices and reproduction of these practices will be discussed in the analysis of the sample films and conclusion section.

7.5 Evaluation

Starting with the definition of the concept of representation and continuing with the explanation of representation, in this section of the study, depending on the concept of representation, the subtitles *the representation policies in the media towards LGBTI+s and othering: news, advertisements and series, representation in cinema and LGBTI+s, representation in Turkey's cinema and LGBTI+s* were included respectively.

By mentioning the representation of LGBTI+s in various media organs and cinema, how they were marginalized through stereotyping was explained. The media coverage and representation of LGBTI+s are in parallel with the historical processes of LGBTI+ people described in the first chapter. LGBTI+s, who have not been able to take place very much in the media since the first periods, and even if they can take place in accordance with the prevailing discourse, are generally presented to the society with certain stereotypes. In recent years, visibility has increased by varying across geographies.

LGBTI+s, who have existed since the very beginning of cinema, have been represented as the 'other' in mainstream cinema. Following after the periods that gays generally find the opportunity to be represented in side roles as comedy elements, the transformation of the representation of gays and lesbians as "victims, murderers, suicidal", and transvestites and transsexuals as "always sex workers, who have no other alternative, are trapped in bad and desperate lives", the killing or death of the LGBTI+ characters in the middle or at the end of the story can be given as examples of this representation of the other.

LGBTI+s have been in Turkey's Cinema in a limited and subtle way from the very beginning. LGBTI+s started to take part openly in Turkey's Cinema in the 90s.

The Post-90s Turkey's Cinema is the period when LGBTI+ characters were easily seen in cinema in terms of visibility. The '90s is important in the context of being a period that some changes were experienced in political, economic, social and cultural order due to the capitalism coming to Turkey and the increasing influence of neoliberal policies. In this period when the promise of freedom raised, a pleasure-oriented cultural transformation occurred, and the unspoken were started to be spoken, the filmmakers have also worked on making the unspoken to be spoken and the invisible to be visible. For this reason, films featuring LGBTI+ people also increased in this period. The 90s cinema is evaluated as follows in the book called *Her şeye Rağmen Ayakta 90'lar Türk Sineması*, which is edited by Şükran Kuyucak Esen:

“Cinema of the 1990s is a kind of second “Transitional Period”, in which old habits were abandoned, but the old and new generation only met on the common ground of cinema, and television and the advertising sector played an important role. Turkey is experiencing the changes and transformations are also directly influence the Turkish cinema. The abandoning of statism in the economy, transition to a liberal economy, increasing globalization, the end of the Cold War, United States' becoming the only superpower with the 1st Gulf War, increased dependence of Turkey on some other developed countries - especially the USA-, changing consumption patterns, increasing the division between classes in terms of income distribution has also affected Turkish cinema positively or negatively at different rates” (Ormanlı, 2012: 26 Edt. Esen).

The point to be noted in this study is that although visibility is a positive development, the representation style of LGBTI+ people is negative. Many LGBTI+ characters that have been seen in movies since the '90s are presented as the other within certain stereotypes. This alleged progressive visibility is not actually changing and transformative, on the contrary, it reinforces the representation stereotypes in a way. By promising visibility, capitalism increases the visibility of LGBTI+, but the stories are generally produced with certain stereotypes from the perspective of the ruling and dominant ideology. In summary, this visibility again serves the dominant ideology. Similar to the mainstream, gays and transvestites with comedy elements, transvestites and transsexuals who always work as sex workers and have no alternative, characters living in “suburban” neighbourhoods with constant bad living conditions, LGBTI+ couples who have to leave and/or face social pressure, stories of childhood abuse, rape and the death or murder of LGBTI+ people at the end of the story are examples of these representations. These examples of representation serve the dominant ideology and the prejudices against the society produced by the dominant ideology.

The section, which includes the analysis of the films selected as samples, will be enlightening in the context of understanding how LGBTI+ characters marginalized by the stereotypes in these stories are presented to the society with the help of representation policies and how the reproduction of existing stereotypes is provided.



8. ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED FILMS BELONG TO THE TURKEY'S CINEMA

In this section, the representation styles of LGBT characters in the selected films *Düş Gezginleri*, *Dönersen Islık Çal*, *Gece*, *Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*, *Teslimiyet* and *Köpek* will be examined in the context of character and content analysis. The films will be introduced with their general information and will be examined by character and content analysis method in order to interpret gender and representation policies correctly. The reasons for selecting these films are that the films *Düş Gezginleri*, *Dönersen Islık Çal*, *Gece*, *Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* are among the first examples including LGBTI+ main and supporting characters and are among the cult films in Turkey's Cinema. Similarly, the films *Teslimiyet* ve *Köpek* are examples from the 2000s. The reason for selecting these films is that there are LGBTI+ people in their main characters, the positive news about these films have been made in the media due to their representation of LGBTI+s, and they have been subjected to censorship and had problems in screening. In addition, another aim is to determine whether the representation of LGBTI+ characters has changed within the ten-year interval between the films. Finally, the representation styles of LGBTI+ characters in films and their relation to reality will be discussed. It will be examined how the representation styles of the characters created with the perspective of the dominant discourse serve the dominant system.

8.1 Analysis of the film *Düş Gezginleri*

8.1.1 Plot of the film

Düş Gezginleri is a film directed by Atıf Yılmaz in 1992. The film tells the story of Nilgün and Havva, who are each other's childhood friends, meeting in a town years later and their relationship. Nilgün is a doctor separated from the man she was married to, and she is appointed to a town. Havva, on the other hand, is a sex-worker in the town's brothel under the alias Anjelik. Nilgün and Havva, who meet during the doctor's examination, get to know each other and the friendship between them turns into a love affair over time. Living under pressure in the town, Nilgün and Havva move to the city in order to enjoy their relationship comfortably. When they move to the city, Havva quits sex work. Nilgün,

who is a doctor, provides the livelihood of the house they moved to. Disputes between them over time cause their relationship to end. Nilgün cheats on Havva with a man and they separate. Then Havva returns to sex work, again as Anjelik.

8.1.2 Character Analysis

Nilgün (Meral Oğuz): She is in her middle ages, a doctor, a divorced woman. Nilgün, who is educated, bourgeois and successful in her job, is portrayed as a very jealous character with psychological disorders. At the beginning of the film, she appears as a strong woman who tries to exist on her own, standing on her own feet, but then it is understood that she is a jealous and angry character from her relationship with Anjelik. While Nilgün is portrayed as a female character who has a lot of problems in the flow of the film, she acts in accordance with the “traditional male” stereotype in her relationship with Anjelik. In other words, while she is inviting and caring as a woman, she is represented as a jealous man committed to traditional roles who use violence against his wife. In the film, she is portrayed as a masculine character who does not do housework and does not share responsibilities in domestic work, brings money to the house, demands care and attention, dominates, humiliates, marginalizes her partner because she is a sex worker, and at the same time she is drawn as a woman who has a weakness towards men, and who cannot freely live her sexuality. Nilgün says she only had a relationship with the man she married. At the same time, Nilgün admires Anjelik because she is a sex worker and therefore has sex with many men. Nilgün says that she cannot freely live her sexuality due to her profession and status and that she is also a potential sex worker. This discourse, which she expresses with her high and willing attitude that disturbs Anjelik, reveals the weakness of Nilgün for men and emphasizes that she cannot freely live her sexuality. Here, based on Nilgün's attitudes, it is seen that sexuality is revealed as a phenomenon to be experienced with men. Nilgün's inability to experience her sexuality towards men sufficiently and her professional concerns restrict her freedom. For this reason, Nilgün expresses her complaints about her sexuality, which she could not live, through Anjelik. Regardless of profession and status, Nilgün's pressures on sexuality reinforce the roles assigned to women by the gender-based perspective. Indeed, here the binding of women's

freedom to sexuality is particularly associated with the evaluation of sexuality as a major taboo in Turkey's society and other societies.

Havva/ Anjelik/ Melike (Lale Mansur): Havva is a character who does sex work in the movie for no reason. Although the reason is not clearly stated, the audience is made to feel that she is forced to do so. The name Havva means "the first woman created according to the holy books" (TDK, 2015). Although she changed her name to Melike with the court decision, Nilgün calls her Havva because of her childhood habit. As a sex worker, her name is Anjelik. Anjelik means angel. Anjelik is portrayed as extremely professional and successful in her work. She draws a stereotypical sex worker woman profile with her costume, manner, slang speech, smoking., etc. In her private life, on the contrary, she is depicted in accordance with "traditional female roles" and she changed her name to Melike by court decision without any reasons given in the film. Apart from sex work, she introduces herself as Melike in her daily life. This name change can be associated with Havva's not wanting anything from the past in her life. Throughout the film, no one is encountered from Havva's family or friends, except Nilgün. The character, who is called Havva in the house and in her relationship, is Melike in her social life, and Anjelik when she is performing her profession by doing sex work. The names Havva/Melike and Anjelik in the film change depending on the current situation of the female character. Havva is represented as a quiet, calm, and passive character who takes on all the problems of housework, is ashamed of her work. She is a passive character who obeys Nilgün, which is a kind of "husband" in accordance with conventional roles, shows patience, quits her job with a single word of Nilgün, accepts life that is accepted right in the norms without questioning. Also, Havva is caring in the house. Unlike Nilgün, Havva / Melike / Anjelik is portrayed as an uneducated character belongs to working-class. With a fondness for arabesque, these features are encoded even more strongly. Nilgün portrays a man to whom features such as power and money are attributed. However, Havva / Melike / Anjelik is represented oppositely.

Olay (Deniz Türkali): Olay is Nilgün and Havva's neighbour. Olay is a middle-aged woman living alone, an archaeologist and also a painter. She is represented as a bourgeois, educated and cultured character. Although it is not clearly stated in the film, the audience is made to feel that Olay is also a lesbian.

Faruk (Selçuk Özer): Faruk, who is middle-aged, cocky and quite wealthy, is Nilgün's former fiancée and friend. He is a bourgeois and educated character. Faruk, who has been in love with Nilgün for many years, expresses this interest at every opportunity and wants to be with Nilgün constantly.

Nafiz (Yaman Okay): Nafiz, one of the most influential people in the town, is a middle-aged, married, flirtatious and wealthy MP. After Nilgün is appointed to the town, he helps him, but he constantly approaches Nilgün with harassing looks and attitudes. The relationship between Nilgün and Anjelic disturbs Nafiz over time. Later, one night, Nafiz goes to the brothel where Anjelic works and asks questions about the relationship between them. Upon Anjelic's snapping, he humiliates Anjelic and inflicts violence on her. Here, the masculine violence to which Anjelic is subjected can be considered as a pattern representing patriarchy and appearing in most films. These stories, which legitimize the so-called power of men, serve no other function than repeating the male violence in the film. The fact that the woman subjected to this violence is Anjelic, not Nilgün, is related to her stereotypical representation of a working-class sex worker. In summary, Nafiz is one of the bad characters of the movie.

Şükran (Sema Çeyrekbaşı): Şükran, the wife of Nafiz, is a middle-aged character who does not hide her interest in women. Şükran, who got married because she was pregnant with Nafiz, although she is married, she openly draws near to Nilgün, kisses her and wants Nilgün to touch her pretexting the physical examination. Almost the most obvious lesbian character in the movie is Şükran. She is represented as an influential, gossip-loving, seductive woman.

Necdet (Tarık Günersel): Necdet is a middle-aged, deceased, well-intentioned dentist who lives in the town and is more polite than other men. Necdet is represented as an educated and modern man. Necdet, who has lost his wife and has two children, is interested in Nilgün and wants to marry her. Here, the perception of "widow" and "woman who should be owned" towards Nilgün by the townspeople draws attention. The institution of marriage is glorified. According to social norms, marriage is deemed necessary both for the protection of the "widow" and for the care of motherless children, and for Nilgün to guarantee her life with the assets belonging to Necdet. The gender perspective is reproduced here as well, because although Nilgün is a bourgeois doctor and is in a good

economic situation, it is considered necessary to be protected and funded by a man. In the context of the roles assigned to women and men, this point of view is very evident. For this reason, Necdet, who wants to marry Nilgün with the affirmative view of the townspeople, cannot marry Nilgün because he cannot get a positive response from Nilgün. At the same time, Necdet helps Nilgün and Havva to leave the town. He is the most positively represented male character in the movie.

8.1.3 Analysis of the Representation Policies of the LGBTI+ Characters in the Film

Düş Gezginleri, has the distinction of being the first film in Turkey's Cinema in which female homosexuality is lived clearly and without exploitation, in contrary to the films during the period 1974-1979 in which female homosexuality is portrayed with exploitation and pornography. Şükran Kuyucak Esen talks about the film in her book, *Türk Sinemasının Kilometre Taşları Dönemler ve Yönetmenler* [Milestones of Turkish Cinema, Periods and Directors]:

“The 1992 film *Düş Gezginleri* was a film that attracted attention with its handling of the sexual relations of two women and its easy display of nudity. The film reflects the rebellion of the woman who cannot find true love rather than portraying a lesbian relationship as everyone thinks (Onaran, cited in Esen, 2016: 110).

The film, which tells the story of two women who were childhood friends and the love relationship that developed between them, is very important in terms of lesbian visibility. In the film, the relationship between Havva and Nilgün proceeds on two planes in general terms. The first is a homosexual relationship based on a heteronormative structure, and the other is the class difference that gender roles prominently reveal and support. The patriarchal structure of women and men, which is thought to be in education, work, social and private life, and generally glorifies men, based on the negative, exclusionary and other representation of LGBTI+s and the concept of gender that are explained in other sections of the study, is presented collaterally in the story of the film. Even when describing the relationship of two women, the characters are positioned on heteronormative foundations and at the same time, they are excluded in the town, marginalized by experiencing pressure and problems due to their relationships. Character

differences between Nilgün and Havva and the relationship of these characters with each other are described in a heteronormative and gender-based manner.

One of the remarkable things about the film is that almost all the women in the film show interest in other women, publicly or implicitly. Women are coded as lesbians when their behaviour and relationship patterns are examined, with or without identifying themselves as lesbians. Not only Nilgün and Havva, but also Olay and Şükran characters contain signs of homosexuality. Olay is represented as a character who exhibits homosexual tendencies but does not fully explain it in any scene, while another character of the film, Şükran, is represented as a woman who disturbingly shows her homosexuality. The fact that Şükran is a stealthy, gossipy character, Nafiz "hires" himself when he's married to his ex-wife, and then Şükran becomes pregnant and marries Nafiz completely inverts the roles of women who depend on traditional family values. It is not acceptable in female roles tied to traditional family values to be with a married man, to have extramarital sexual intercourse and pregnancy, to show lesbian tendencies, to be outside the roles of mother and altruism wife. The portrait drawn by Şükran includes all these unacceptable behaviours. As a result, Şükran appears as a character who destroys traditional values, not with modern characteristics, but with bad female and disturbing lesbian tendencies. She is represented in a way that suppresses her homosexuality and has to live depended on a man, breaks up a family and does not hesitate to harass women. In the stories produced by the dominant ideology with conservative approaches, it can be said that the representations of women who freely live their sexuality are generally negative. The fact that Şükran is a gossipy, threatening, harassing and stealthy character is negative in terms of representation. In addition, women have been harassed by the character of Şükran. The dominant ideology, which is sexist, masculine, heterosexist, generally conservative, exclusionary towards LGBTI+s and formed by the discourse of the government, imprisoned women who fall outside of traditional roles in unhappiness.

The town that Nilgün goes to is a narrow-minded place in general terms, except for the bourgeois segment consisting of doctors, dentists and deputies. Despite being narrow-minded, there is a brothel in the town and it runs smoothly. It does not matter if married men such as Nafiz and others go to a brothel in the town. The marginalizing reactions against women working as sex workers that they receive from both their customers and the

male physicians who examined them draw attention. The women say that the male doctor who examined them humiliated them, hurt them during the examination, and their attitude disturbed them. The general situation of the town is important in terms of being a narrow-minded place on the one hand, and a place where everything that is not approved takes place on the other hand. The relationship between two women in the town, where everything is happening openly or secretly, is considered as a situation that is not accepted. Basically, the problem is that Nilgün, the town's doctor, is close friends with Anjelik, a sex worker in the same town. The townspeople view this friendship relationship negatively because the friendship of women who do not belong to the same class remains unbecoming, especially if someone is a sex worker, this situation is considered unacceptable for the townspeople. With Nilgün's going to the town, the abusive attitudes of the men who helped him, the statements that she was constantly exposed to about being divorced from her husband such as "she should get married" and the view of the townspeople reproduce the stereotype of "a woman without a man needs protection". Besides being a true-to-life story, Nilgün's experience of problems in her work and place of residence as a result of the emergence of a lesbian relationship in the story, and her oppression continue to reproduce the discriminatory and marginalizing view of LGBTI+ people rather than changing and transforming them. The pressures that Nilgün and Havva are subjected to in the town and the need to move also mirror the marginalization and exclusion that LGBTI+s were exposed to in the historical process, but also reproduces this situation.

Although Nilgün is a bourgeois doctor, she is being subjected to these pressures, while Anjelik experiences a much more distinct discrimination due to her being a sex worker. Nilgün becomes the only salvation option for Anjelik. In the section where the history of LGBTI+ people is investigated in the study, the situation that the information about women is much less and the historical structure based on men is also present in a kind of story. With her class position and power sphere, Nilgün can be considered parallel to this masculine understanding with her masculine characteristics. Anjelik, on the other hand, doubles her adventure with also showing lesbian tendencies, which she has already started as the "other" with her sex work. Anjelik, who engages in sex work involuntarily and necessarily, is subjected to the violence of Nafiz, the pressure of the townspeople, and the psychological and physical violence of Nilgün, and ultimately returns to the sex work

she left. Although Anjelic / Havva / Melike is the most suitable female character for traditional female roles in the domestic field in the film, she cannot get rid of oppression and violence. Here, Anjelic / Havva / Melike is always excluded as a character in which has all the otherness such as being a woman, a sex worker and a lesbian and cannot escape the hopeless ending. During the film, Anjelic / Havva / Melike is strongly represented when only she gives the money of the rented house, but Anjelic / Havva / Melike is cheated by Nilgün in that house and she leaves the house, not Nilgün.

Nilgün is a woman who has the characteristics attributed to men, but also exhibits "masculine" features and behaviours because she is not a biological male. The point that draws attention here is that while Nilgün exhibits very feminine attitudes apart from her relationship with Havva, she displays masculine and even macho attitudes in her relationship with Havva. In addition, Nilgün is often presented as a female character with "psychological problems". The presentation of the relationship of two women with heteronormative patterns and the establishment of the relationship by considering one of the women as "in the male role" constitute a form of representation that is compatible with the roles of men and women and cannot go beyond the limits of the relationship shared with these roles. Havva, on the other hand, is represented as a loser and compassionate woman who is devoted to her spouse, who has no alternative in life other than sex work, who does not rebel against pressure. The audience, who has an antipathy to Nilgün while identifying themselves with Anjelic, is in the feeling of a pity about Anjelic. The identification of the audience with a female sex worker character is based solely on pity and passivity. Nilgün, on the other hand, is a highly problematic woman who is depicted as a jealous, unfaithful, angry, insatiable, insecure, two-pointed emotional state, and a constantly changeable, unhappy character despite having all the power and success. "Thanks to Necdet and Faruk", two women can hide their relationships and establish their lives. It is also an important detail that both men fall in love with Nilgün. This unequal representation style that glorifies masculinity and male characters depicts women as in need of male support and assistance regardless of their career, education, economic situation and cultural level.

Nilgün's relationship with Faruk drives Nilgün to be a passive character due to the financial interests, although she is a woman with economic power and a career. Nilgün has

sex with Faruk in return for financing the opening of her clinic. In this three-person relationship, Havva, who is uneducated compared to them and do things in the house, is in the position of a maid who hosts Nilgün and Faruk. In the film, the love relationship between Havva and Nilgün and the class differences between the two female characters are evident. While Anjelic is a working-class, uneducated, traditional character who listens to Orhan Gencebay and enjoys arabesque movies, Nilgün, on the contrary, is an educated and "modern" character from the bourgeois class.

In summary, although the film's story is based on homosexuality, a homosexual relationship is based on a negative and heteronormative structure. With this form of representation, heteronormativity is regenerated. Reproducing the heteronormative system instead of being the voice of an unrepresented identity, the film continues to present its characters as the other. The secret, oppressed, incomprehensible and insecure representations of homosexual relationships doomed to end are produced over two insecure women and cannot be distinguished from stereotypical homosexual representations.

All these masculine, sexist, exclusionary, heterosexist representation policies emerge from the positions where homosexuality is located in history, the negative values attributed to homosexuality and the consideration as illness, crime, sin, abnormal and unacceptable and from the heteronormative order in general. When examined in the context of gender, the relationship of two women is based on the relationship model between men and women and women become part of the capitalist male-dominated system that constructs gender roles. In this case, the story does not get rid of the stereotype of unhappy and doomed homosexual couples that feed heteronormativity, but on the contrary, feeds these stereotypes. In general, homosexual couples are separated or killed, that is, punished.

In the historical process, the homosexuality of women has been considered as "friendly relations" and generally not emphasized, and it has not been received as much reaction as male homosexuality. The reason for this situation is the patriarchal structure. For example, the homosexual tendencies that Şükran, who is married to Nafiz, clearly shows, does not pose much of a problem. Although Şükran is married to a man, she clearly shows her interest in women, but does not receive any reaction from her husband or others.

This "tolerant" approach to female homosexuality comes from the phallocentric¹⁹ perspective of the patriarchal society. Society can tolerate a woman who shows interest in other women despite being married, as long as there is no "phallus". *Kaos GL Magazine* in 2007 gives place to the article of Hülya Gürler, *Lesbians in the History of Turkey's Cinema*. In the article, where the films *Haremde Dört Kadın*, *Düş Gezginleri*, *Gramofon Avrat* and *İki Genç Kız* are examined, the film *Düş Gezginleri* is given as follows:

"The character traits of the people, their tastes arising from their lifestyle, living standards and cultural environments, differences in their tastes and gender roles collide at the place where the film is moved to the city, and the story turns to the theme of power with a sudden decision at a new crossroads. Nilgün is now the man of the house in the film where one of the women is assigned as a man and the other as a woman. She earns the money, she is the one who has an outside social environment, and she was more fortunate than Havva in terms of the standard of living she was born into. The communication of Havva, the woman of the house, with the outside world is extremely limited. She is constantly dealing with the decoration of the house, listens to arabesque music, is hesitant about even going from home to the lower neighbour because she has to prepare dinner. She meets Nilgün's harsh comments and criticisms in silence. Therefore, it is stated in the film that the relationship between two women cannot lead to a new form of communication within the sexist and heterosexist organization of social life. At the end of the film, Havva is forced to return to her old life before meeting Nilgün and tends to pursue her profession in big city conditions. Nilgün continues his usual life as a doctor. Based on this, we can say that 'Düş Gezginleri' regard the sexist and heterosexist organization of our social life as a constant. The characters change, their sexual orientation changes, their cultural background changes, etc. but the 'one male and one female' form remains constant with the power it contains. Thus, far from their aesthetic, no credibility, a lesbian relationship similar to ordinary relations between men and women emerges" (<https://www.kaosgl.org/gokkusagi-forumu-kose-yazisi/turkiye-sinema-tarihinde-lezbienler>). Retrieved date: 17.07.2020

The main story of the film is established in accordance with the otherness that LGBTI+s were exposed to in history, the negative representation forms in the media and the gender roles that support heteronormative and patriarchal order. The story of the love relationship of two women by a man with heteronormative codes turns the film into a cliché story parallel to the structure on which the dominant ideology is based. Contrary to these, it was mentioned above that Atıf Yılmaz is an extremely important director and the features of his cinema. Considering these, the film can be evaluated positively in terms of visibility and representation opportunity of the story of a relationship type that cannot be represented. *Düş Gezginleri*, which found a place for itself in the freer stories of the 90s, is an important film in terms of the visibility and representation opportunities of LGBTI+ characters, even though it is problematic in its representation style. In addition, situations

¹⁹ This word, also known as phallocentrism, predicts the thought of the phallus (penis) as a symbol of male domination or dominance. It is a phallic-centered view that believes men are superior in sex.

such as sex worker, exploitation and murder have real-life counterparts, but the reproduction of these negative situations in the representation dimension in the film feeds problematic forms of representation.

8.2 Analysis of the film *Dönersen Islık Çal*

8.2.1 Plot of the film

Dönersen Islık Çal is a 1993 drama film directed by Orhan Oğuz. The film depicts the friendship relationship between a dwarf who works as a bartender in a place in the back streets of Beyoğlu and a transvestite whom he saved by chance and thinks is a woman. In the movie, the dwarf and the transvestite shelter in each other as two characters marginalized in society. The lives and places of these two characters' lives are dangerous and dark places. Another prominent character in the movie is a sex worker and her pimp whom she is married to. The film tells about the bad lives, bad people and the dangerous darkness of the place where the events take place through these 'other' characters. Although the friendship of the dwarf and the transvestite was shaken for a while, the film ends with the death of the dwarf and the transvestite's finding him and fulfilling his last wish.

8.2.2 Character Analysis

The Dwarf (Mevlüt Demiryay): The dwarf works as a bartender in a place in the back streets of Beyoğlu. The dwarf, who is often shown at work and in his own home, is an extremely clean, organized, disciplined character. He is also respectful and moral. In addition to these positive qualities, the dwarf is unhappy due to being subjected to constant marginalization regarding his height and body. The dwarf, who has been exposed to the exclusion of this body perception by everyone throughout his life, including his family, tries to accept this situation, but this exclusion does not end throughout the film, and his body, which he does not want to accept, causes his death. The unhappiness about the life he lives in and the neighbourhood is also striking. He tries to ensure his own safety with the whistle he carries with him at night - he blows the whistle in case of danger and makes

him think he is a guard. His attitude towards LGBTI+ is sharply homophobic and exclusionary before becoming friends with a transvestite, but this attitude softens as their friendship progresses. The friendship established between the two is at the same time a solidarity between “others”. The attitude of the dwarf, who is a lonely character, towards the transvestite and the puppies that he takes care of in his house, also explains the spiritual loneliness he suffers. At the same time, it draws attention to the fact that he does not experience anything with anyone sexually, his timid attitudes and does not want to live this, and that he is alone in his sexuality. His rejection of the invitation of his sex-worker neighbour to have sex by condemning the situation are examples of this situation. In short, the dwarf in the film is a character that is marginalized, excluded, lonely, moral and compassionate by the degenerate world.

The Transvestite (Fikret Kuşkan): The transvestite tries to earn a living by doing sex work in the back streets of Beyoğlu. Throughout the movie, the audience is made to feel that he is a sex worker, but the audience does not see the transvestite during sex work. At the same time, the word “transvestite” is not heard at all throughout the film, and everybody calls the transvestite “fag”. He also calls himself “fag” like the others. Only in one scene, he calls himself a “stupid woman” with regret after breaking the dwarf. The transvestite is depicted as a compassionate and well-meaning person. The character is a stereotypic transvestite with his demeanour and behaviour, slang style. Exaggerated attitudes such as using words such as “Ayol”, “candy box” - that he calls the dwarf -, throwing a kiss, his relaxed attitude despite being a guest in the dwarf's house, occasionally humiliating and breaking the dwarf over his body, and trying to look at the dwarf's penis by force feed this stereotype. Although the transvestite portrays a more dangerous and uncanny character than the dwarf, he also protects the dwarf and is seen as a well-meaning person as a result. Occasionally disappears and reappears in the film. The audience does not know what the transvestite is doing at this time. Gender identity and sexual orientation are associated with being raped as a child in the first scene of the film, which is also a stereotypical situation created for LGBTI+ people, which is not always compatible with reality. The character Adıgüzel, who is the husband and seller of the sex worker, is a childhood friend meeting after years. Besides the close relationship between them, there are also some traces that he is interested in Adıgüzel. In addition, it is shown that the transvestite was subjected to police violence by having his hair shaved and driven from

where he lived. For these reasons he is afraid of the police. This situation can be defined in accordance with reality. In summary, the transvestite is also one of the others in the degenerate world, and the friendship and solidarity he establishes with the dwarf support his effort to exist in society.

Sex-Worker Woman (Derya Alabora): She is a sex worker character who lives in the same apartment with the dwarf, whose husband is also her seller. She is described as extremely angry, constantly complaining and exerting excessive pressure on her husband. This character is a stereotypical sex worker character who is completely in the cinema. This woman, who always says ugly words, slangs, who wants to have sex with the dwarf, who constantly shouts at her husband and humiliates him, who kick out the transvestite from the house and attacked him because her husband Adıgüzel wants to host him in their house, died after Adıgüzel stabbed her.

Adıgüzel / Pimp (Menderes Samancılar): He is the husband of the sex worker, who lives in the same apartment with the dwarf, is also a pimp. He is an extremely quiet character. He does not speak up at his wife's insults and shouts. He is a character that can be called "henpecked" in social stereotypes. In addition to these, the problems he suffered due to his wife's pressure against him arise when one evening he drank raki with the transvestite and the dwarf. When the transvestite tells him that his wife has affected him badly, and he begins to shout and smash everything. *"Go the hell away! Faggot! I can cut the man and take his blood! I'm a badass! Who wants a punch, huh, all of you, come!"* - The transvestite offers to walk to calm down. - *Let's walk! Let the people see a man, is there anyone bigger than me? I am a devil, I'll kill anyone who makes wrong to me!"* As can be understood from these sentences, Adıgüzel cannot display the roles and behaviours that patriarchal values expect from him, he succumbs to his wife's being a sex worker and her oppression, and experiences intense complexes about "masculinity". Ultimately, Adıgüzel killed his wife by stabbing her twenty times, and after he was arrested, he committed suicide by hanging himself in the prison.

Madame Lena (Ferment Yönel): Madame Lena is an old woman who lives with her maid in her house. She is the dwarf's neighbour and landlady. Therefore, she is also the neighbour of the sex worker and her husband Adıgüzel. Known to the audience when the dwarf goes to his house to pay the rent, Madame Lena loves the dwarf very much. For the

dwarf struggling with loneliness and unhappiness, Madame Lena acts like a mother. In one scene, the dwarf goes to Madame Lena's house very sadly, and Madame Lena waves and comforts the dwarf as a child in her arms. The relationship of other people in the apartment with Madame Lena is not shown in the film. In addition, Madame Lena criticizes the corrupt world by telling her memories of the past and saying that everything is now "very bad". The function of Madame Lena in the film is to emphasize the holy mother, longing for the old and the brutality of the new world. Like the other characters in the movie, Madame Lena is also lonely and shares this loneliness with her maid, who is also lonely like herself.

8.2.3 Analysis of the Representation Policies of the LGBTI+ Characters in the Film

The film *Dönersen Isık Çal* is one of the first films in Turkey's Cinema in which LGBTI+ people started to take the leading roles. In previous examples, men dressed as women or women dressed as men were encountered, but it is very important because it is a film in which the phenomenon of transvestite is treated more realistic and away from the comedy element. The first thing that applies to each character in the film, where the friendship between the transvestite and the dwarf is depicted, is the state of "otherness". All the characters in the movie are others. The dwarf is excluded from society because of his body, and the transvestite because he is a transvestite. Their neighbours, the sex workers and her wife (also her pimp) are also others. The film focuses on the stories of the others and represents the characters as the other, based on certain stereotypes.

The opening scene of the film begins with the rape of a child character. This character is the transvestite in the movie. Presenting the opening scene with such an unfounded stereotype reproduces stereotypes of LGBTI+ characters. Nurcan Pınar Eke conveys this stereotype in her article titled *Beyazperdede 'Öteki' Olmak 'Dönersen Isık Çal' Filmi Üzerine Bir İnceleme* as follows:

“It is possible to see the effect of the aforementioned approach in *Beddua* as well as in our analysis object *Dönersen Islık Çal*. This stereotype, which we encounter in almost all of these films in our cinema, is as if it is inevitable. In this film, too, the character is a transvestite today due to the sexual exploitation/harassment/rape he suffered when he was young and is far from a "normal" sexual life or appearance. This justification also includes the presupposition that the current situation is an anomaly and if everything went in its normal course in the past, such an outcome would never have been experienced or the person could "choose" to act differently towards what happened to him. This prevents the acceptance of transvestism as an identity, it makes it easier to be marginalized as a miserable poor” (Eke, 2016: 107).

As mentioned in the example, these stereotypic examples are encountered especially in Turkey’s Cinema. This stereotype is repeated when reviewed from the context of the film *Dönersen Islık Çal*. Another striking feature of the film, in which desperate lives are depicted in a violent and dark place, is that there are no other characters' names except for the two characters. Other than Adıgüzel and Madam Lena, the other characters in the film have no names. A dwarf is a dwarf; a transvestite is also a transvestite. The absence of the names of the others who are tried to be ignored in the society is parallel to the place where these people are positioned within the main story. Eke conveys these unnamed characters as follows:

“Among the main characters in the movie, only the names of Madam Lena and the pimp Adıgüzel are mentioned; all the other characters are anonymous throughout the film. The prostitute, the transvestite, the maid, and the dwarf have no names, and this absence is meaningful. It is not known whether it is a conscious choice, but the fact that these four characters do not have a name places them in a different place in the mind of the audience and makes it difficult to establish identity; because they are not perceived as 'human'. It is as if the prostitute has been a prostitute since the day she was born, and the maid is also. Transvestites and dwarfs are like freaks because of their physical characteristics, as if they are together with "normal" people or if they get a little too close, they will make everyone look like themselves.... These four characters are anonymous and this uncertainty excludes them from all life alternatives. For them, the imagination of another world exists only as a distant 'wish'. This naturalizes their social position in the mind of the audience and even destroys the possibility of producing an alternative discourse. The film is extremely conservative in this respect” (Eke, 2016: 111).

The de-identification of the characters by their anonymity presents the story from a place where the dominant understanding can support the conservative attitudes towards others, as Eke reports. It can also be observed that the dwarf and the transvestite shelter in each other despite their negative attitudes towards each other. Although the dwarf has negative attitudes towards transvestites - he describes the transvestite as a "fag" in the film- he sees the transvestite he meets as his friend and feels incomplete when he leaves home. The transvestite also shows closeness to the dwarf. This friendship can be interpreted as the solidarity of people who are excluded from society and de-identified. The exclusion

and loneliness that society imposes on these people feed their hopeless 'other' representations. In fact, the devotion of the dwarf to the transvestite can be understood from his jealous attitude towards the childhood friendship between the transvestite and Adıgüzel and his coming to the Dwarf's home with Adıgüzel. This situation is also important in the sense that the dwarf is disturbed by a stranger in his own home and it is a scene that makes the audience feel the anger and fear he experiences in the face of the threatening rhetoric of another man in his realm of power. In the scene, the dwarf, transvestite and Adıgüzel drink raki and Adıgüzel expresses his frustration by shouting and threatening due to the psychological negativities created by the feeling of humiliation that he constantly exposed by his wife. The transvestite calms Adıgüzel and gets her out of the house, and the dwarf breaks Adıgüzel's glass by throwing it and continues to drink. The anxieties caused by the dwarf's physical condition are made to be felt in this scene. It is understood from the facial expressions of the dwarf that he could not resist Adıgüzel and that he was afraid of this situation. It is understood from this scene and the whistle that most people in the society pose a danger to the dwarf, as the dwarf works in a very uncanny job for him and lives in an uncanny neighbourhood. The whistle is an important symbol in the movie. It is that whistle that enabled him to save the transvestite. At the end of the film, the violence which the dwarf is subjected to and causing his death is again related to that whistle. During a period of bad relations with the transvestite, the night when the transvestite teased him over the whistle and threw the whistle, the dwarf was subjected to violence that would later lead to his death. The striking point here is that the security of people excluded from society is somehow provided by themselves. For the transvestite, this situation is more difficult, even the transvestite suffered more from the police than any other villain. At the beginning of the film, it is shown that his hair is cut by the police and he is left in a wooded area with a group of transvestites. In terms of revealing the attitude of the police towards sex worker transvestites, these scenes can be considered as the closest to the reality of the film. As conveyed from sex worker transvestites and transsexuals in the theoretical section of the study, the attitude of law enforcement officers towards LGBTI+s is similar to that in the film. As a matter of fact, the situation that causes the gap between the transvestite and the dwarf is the scene where Adıgüzel stabs his wife to death.

The event develops as follows; Adıgüzel and the transvestite drink together, then Adıgüzel goes to his house and invites the transvestite. The transvestite doesn't want to come, she wants to stay with the dwarf sitting upstairs. Upon Adıgüzel's insistence, they enter the house where he and his sex-worker wife lives. The sex worker woman shouts and humiliates Adıgüzel, humiliates the transvestite and kick out him from the house. Although Adıgüzel said *Don't! He is my childhood friend*, the sex worker woman replied *Is this your childhood friend? Since they came out, work's been dry* and kick the transvestite out by shouting *Faggot!* after him. After this incident, Adıgüzel thinks desperately, and then, is taken into custody for stabbing and killing his wife. Although the sex worker is also a sex worker, her attitude towards the transvestite is extremely exclusionary. The transvestite is marginalized and subjected to violence by someone who is professionally like him. When we look at the representation of the sex worker, it comes to life with a very angry, ugly and constantly uttered representation that tests the patience of the audience along with her husband. This woman who speaks ugly, angry, slang and abusive is the stereotypical representation of a female sex worker and is consequently killed in the film by the man who is her husband and seller. Here too, the movie reproduces this cliché. In the film, Adıgüzel's passive attitude is quite unexpected in the context of patriarchy. For this reason, Adıgüzel draws a very lousy male profile in the film. In the end, he kills his wife, whose pressure he cannot bear, gets arrested and commits suicide by hanging himself in prison. Adıgüzel's inability to fulfil the roles assigned to him by patriarchal values and his suicide as a loser character, again, an attitude towards glorifying patriarchal values. As stated in the theoretical sections of the study, it not only establishes the domination of patriarchy on women but also intervenes in men who are not "man enough". Like gay characters who died or were killed in general in the stories, Adıgüzel, although heterosexual, remains outside of these roles creates a similar example in this context. Here, too, both his sex worker wife and he himself cannot escape this male violence. In the film, the situation of Adıgüzel and his sex worker wife cannot go beyond stereotypes about the "other". It is surprising at this point that three of the characters died and the transvestite did not.

The masculine roles, dwarf and transvestite in the film are also notable. Although the dwarf has problems with his body, having a muscular body and doing sports can be counted among the characteristics attributed to the ideal body and man. The transvestite, on the other hand, is mostly feminine, but the violent tendencies ascribed to the transvestite

by society are revealed in several scenes of the film. The body strength he exhibited in the scene where he pushes and hurt him or tries to look at the dwarf's penis by force in his discussion with the dwarf makes the audience feel the stereotype of violent orientation assigned to transvestites. Although he apologized after his actions, his violent tendencies and masculine attitudes also reproduce the roles assigned to transvestites.

In the scene where the dwarf and the transvestite are drinking raki for the first time together, their saying to each other "heartily" while clinking their glasses, and the song "you didn't understand me" the transvestite sings in several scenes gives clues that they want to reinforce their friendship despite their exclusion. Transvestite implies that nobody in society understands her. The friendship that developed between them after the dwarf saved the life of the transvestite is understood by the words they said while clinking glasses. In addition, the dwarf's talk, *you know, for years I've met a wide variety of people at the bar, most of them more women than you, more dwarf than me. What matters is honesty, friendship*, when he criticizes the other people shows that they own the otherness they are exposed to in society. The dwarf's saying "dwarf" in many places to marginalize others is an example of a negative self-perception. While the dwarf embraces these negative statements, he also insults the others with this situation. It shows that he internalizes his exclusion that he is constantly exposed to. In this case, too, the dwarf lives a life doomed to this despair. In the section where the concept of gender was explained, it was stated that the body perception of the people was defined on the "ideal" imposed by the society and that people perceived themselves negatively except the "ideal". The perception of the body of the dwarf and his othering of others with the same discourse while he is the other can be considered as an example of this situation. In the movie, the dwarf's problems with body perception are shown where he goes to increase height. The dwarf went to this place, where the audience is felt to be a fraud company, to make him taller, but he was swindled. The dwarf goes again to get his money back this uncanny place, shown by the attitude of the people in the company, but the men joke, "Do you want your money again, it's enough we've made you taller?" The dwarf says, "I don't want me to grow taller anymore, I'm not the dwarf, you are" and leaves. Then another dwarf comes there. The dwarf tries to explain to the other dwarf that he will be defrauded and will not grow tall. The other dwarf, on the other hand, does not believe him, says "What are you talking about and I am taller than you" and walks away. Another feature of the film is that

the excluded people always exclude others who are similar to them. One example of this is that one of the two dwarfs excludes the other, and the sex worker woman excludes the transvestite sex worker. The alienation of the other also makes us feel that the hopeless characters of the film will not change. It seems like there will not be any happy ending for anyone, and indeed there won't.

The dwarf has a locked room in his house. The dwarf is seen leaving that room in several scenes, but the audience does not know what is happening in the room. Although the transvestite asks many times, the dwarf does not say what is there, claiming to use it as a warehouse. In the scene of the discussion between the dwarf and the transvestite, the transvestite is afraid that he will be caught by the police after Adiguzel kills his wife and is arrested, asks the dwarf for money to disappear, and the dwarf gives some money, but when the transvestite asks for more, the dwarf says he has no other money. Here, too, it is understood that the transvestite is very afraid of the police because of his experiences. The transvestite asks to enter, claiming to hide the money in the room, but the dwarf tries to block him. The transvestite kicks the dwarf, the dwarf collapses to the ground. The transvestite apologizes right away here, expresses his regret, but the dwarf kicks him out of the house. This violent behaviour of the transvestite supports the transvestite stereotype in the stories. This transvestite stereotype, which is not afraid of violence, is masculine and uses force, is featured in the film. After this, the dwarf is very upset and shelter in Madame Lena. In one scene, Madame Lena puts the dwarf to sleep in her arms and tells him how beautiful life and the world used to be, now it is not. The connection between the corrupt world and the old world, which is depicted in the general theme of the film, is Madame Lena. In addition to the longing for the past, Madame Lena is a wise, possessive, protective and maternal character who is always dressed in white and portrayed as an angel. Madame Lena satisfies the dwarf's longing for a mother.

After the dwarf and the transvestite are at odds, the dwarf goes to his house to see the transvestite. This home is a home for sex worker transvestites. Luckily, while the dwarf was there, the transvestite's sister was also there with a little boy. The transvestite's sister is an Anatolian woman with a headscarf, conservative attire and an accent mouth. In the dialogue with the dwarf, his sister speaks of the transvestite, "He is my little brother, we tried very hard, we could not bring it to the way. We accepted him this way, God creates

like this, what should you do?" The sister's "linking this situation to God" and "perceiving it as something to be endured" feeds the perceptions of the LGBTI+ in the society such as poor, unfortunate, sick and pitiful people. Meanwhile, one of the transvestites living in the house constantly shouts "*son of a bitch*" out of the window. The dwarf and the sister woman are surprised by this situation. This angry and abusive discourse is reflected on the audience as an act in accordance with the violent transvestite stereotype, this time being shown over another transvestite in the film. Then the transvestite comes, rebuffs the dwarf, upon this situation the dwarf leaves sadly. There is a muscular male body poster hanging behind the transvestite. The headline *All men are not created equal* on the poster is striking. The presence of such a poster in a house where transvestites live and its message supports the "masculinity" problems experienced by almost all characters in the film. Dwarf, Adıgüzel, and transvestites always suffer from the norms of "masculinity" in their lives. Dwarf, with his inability to "have the ideal male body"; Adıgüzel, with his not being "tough and macho" enough; the transvestite, on the other hand, suffers throughout the film, with both gender identity and sexual orientation. Moreover, except for Adıgüzel, the dwarf and the transvestite are subjected to physical male violence throughout the film, and even dwarf dies for this reason.

At the end of the film, after the dwarf dies, the transvestite enters the locked room where only the dwarf enters. There are a lot of colourful plastic balls in the room. The transvestite throws the balls down the terrace and the people on the street start playing with the balls. In the last scene, the transvestite kicks the red ball in his hand and, ignoring anyone, takes off the wig from his head and starts walking. The function of the ball in the movie is this: Those who swindle the dwarf where he goes in order to increase his height say to him *buy a ball and play it, you'll get taller*. The dwarf who thinks he will grow taller has a roomful of balls. This ball metaphor represents the dwarf's dreams and body perception and hopes, but it is useless and after the death of the dwarf, his closest friend, the transvestite, releases the dreams and hopes of the dwarf.

It is important that the transvestite walks on the street during the day without paying attention to anyone, removing the wig. Throughout the film, the dwarf and the transvestite do not travel during the day because they are disturbed by the way people look at them and their exclusionary attitude. They just try it one morning; the transvestite comes to the place

where the dwarf works, they drink together, and the dwarf tells him that he drinks because he is uncomfortable with the people's gaze. Both of them talk about their exclusion. Then the transvestite encourages the dwarf by saying, *Let's go! We're walking! We're not always going to walk at night, let's walk a little towards the sun*, and they go out during the day. But the situation is not what they wanted. They are subjected to strange glances of people, some chasing after them, verbal and almost physical abuse. At last, the transvestite pushes the men who try to touch them, grabs the dwarf and runs away. This scene is important in the context of understanding the perspective of society towards those who are outside the "normal and ideal" envisaged by the dominant ideology. At the end of the movie, the transvestite walking in the daytime, carelessly, after losing the dwarf can be associated with nothing left to lose at some point.

Including Dorsay in her work, Eke conveys the structure of the film based on general stereotypes as follows:

"Cinema writer Atilla Dorsay interprets Dönensen Işık Çal as a film of a director who has complied with the fashion of marginality but has been caught in the grip of clichés and has not reached originality. According to Dorsay, despite the rich material he handled; not only did not reflect anything product of intelligence and sensitivity to the screen, but it was also easy in filming and in terms of story and could not reveal a single scene with cinematic value (Dorsay, 2005: 61). Under the conditions of Turkish Cinema, even the idea of such a film is admirable, but it is impossible not to participate in Dorsay; because, as Dorsay stated, the film is in many ways mired in stereotypes. With this film, Oğuz reminded the audience that transvestism is no longer an element of comedy and that transvestites are also human; however, as can be seen while analyzing the film, he could not avoid stereotyping about them. For example, the reason for transvestism in this film is a negative sexual experience in childhood; In this film, too, the transvestite is the person who cannot be trusted and will let the other down; She is prone to violence and is in an unstable mood. Even though it seems more gentle, naive and romantic, it is observed that the combative and aggressive masculine attitude known from the screens is observed when she is in difficult. She's cheeky. As can be seen in the examples, these are representations that are already 'given' in the general mind. In this respect, the film does not represent a discursive innovation. The transvestite character in the film does not surprise the audience, except for the simplicity of its appearance, and often behaves according to expectations and acceptances" (Eke, 2016: 110).

Ultimately, this film is very important in terms of visibility, the LGBTI+ characters in the film, the presence of a transvestite in the lead role and the lack of comedy. However, in the main story of the film, despite all efforts, the other cannot escape being the other no matter what he or she does.

8.3 Analysis of the Film *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*

8.3.1 Plot of the film

Directed by Atıf Yılmaz, the 1994 film *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* focuses on the lives of four characters living in Beyoğlu. It focuses on the lives of a young sex worker named Serap, a transvestite and sex worker named Arif / Fulya, a middle-aged alcoholic woman named Melek and a young bisexual man named Hakan, and the intersection of these characters' paths in the back streets of Beyoğlu. In the movie, when Serap, who lives in the back streets of Beyoğlu and does sex work, takes Arif home one night, a close friendship develops between them and Arif and Serap start to live together. Then, by chance, they meet Melek who has just gotten out of prison and has no place to stay, and thanks to the solidarity between them, friendship relations are established, and Melek begins to live with Serap and Arif. Hakan, on the other hand, is a young man who often hangs out at nightclubs and does not work. He tries to earn his living by getting the support of a middle-aged, wealthy man named Mehmet, who has a relationship with him. They meet Serap at a night club, then he begins to follow Serap, and the friendship between the two turns into a love affair after a while. One night, after Serap caught Hakan having sex with Mehmet, Serap leaves Hakan and she moves from Istanbul. Serap, who settled in Adana, increases her financial income there and returns to Istanbul as a rich person. While Serap is in Adana, Arif continues to do sex work. Hakan starts working at a night club. Melek continues to have an alcoholism problem, she constantly waits for Serap and is stabbed to death by her ex-lover Osman one night, and when Melek is about to die, Serap is with her by chance and Melek's last wish is realized. Serap also attained the richness of her dreams.

8.3.2 Character Analysis

Serap (Derya Arbaş): Serap is a young, beautiful woman who lives alone in Beyoğlu and does sex work. She is a stereotypical sex worker character who is extremely successful in her job, speaks slang, costumes, chewing gum, and attitudes. She finds her customers in nightclubs or on the street. Serap is also a stubborn, tough and free woman who does not need anyone. It is understood from the sentence *I entered this life because I didn't want to*

get married like everybody else that those gender roles are not suitable for her. Contrary to all this contrary stance, Serap also experiences anxiety for the future. The sentence *I don't know how we all are going to end* emphasizes her concerns about the future. It is told that Serap constantly saves money, has investments and dreams for the future. Her initial abstention in her relationship with Hakan and her not wanting to be a lover immediately proves that Serap is a freer woman. In addition to these characteristics, Serap is also portrayed as an extremely helpful character despite being a slang, abusive, tough woman. Serap character's benevolent character and her solidarity, possessive and protective attitude towards people who are excluded from the society and marginalized like her. She is also portrayed as a merciful character. In the morning of the night she took Arif home, Arif sees the place where Serap has saved her money by chance and leaves the house by stealing the money. Serap gets very angry with this situation and then searches and finds Arif in the nightclubs. Meanwhile, Hakan, whom he has just met, helps her, after Arif apologizes and gives the money back, she opens his house compassionately and begins to be a sister to Arif. Arif describes himself as a woman and wants to complete the gender transition. Serap helps her in this regard, dresses her out of her clothes, puts on make-up on Arif, supports Arif in all ways in discovering herself and doing her sex work profession. Serap's benevolence leads to the formation of friendship between Serap, Arif and Melek. In addition, Serap is a very ambitious and stubborn character. She kicks out Hakan and Mehmet from the house after she caught Hakan having sex with Mehmet at her own home. She takes her money and leaves Istanbul saying *I'll be very rich*. Indeed, she is rich when she returns. The driver of her car, furs, and her manners prove that she has achieved what she wants. Serap, who is a member of the working class at the beginning of the film, appears before the audience as a member of the bourgeois class at the end of the film. While Serap is doing sex work on the street, an extremely polite customer who picks her up in her car takes her somewhere. Where they go to the entertainment centre of an extremely luxurious hotel. Serap, who unintentionally finds herself at her customer's surprise birthday party, is surprised by the bourgeois people she encounters and their degenerate attitudes, the wealth of the luxuriously furnished space and setting, after stopping there for a while, her customer leaves her back to the street and does not demand any sexual act. Serap is shocked by this situation. After this event, Serap aims to be rich

and celebrate her birthday there one day. Ultimately, at the end of the film, Serap reaches the wealth and class she wants and holds her birthday party there.

Arif/ Fulya (Deniz Atamtürk): Arif is a young character who has just arrived in Istanbul, defines himself as a woman, but previously dressed like a man, and becomes more woman as he discovers himself. They call Arif "fag" in the movie. Arif, who was thought to be gay before, adapts to the environment she feels belonged to, and as she gets support, she begins to dress as she wishes, put on makeup and live openly. She changes her name to Fulya and does sex work. Arif seems quieter, calm, helpless and loser when she first comes to Istanbul, but with her friendship with Serap and being included in the culture she feels belonging, she becomes a more confident character. Her discourse in the film proves that she was subjected to pressure and violence by her family and people in Çanakkale, the city she lived before Istanbul. She told Serap and Melek in a scene; *But then I thought I'd go crazy. One day in the marketplace I started screaming my head off. "I'm a woman! None of your business!"... First they beat me up, then they dragged me to the hospital...* these sentences prove the homophobic/transphobic hatred and violence Arif was subjected to. Arif/Fulya draws a character who often resists this hate speech. It can be said that she is close to the reality in terms of representation in terms of her use of slang and the language used among LGBTI+s, her feminine attitudes, being the funniest character among the characters, understanding the LGBTI+ subculture, language, solidarity and the bullyings he has experienced by the police. But Arif is still a transvestite stereotyped in the context of starting sex work, being a member of the working class, and never changing her life. Ultimately, within this fiction, Serap succeeded in advancing the grade, but Arif failed and even she did not have such a request. In one scene of the film, Arif / Fulya, who is detained by the police, remains in custody all night and returns home in the morning with her hair shaved. The shaving of the hair of transvestite and transsexual sex workers, which became a symbol in the films of the 90s, parallels the realities of that period. Upon this situation, Arif tells Serap what she experienced that night as follows:

It was bound to happen. I always had nightmares about it. My hair kept growing longer, and I had nightmares about loss of hair. It was bound to happen... I stayed cool. "Cut it all, darlings," I said. "And take a bit more off down here." As if they could turn me into a man if they cut my hair. Why, I might wear a headscarf, and then what? New panic and admonitions at the police station "Look here, my son, go home, or you'll come to a bad end, whatever" "What son?", I said. "You're to call me daughter, daughter!" Then he

slapped my face. "We'll inform your family", they said. "Inform them," I said. "Let everybody know." As if my people hadn't made me suffer enough. Then they opened a file for my case. To hell with it! A real mess, you know. We had fun till morning with the girls. Pop songs, turkus, dancing ... You never saw such merriment.

Arif's experience in detention and despite these exclusionary attitudes, finally having fun with other sex worker transvestites and transsexuals is important in terms of understanding the resistance that LGBTI+ subculture can create itself under all conditions. The experiences conveyed from the mouth of transvestite and transsexual sex workers in the book called *80'lerde Lubunya Olmak*, which is used in the study, are parallel to the detention story that Arif told in the film. It can be said that the styles of representation of the film here are close to reality. The language Arif frequently uses in the film is also realistic in the context of understanding this subculture. Arif/Fulya is again one of the compassionate characters of the film. She gives back the money that Serap stole, endures Hakan's homophobic and exclusionary rhetoric, helps Melek, treats her, takes her from the street to their house, and this form of representation is positive in the context of solidarity. Although Arif/Fulya does not fit into the stereotype of violently oriented transvestite and transsexual sex workers, Arif/ Fulya is represented more positively than the representations in other films, but Arif/Fulya cannot escape from these dark and dangerous streets, exclusion, sex work, and lives in the cliché life given to her.

Melek (Deniz Türkali): Melek is a middle-aged, alcoholic, former sex worker female character. Melek's biggest obsession in life is her ex-boyfriend Osman. Osman is also a nightclub owner and one of the influential bosses of nightlife. In the movie, Melek is so in love with Osman that she claims that she tried to kill Osman because of her love, and even stayed in prison for stabbing Osman. After Melek is released from prison, she goes to Osman's night club, she is drunk and makes a scene in front of the club. She is harassed, fired, humiliated, cursed by the guards and Osman every time she goes, but she never stops doing this. One night when she was kicked out of the nightclub, Arif/Fulya witnessed Melek's mistreatment and took Melek away from there, then orders her to eat, and when she finds out that she has no place to stay, she takes her home with Serap. Meanwhile, Serap brought a customer to home, the man not only paid Serap's money but also insulted her, assaulted her and inflicted violence on her. Hearing this, Arif/Fulya and Melek enter the room. Melek draws a knife to the man, threatens him, and saves both Serap and Serap's money. They sit all night, Melek tells them about Osman, and their friendship starts here.

Melek is like the mother of Serap and Arif/Fulya, she takes care of Serap when she is sick, and helps her when they break down with Hakan. Melek is depicted as a very compassionate and loving character, but her obsession with Osman and alcoholism negatively affects her life enough to cause her death. The character of Melek, depicted in the film, is a character who has dealt with many misfortunes throughout her life. First of all, she used to be a sex worker, Osman, whom she was obsessively in love with, did not behave well, insulted and inflicted violence on her during their relations. Melek did not give up on Osman, even stabbed Osman for her love and went to prison. After getting out of prison, Melek again has to deal with a lot of negativity and pain. She is homeless, she is ostracized by her daughter and son-in-law when she goes to Sabahat, the only friend she stayed with and trusted in prison, and she has to return from the house she went to stay. She cannot solve her alcohol problem, she cannot forget Osman, even because she does not have a home, she is raped by a few men in the street and becomes shocked. After Serap leaves, she lives with the hope that Serap will return. Melek's life depends entirely on others. In the movie, no one is good to Melek except for Serap, Arif/Fulya and Hakan. Ultimately, Melek was stabbed to death by Osman in the middle of the street, and her last request was fulfilled by Serap at that time. Fortunately, her last request is fulfilled, but nobody even lifts Melek's body, Arif / Fulya covers her and the street remains empty with a police siren. In summary, Melek seems to pay the price of the life she chooses, even if she no longer does sex work, her life is always filled with unhappiness, she is dependent, she is addicted to both alcohol and Osman, and has turned a blind eye to all acts of violence against her. She did not make a sound for Osman beating her, she even gave information to the police about the men who raped her. Melek suffered from all the obstacles of the life attributed to her and was killed. With the imprisonment of this "unfortunate" life, the lack of any other alternative and finally being killed by a man, Melek is extremely passive. The representation style of Melek is a stereotype in the context of representation where sex workers come to life. While Melek was dying, she hugged the knife Osman directed at her by saying *Osman, I would die for you*. This form of representation of a female character who is excluded, marginalized and killed by her ex-lover is presented on a plane that will legitimize all forms of violence against a sex worker.

Hakan (Uzay Heparı): Hakan is a young, bisexual character who has a relationship in parallel with his financial interests with a bisexual and bourgeois man named Mehmet, who is older than him, but is also in love with Serap. He has no other income than the money he gets from Mehmet. He is constantly hanging out in gay bars and nightclubs. In the film, although Hakan is bisexual, he is depicted as a character with homophobic and transphobic behaviours and discourses towards Arif/Fulya, other homosexuals, transvestites and transsexuals. Although Arif / Fulya wants to kiss him, he makes homophobic and transphobic statements saying that *I don't like faggots, ok? And I don't kiss them on the street*. Hakan is also depicted as a masculine character who is extremely arrogant, macho and shows violent attitudes in his relationship with Serap, his discomfort from Serap's doing sex work, and hitting Serap during the fight proves his macho attitude. When Serap sees Hakan as a branch to hold onto and asked Hakan to negotiate with his customers, Hakan's aggressive and jealous attitudes towards Serap's customer show that he is a masculine and macho character. While Hakan draws a traditional macho, homophobic, transphobic, jealous, masculine male profile in the film, he also has a relationship with another man older than him for financial gain. This situation is extremely contradictory. Problems of "masculinity" that exist in patriarchal societies and despair of characters may be parallel in this context. It is possible to say that Hakan is an example of hegemonic masculinity in the film. Hakan, as a character who embraces his traditional values and creates and glorifies his power over other definitions of "masculinity", nurtures this sexist structure. Unless he is in a passive situation in a way, Hakan maintains his power in the film, establishing his domination over Serap, Arif/Fulya and even Mehmet through masculinity codes. The striking point in the film is that Hakan was abandoned by Serap despite all this masculine domination. Serap's reaction after catching Hakan with Mehmet and her slapping on Hakan and her sentences while taking the money in her hand *in fact, you're more of a whore than I am. Is this what you charge? Get lost. And take your husband with you. Get lost, you dirty faggot* demolish all of Hakan's masculine domination. Serap's description of Mehmet as "husband" and his words that humiliate Hakan by feminizing him reproduce homophobic and sexist masculine discourses. Hakan's beating another gay man on the street after his abandonment can be regarded as an expression of his own homophobia and his own sexual orientation problems. After his traumatic breakup with Serap, he ended his relationship with Mehmet and started to work at Osman's

nightclub. Following these events, Hakan tries to regain his "manhood", which was destroyed, by behaviours such as ending his relationship with a man and starting to work, and he is somehow tamed in accordance with the dominant ideology. In summary, the most complex character in the film is Hakan. The happiness of Hakan, who got stuck between his sexual orientation and "problems of masculinity" but found the "right" love in a woman, was ended because of his bisexual orientation, which he did not accept. Here, Hakan falls victim to hegemonic masculinity and takes steps towards "normalization" with the lesson he has learned. Hakan's representation style reproduces the norm that imposes the heteronormative order to be the only true.

Osman (Cengiz Sezici): Osman is a middle-aged, influential and ruthless character who owns a nightclub in Beyoğlu. Osman, who is also the ex-lover of Melek, is a macho, mafia, masculine, violent and criminal-oriented character who humiliates women throughout their relationships, who uses violence. Described as one of the bosses of bad lives, dangerous and dark streets, Osman, as expected, does not refrain from humiliating his "troubled" Melek in the film, cursing her and stabbing her as he inflicts violence on her. In the movie, this murder incident is also covered up and Osman is abducted. That is why Osman is not even punished and reproduces masculine violence in a stereotypical way.

Mehmet (Mehmet Teoman): Mehmet is a middle-aged, intellectual and wealthy character from the bourgeois class. Mehmet, who is not actively involved in the film, is Hakan's partner. In the relationship between Mehmet and Hakan, Mehmet is in love with Hakan, but Hakan continues his relationship with Mehmet only due to financial interests. Mehmet's home decoration, playing the piano, mood and behaviour show that he belongs to the bourgeois class, unlike Hakan. Unlike the other characters, Mehmet does not have financial difficulties and even does not hesitate to support his young partner. Mehmet is more polite, patient and loving towards Hakan than anyone else has. He is not angry that Hakan steals his money and a few valuable belongings and gives him financial support. When Hakan tells him that he is in love with Serap, he even supports him. Mehmet is definitely not a stereotypical element of comedy or a gay character whose life consists of dramas. He always says he has a lost wife, but he has a more feminine side than the other men in the film. He is a character that shows his belonging to another world, away from machismo and violence. The contrast between these characters makes the class difference

in the film visible. His attitude towards Serap when they meet is also polite. He apologized to Serap after he got caught with Hakan. Besides all this, Mehmet is also a victim of "problems of masculinity". As a matter of fact, Hakan stops meeting with him and ends his relationship, and Mehmet's love is trapped in unhappiness at this point.

8.3.3 Analysis of the Representation Policies of the LGBTI+ Characters in the Film

The images and sounds in the credits of the film give clues that the film is about sex workers, nightlife, transvestites and transsexuals. The opening scene begins with the women being taken away by police. The film begins with the truth in terms of understanding the state repression against sex worker women, transvestites and transsexuals at the time it was shot. Almost all the characters are people who work in the back streets of Beyoğlu in nightlife and are usually sex workers. The characters are realistic in terms of describing the LGBTI+ subculture as well as sex workers or nightlife workers. Considering the language they use, the exclusion and violence they are subjected to, their solidarity against this exclusion and violence is very evident. In addition to the solidarity between Serap, Arif/Fulya and Melek, the solidarity between sex worker women, transvestites and transsexuals is quite evident in the film. Here, the solidarity of subculture within itself draws attention. This solidarity always exists against police raids between sex workers with different gender identities. Although the film is realistic in terms of reflecting the subculture's solidarity and resistance to exclusion, it continues the stereotypes in the context of presenting LGBTI+ people as sex workers. The most marginalized group in the film are transsexuals and transvestites, similarly as in most stories. In her article *Türkiye Sineması'nda Travesti ve Transseksüellere Yönelik Mekân Kurgusu Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [A Study on the Space Setup for Transgender and Transsexuals in Turkey's Cinema], Yektanurşin Duyan conveys the discriminatory descriptions and negative images of transsexuals and transsexuals as follows:

“Transvestism has an anarchist structure that breaks established social rules (Bruzzi, 1997, p. 148). Because of these anarchist traits, transvestites often experience both physical and psychological pressure throughout their lives. Marks of these pressure were frequently encountered in the films examined. Especially in the first scene of the film *Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*, it is shown how the police used physical violence to catch transvestites and transsexuals and take them to the police station. Transvestites and transsexuals were also subjected to pressure from all segments of society with the military coup of 1980. Transvestites and transsexuals were exiled outside of Istanbul by having their hair cut. Because they do not conform to the social, cultural and political order, transvestites and transsexuals are seen to be punished in the films because they are humiliated by being insulted and by stating that they are imitating women, instead of being portrayed as smart or powerful. Cutting the hair of transvestites and transsexuals is a sign of humiliating and punishing them. The transvestite and transsexual images of mainstream cinema are destructive rather than rational and consensual” (Duyan, 2011: 32).

As Duyan described, the humiliating and insulting representations towards transvestites and transsexuals created in the film feed the negative perceptions that already exist in society. In addition to this, the fact that the scenes depicting violence by the state are in accordance with the reality can be evaluated positively in the context of visibility in terms of understanding the pressure and violence inflicted by the state on transvestites and transsexuals. Another exclusion of transvestites and transsexuals is quite evident in a dialogue between Osman and Arif / Fulya. The sentences that Osman said Arif / Fulya: *We don't allow your kind in here anymore. You're ruining the girls' business... Trannies, sissies* provide an understanding of transphobic discrimination. Considering the divisions within the subculture to which each character belongs, transvestites and transsexuals are the most excluded group. In real life, the most excluded segments of society are transvestites and transsexuals. For this reason, the film is realistic in the context of reflecting this discrimination. On the one hand, compliance with this reality supports the reproduction of discrimination. Duyan explains how the way that the transvestism phenomenon is depicted in films with certain codes, nurtures stereotypes such as that transsexuals and transvestites are only “sex workers”, that these people can never be “women”, and that they can only exist as “female imitators”, as follows:

"Another negative image of transvestites and transsexuals in the films is the discourse of ‘the impossibility of being a woman’ (Bruzzi, 1997, p. 159). This rhetoric is emphasized by the transvestite and transsexual characters showing us that they are ‘men’ wearing women's clothes. It is shown in the first scenes of the films *Dönersen Işık Çal*, *Güneşi Gördüm* ve *Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* that the transvestite and transgender characters in these films are biologically male. Thus, we are prevented from seeing transvestites and transsexuals as ‘real women trapped in a man's body’ (Garber, 1992, p. 109), while it leads us to perceive transvestites and transsexuals as men wearing women's clothes. Transsexuality states that gender is constructed and shows that essentialism is also a

cultural construct. This construction reinforces the idea that those who do not accept their biological sex socially and culturally are imitations (Garber, 1992, p. 109). Perhaps the most important negative image of transvestites and transsexuals in the movies is the clothes of transvestites and transsexuals and their codes. Dress codes are supported by social, economic and political rules (Garber, 1992, p. 23). Garber states that the extravagance of dress violating the rules is a feature of transvestism (1992, p.28). The clothes the characters wear are often flamboyant, colourful and low-cut. The reason why the clothes are in this style is that, in social perception, flashy clothes evoke sex work. Another negative image created for transvestite and transsexual characters in movies is that all of the characters are sex workers. Although it is shown between the lines that they are forced to be a sex worker in the films, there are no scenes of the characters seeking alternative jobs and the negative view of society towards them while looking for a job. The reason why such a sign is not encountered is due to the desire to show that sex work is a kind of transvestite and transsexuals' destiny" (Duyan, 2011: 33).

As Duyan said, stereotypes of transsexuals and transvestites in movies such as being sex workers and women-imitator men are reinforced by representation policies of the characters and the perceptions of the society are also affected by the fact that these stereotypes are true and real. In the film analysed, Arif/Fulya is included in the film as a male in the first scene, despite declaring that he is a woman and wants to undergo a surgical operation, he is described as a "fagot" and then calls himself Fulya and struggles to live with her gender identity. In this struggle, her only alternative is shown as sex work, and Arif/Fulya does not take any steps to change the conditions throughout the film. Serap reaches her dreams, but there is nothing transformative and transformative about Arif/Fulya.

Throughout the film, female characters are often subjected to masculine violence. Although Serap is depicted as the strongest character in the movie, she sometimes exhibits passive attitudes in her relationship with Hakan and is exposed to Hakan's physical violence. Serap, who draws the profile of a free woman who can stand on her own feet, is also worried about the future and sees Hakan as a shelter. Here, too, although the female character is depicted freely, she desires to be embraced, this perception of being owned by men feeds the perception of women's passivity. Hakan's jealous and possessive attitudes and Serap's view of Hakan as a shelter reproduce the gendered perspective. In addition, after the scene of Hakan inflicting physical violence on Serap, coming with regret, Arif/Fulya and Melek trying to persuade Serap to make peace, Hakan and Serap's reconciliation can be considered as an attitude that legitimizes masculine violence. In this sense, the film reproduces the stereotypes. Besides Serap, Melek is also in a much more passive position in the film. Melek, who has been subjected to masculine violence

throughout her life, is ultimately killed by a macho, violent-oriented man whom she cannot give up. The stereotypes that show LGBTI+ characters and others are always suicidal or murdered characters in cinema, which are mentioned in the theoretical parts of the study, are reproduced here. The only different situation in this stereotyping can be considered as the death of a heterosexual character, but it can be said that being a sex worker and a woman is enough for being the other.

Hakan, another important character in the film, is depicted as an extremely masculine, macho, violently oriented, homophobic, and transphobic character. Although Hakan himself has a bisexual orientation, he displays violent and discriminatory attitudes towards other LGBTI+ people. Situations such as the negative attitude towards Arif / Fulya or the use of violence against a gay man he does not know, bring to mind the pressure of the patriarchal order, which can be considered as "masculinity" problems. Although he has a bisexual orientation, his negative attitude towards other gay men or transsexuals proves that Hakan is stuck between his personality and the masculine roles society expects of men. Presenting LGBTI+ people with negative descriptions in most of the stories they find representational opportunities, as well as the heterosexist pressures they experience in all areas of their lives, starting in the family, enable these people to internalize themselves as negative people. It can be said that Hakan's violence and negative attitudes towards others are related to the negativities he internalized, as well, Hakan does not clearly express his bisexual orientation in the film, he keeps it more secret. In addition to this, he is described as the opposite character of Serap, with features such as having a relationship with a mature and wealthy man for economic interests, not having any job, not earning money and not standing on his own feet. These macho and masculine attitudes of Hakan are demolished as a result of being humiliated, fired and abandoned by Serap in the film. Serap catches Hakan having sex with his partner Mehmet in her own home, she kicks out Hakan from the house and leaves. After this incident, Hakan ends his relationship with Mehmet, gets a job and starts to stand on his own feet. As mentioned in the section where the character analysis was done, the sentences that Serap made while kicking out Hakan from the house are extremely sexist. These sexist discourses also feed the stereotypes. Upon this incident, Serap settled in another city and Hakan could not reach him although he wanted to. In this story, Mehmet lost his partner and was left alone. Although Mehmet is represented as a good, moral, bourgeois and polite character in the film, he is doomed to

loneliness at the end of the film. Although he had the opportunity to be represented in positive ways, Mehmet cannot escape from a bisexual or homosexual representation that is trapped in unhappiness. After Serap's leaving, an alternative ending in which Hakan and Mehmet are happy may break all these stereotypes, but unfortunately, the movie has also been fed by stereotypes in the relationship between Hakan and Mehmet.

To sum up, *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* is a film that is extremely important for Turkey's Cinema in the context of the visibility of LGBTI+s and their appearance in the leading roles, the inclusion of the LGBTI+ subcultures and the provision of the representation opportunity. The film is also important in terms of the political infrastructure of the 90s and the depiction of the government's negative attitudes towards LGBTI+ people in accordance with the reality, and the pressure LGBTI+ people experienced during the 90s. The fact that the LGBTI+ subculture comes into existence in the society despite all the pressures and that it provides visibility to this subculture in its film can be considered as a very positive development. In addition to the positive benefits of the film, it is seen that it contains many stereotypes about the LGBTI+ community. Heterosexist, transphobic prejudices and stereotypes such as "all transvestites and transsexuals are sex workers, transsexual women cannot be real women" are reproduced in the story of the film, without mentioning the problems they are exposed to in society such as exclusion and inability to find a job.

8.4 Analysis of the Film *Teslimiyet (Other Angels)*

8.4.1 Plot of the Film

Teslimiyet (Other Angels), is a 2009 film directed by Emre Yalçın. The film is about four trans women who earn their lives by doing sex work in the part of Beyoğlu district known as Tarlabası. Hayat, Aygöl, Mavi and Sanem are sex workers living in the same house. Gökhan, on the other hand, wants to move to the same neighbourhood with his girlfriend Buket, but refuses to live in Tarlabası because she finds the district is not suitable for living and leaves Gökhan. Gökhan starts to live alone in the house he rented, they meet with Sanem constantly, and after a while, a relationship develops between them. When

Süleyman, who is constantly going home and is Hayat's partner, caught Sanem alone at home and raped, Sanem attacks Süleyman and injures him. Upon this incident, the order in the house breaks down and Sanem shelter in Gökhan. Then Gökhan and Sanem start to run away, but in this period, they start to have problems due to Gökhan's statements and behaviours about Sanem's gender identity. Gökhan wants Sanem to disguise and look like a man while running away, and Sanem is uncomfortable with this situation. At the end of the movie, Sanem leaves Gökhan and returns to her old life.

8.4.2 Character Analysis

Gökhan (Kanbolat Gökem Arslan): Gökhan takes place in the film as a very reserved, quiet and calm character. It is understood that Gökhan, who is at a young age, is interested in literature, although his profession is not clearly shown. Due to his poor economic situation, he rents a house in Tarlabası to live with his beloved Buket, but Buket does not like this district and leaves Gökhan. Because Gökhan is an introverted and emotional character, he cannot survive the pain of separation for a long time. He goes to Buket's house and tells her that he wants to be together again. Buket does not want to be with Gökhan again, because she has another lover. She rebuffs Gökhan and tells him to leave the house. After this period, Gökhan starts to live alone in the house he rented. The mess in Gökhan's house proves that he could not cope with the pain of separation he experienced after Buket. Gökhan is generally an asocial and lonely character. The character named Çağlar is Gökhan's only friend and his economic situation and business career are better than Gökhan. In his relationship with Sanem after Buket, Gökhan is represented as a rather timid character who has difficulty in communicating. The silence of him in his relationship with Sanem and against the sarcastic attitudes towards him by other female characters shows Gökhan's timid character. While they are running away with Sanem after the injury, they cannot communicate well with Sanem even though they have a relationship and is finally abandoned by Sanem.

Sanem (Didem Soylu): Sanem is a young trans woman who is a sex worker. Sanem, the smallest character in the house, is often pressured by Hayat. It is usually her who takes care of the house. Sanem is also timid and quiet, similar to Gökhan. She is a more passive character who generally prefers to spend time in her own room, does not have a violent

tendency unlike other transvestites at home, and does not sound the voice of domination. Although she likes Gökhan, Sanem does not communicate with him much and shows her interest in small games and symbols. Sanem is an introverted character. As understood from her limited communication with Gökhan, the only problem in Sanem's life is about not being a woman. Her insecurity about this is striking. She puts on the dress of Buket, Gökhan's ex-lover, and asks Gökhan: *Which of us does it look better on?* and goes on after kissing him, *Have you ever seen a woman or one that kisses better than me?* This shows the problems of Sanem regarding gender identity. Apart from these, when Aygöl asked what happened when she was sad, her upset about what Hayat said: *Hayat told me that I'll never have a laço*²⁰ again shows that Sanem is represented as a passive character. Sanem's "womanhood" problems continue throughout the film. Her attitude when she meets Buket is harsh and threatening. The strongest reaction of the Sanem character throughout the film is towards Buket, whom she is constantly jealous of. The fact that Buket is a woman biologically disturbs Sanem and breaks her self-confidence. While running away with Gökhan, Sanem reluctantly accepted Gökhan's request to cut her hair for a while, dress like a man and behave like a man, and worried that Gökhan would no longer find herself beautiful when she looks like a man, while all these are happening, these "womanhood" problems cannot be overcome. Ultimately, Sanem listens to Gökhan and allows him to cut her hair and dresses as he wishes, and then they take shelter in Çağlar, but here Sanem is deemed gay by Çağlar and is humiliated and kicked out from the house. They leave Çağlar's house and stay on the street. While sitting on the bench, while Gökhan is sleeping, Sanem goes to the toilet, puts on clothes, puts on makeup and leaves Gökhan. Throughout the movie, this is almost the only scene in which Sanem acts according to her request and is not dominated by anyone. In summary, Sanem leaves the man she loves for the sake of "being a woman" and risks going to jail.

Hayat (Seyhan Arman): Hayat is a middle-aged, very dominant, trans woman character who does not hesitate to swear and ridicule, and she owns the house and is addressed as "mother". Hayat's violence-oriented attitudes and aggressive character can be understood both from her attitude towards the other character in the house and her attitude towards people she does not know outside. Other characters in the house are completely dependent on her. Working hours and times of sex worker trans people at home, their personal care

²⁰ Laço: In LGBTI + jargon, it means adult active male between the ages of 30-40.

and other domestic work in the home are usually carried out by Hayat's guidance. Despite being a benevolent and possessive character at the same time, Hayat is a stereotypical representation of sex workers with their aggressive attitudes, slang language, threatening behaviours, and violent tendencies. She has a very macho and masculine partner named Süleyman. Süleyman, who is called laço in the film is a haunted, stealthy, violently oriented character, and he is interested in other transvestites at home, especially Sanem. Hayat's fondness, jealousy and possessive attitudes towards Süleyman increase her violence against other trans people in the house, especially Sanem, and She inflicts violence on Sanem because of Süleyman, although Sanem does not have a fault. Finally, Süleyman catches Sanem alone and rapes her. Because Sanem injured Süleyman, people in the house and the house order are completely disrupted, and Hayat and Mavi are victimized.

Mavi (Buse Kılıçkaya): Mavi is also a sex worker, trans woman character in her middle ages. She is the most moderate and helpful character in the house. Although their violent orientation is not as obvious as Hayat, it is shown in the scene of their detention. Mavi's sarcastic attitude and slang language draw attention. Mavi is seen when she constantly takes drugs. She often chooses to use drugs as a means of calm and distraction. Representations such as drug and alcohol use can be considered as stereotypes used in negative representations against sex workers and LGBTI+s working in nightlife. In these forms of representation, these "other" characters, that are lived in the films, are on the shore and they have no other alternatives. This is how they cope with troubles, "bad fates" or "destinies". Mavi describes the negative events she was exposed to by her family in a scene. Mavi and Hayat are childhood friends She tells Sanem the negativities of Hayat that she experienced as follows:

Living with that woman is painful! We grew up together. We were faggots in a small town. Of course, everyone knew. One day, my dad grabbed me and locked me. He'd beat and beat me... He told me that if I want to get out of there I should get married. They found an innocent girl who didn't know anything. The bitch, Hayat wasn't seen around at that time. I married. Then on top of all that, a child. Anyway, she turns up one day... I couldn't believe my eyes when I saw her. There was a white dress on her... Her hair was blowing with the wind... You would think she was an angel... She said I came here to take you with

me. She said we will be happy together. I was out of my mind. I talked to my self, 'Are you happy? Did you choose this life on your own? What about this woman... this child? What are you waiting for? Unchain yourself this can be your last chance after all'... After all, well, we are here...

This transphobic violence and heteronormative domination that Mavi is exposed to with Hayat is important in understanding the difficulties faced by LGBTI+s, but it also feeds the general stereotypes in the films examined. The stories show all kinds of violence against LGBTI+ people and generally develop forms of representation regarding being sex workers, but they do not go to the roots of these problems. He does not mention the pressure of heteronormative order such as not offering other job opportunities to these people, being victimized in areas such as education and health. In this way, these people are always represented by the same traits who are trapped in the same sad and bad fates, who try to live in financial and moral difficulties on the shore, who are sex workers, who use drugs and alcohol. In addition to these, in the scene where Süleyman inflicted violence on Sanem with a nervous breakdown, Mavi threatened Süleyman with a knife and cut her own arm and kicks out Süleyman from the house. After this incident, it is understood that she fell in love with Hayat. It can be said that the event in which Mavi shows the most intense violence orientation is this event. The interest of Mavi towards Hayat in this confusion of gender identity makes the concepts of gender identity and sexual orientation more complex for the audience. Ultimately, because of Süleyman, both Mavi and Hayat have been victimized even more in their "bad fates" and their "defeated" lives due to their "gender identity", which is felt by their position in the story.

Aygül (Ayta Sözeri): Aygül is another trans woman character who is also a middle-aged sex worker. Unlike Hayat, Aygül is more moderate, helpful and a little shy. She is a character who always supports Sanem in the hierarchy of the house. In the film, an example of the problems LGBTI+ people experience with their families is explained through Aygül. In a scene, Aygül sees her mother in a women's show, and her mother is looking for her son. She tells that her son left home due to the problems he had with his father and had not heard from it for 5 years. According to his mother's statements, her father suffered a stroke and cerebral haemorrhage after his son's departure, and he wants to see his son. Aygül is very upset about this, but she hesitates to call her mother. While

talking about this situation with Mavi, Aygöl's words are as follows: *I cannot call. How can I call... If they saw me like this, they would kill me.* Upon Mavi's insistence that Aygöl's family would react positively, Aygöl says: *They missed Ayhan, not me.* This dialogue is also important in terms of understanding the extent of exclusion and marginalization towards transsexuals, transphobia and how this marginalization is internalized by these people themselves. After this conversation, Aygöl does not call her mother. In the scene where they are detained by the police afterwards, Aygöl is subjected to physical violence by the police and the police do not take her to the centre because of the beating, they leave her on the side of the highway injured. Aygöl, who was taken to the hospital, meets her mother after years in the hospital after Mavi calls her mother. Her mother takes Aygöl to Germany, and there is no news from Aygöl again in the film.

Buket (Zeynep Özcan): Buket is a young female character. Her profession is not mentioned in the film. Buket is the character who is Gökhan's lover. She leaves Gökhan because she does not want to sit in Tarlabası, and then she has a relationship with another man named Cenk. Buket is an arrogant and selfish character. She takes care to live her life the way she wants. She is very clear about her attitude towards Gökhan when she is leaving and she is frank enough to say that she has a new lover. In one scene she is seen half-naked and dressed next to Cenk. Buket is also a woman who freely experiences her sexuality. Buket recognizes Hayat in the news she encounters after the injury and worries about Gökhan and tries to reach Gökhan. Meanwhile, Sanem is in Gökhan's house, and Buket's attitude towards Sanem, when they come across, is humiliating, marginalizing and transphobic. She calls Sanem a "freak" because of her gender identity, and although he leaves Gökhan, another woman makes him nervous. She then reports Sanem to the police.

Süleyman (Müfit Aytekin): Süleyman is an adult, macho, masculine, rude, haunted and evil character who listens to arabesque music. In the film, he is Hayat's partner, or as she says, her "husband", "laço". He is the character who did not take part in the film much, but caused disasters to the lives of four trans women. Hayat is very fond of Süleyman, but Süleyman is molested to Sanem without her consent, even though he is with Hayat. One night, Süleyman goes with his friend Hasan to the house where Hayat and other women live together and physically abuses Sanem in front of Hayat. Thereupon, Hayat has a nervous breakdown, although she is innocent, she attacks Sanem and beats her. Mavi

intervenes, calms Hayat, threatens Süleyman with a knife and kicks out him from the house. Süleyman's attitude here is disturbingly reckless. Until he sees the knife, he cursed at Mavi, pretending nothing had happened. Mavi shouts at Süleyman that *you stole my life and my love* and forcibly kicks him out of the house. It is understood from this that Mavi's interest in Hayat and she does not like Süleyman at all. One day after this incident, Süleyman waits for Hayat and Mavi to leave the house and goes home and finds Sanem alone at home, inflicts violence and rapes him. After raping, Süleyman continues his verbal threatening attack, saying *We are not done with you yet. We are just starting*. With these sentences, his own repressed male ego, his problems regarding his sexual orientation and his aggression by overcoming them can be clearly seen. The masculine roles imposed on Süleyman by the patriarchal order consist of "masculinity codes" such as machismo, bullying, being heterosexual, but despite all these, it is clear that he cannot manage and has problems with his non-heterosexual orientation. Feeding on hegemonic masculinity, Süleyman seeks to establish masculine domination and uses others for his conscientious satisfaction. His indifferent attitude and desire to have everyone without their consent make this masculine domination understood. After the rape, Sanem injures Süleyman with a nail file to get rid of him. After this incident, the lives of four women are destroyed, their homes are destroyed. Süleyman's domination through patriarchal and sexist discourses and the "masculinity problems" he experienced are similar to other stories examined. In the later parts of the film, upon the injury of Süleyman, another man asks Süleyman's friend Hasan, *I didn't understand, what was he doing with the transvestites?*. Hasan, who goes to the same house with Süleyman, gives the following answer: *Bro, he was totally hammered. They saw him on the road and accosted him, he thought these were real women. He was completely out of it, you know. Otherwise, what would a straight guy do with a transvestite?* As can be understood from this dialogue, hegemonic masculinity here establishes its own discourse on "other forms of masculinity". Although trans people define themselves as women, they are subjected to transphobia due to their not being "real women" and because of their gender identity, and they are marginalized. The characters of Süleyman and Hasan, on the other hand, represent hypocritical masculine values who completely assume patriarchal and macho roles, but who do not hesitate to have secret relationships with trans people who are marginalized with the discourse of "not man's job".

8.4.3 Analysis of the Representation Policies of the LGBTI+ Characters in the Film

The film *Teslimiyet (Other Angels)* is extremely important in Turkey's Cinema in the sense that the main characters are transgender, and these characters are actually portrayed by transgender actresses. The visibility of transgender actors and actresses is not a condition commonly encountered in Turkey's Cinema. The importance of the film in this context can be considered as a positive step in terms of visibility. In addition to this positive development, looking at the story, it is difficult to say that the same positive developments continue. Focusing on being the main character and the lives of totally four transgender women, the film reproduces some clichés in the context of their professions, lives, expectations, and certain character traits. The first of these stereotypes is that these four women are sex workers. Trans women who make a living by doing sex work are also present in real life, but in the film, this situation usually includes not providing them with other job opportunities. There is no mention of reasons such as the inability of these people to do their own profession, the problems they face in the fields of education and health, being condemned to live under the marginalizing pressure of the government and society and as a result being forced to compulsory sex work. In summary, with a superficial and fatalistic perspective, these people appear before the audience as sex workers. The stereotype of "transsexuals being sex workers", which is generally present in stories, is reproduced in this way in this story. In addition to this, another cliché is where these people live. Generally, dark streets, districts with high crime rates with uncanny, dangerous and continuous police raids, and socio-culturally low-depicted neighbourhoods, the dangerous and uncanny perception of these people living in economic difficulties are reinforced. Duyan describes the relationship between transvestites and transsexuals in the films as follows:

"The living space is chosen by the people who live / will live in it and arrange them in their own way. But if the subject that will make this choice is a person, group or community that has to be marginalized and removed by the society, choosing the place in which they live/want to live becomes a luxury. For this reason, they live in the limited number of spaces given to them and arrange those spaces within the possibilities given to them. As time passes, they become identified with that place.... When a person does something that is forbidden to do, he "first" punishes himself with space; for example, locking himself in his room or pulling the duvet up to his head. If it is a social crime, then he is condemned to be judged by written and sometimes unwritten rules. The wet and dark streets seen in the films *Dönersen Islık Çal*, *Güneşi Gördüm* and *Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* represent the prison. Transsexuals and transvestites who are "different" because of both their gender identity and appearance, and which are not "approved" by the society, are trapped in these dark and wet streets. The reason for this imprisonment is to punish them as well as want to keep them under somehow.

There is an irony here about the street. The liberating feature of the street turns into a closure and restrictive prison when it comes to transvestites and transsexuals” (Duyan, 2011: 31-35).

As Duyan described, in general, transvestites and transsexuals live by being kept under control in the regions that are assigned to them in the society. The dangerous representation of the places they live in and the constant police raids show that these people are condemned to live within invisible walls. The negative perspective of the society towards transvestites and transsexuals is reproduced with this marginalizing attitude and neighbourhood stereotypes formed by negative representations of the places where these people live.

Another stereotype is the violence-oriented characters created against transvestites and transsexuals. In the film, this violent tendency is depicted quite prominently in some of the characters and more moderately in others. One of the characters, Hayat's violent tendency is very intense and directed towards everyone. It is represented in an aggressive, sarcastic and aggressive manner, which is constantly talking to other women in the house and people passing by. In the first scene of the film, she teases Gökhan and Buket from the window. In the next scenes, she shouts at Sanem, Mavi and Aygöl, makes threats and is always ready for a physical attack. Upon Süleyman harassed Sanem, she attacked Sanem and used physical violence. Hayat is portrayed as a character feared by everyone at home. Apart from Hayat, there is also a tendency towards violence in Mavi. While kicking out Süleyman from the house, she shouted at him, swore at him, threatened Süleyman with a knife, did nothing to him but cut her arm with a knife. During the police raid, a very serious tendency towards violence is observed in Hayat and Mavi. Their way of resisting the police is also very aggressive. Aygöl and Sanem, on the other hand, are portrayed more moderately than Hayat and Mavi. At this point, the hierarchy that exists between four trans women draws attention. Hayat is the dominant character and the owner of the house, Mavi is closer to Hayat, she is her childhood friend and at the same time, she is in love with Hayat. Aygöl and Sanem, on the other hand, are two younger and passive characters who live and work at home, live under Hayat's directives and auspices. Returning to the issue of violence orientation, the character traits depicted through Hayat and Mavi reproduce the stereotypes of "violent, slang and abusive transgender sex worker". Duyan describes the function of negative images such as slang, swearing and violence orientation towards transvestites and transsexuals as follows:

“While transvestites and transsexuals are portrayed as ‘cheeky, abusive and constantly making a scene’ in the films we have examined, these characteristics are also reinforced by the language they speak. Levent Canteke states that slang, swearing and defiance are part of masculinity discourse (2000, p. 60). It is possible to read the slang and swearing of transvestites and transsexuals in the films we have examined as the fact that they generally use the slang and swear words when they are subjected to violence/humiliation/exclusion, as they know that the reason for this violence, humiliation and exclusion is a male-dominated power — and their desire to respond to power with their language. Another reason why they are shown as people who swear constantly and speak slang in films is to reinforce the negative images of transvestites and transsexuals in the society” (Duyan, 2011: 32).

Some other stereotypes encountered in the film also emerge in the relationship between Sanem and Gökhan. Both characters are quiet, calm and don't communicate much. Throughout the film, nonverbal communication often involving symbols develops between them. Upon Buket's leaving, Gökhan listens to the tape recorder that recorded a song by Buket and sleeps with Buket's voice. He gets very drunk one night and falls asleep on the street, then Sanem finds Gökhan on the street while he is being hijacked in the morning, takes the voice recording device belonging to Gökhan and returns his wallet to him. Gökhan wants to talk to her, but Sanem walks away without answering. Then Sanem listens to the sound recording. Gökhan searches for the voice recorder at home but cannot find it, while he throws the clothes obviously belonging to Buket down the window, Sanem passes there at that time, they all fall in front of her. Thereupon, Sanem leaves the clothes to Gökhan's door, she waits in the apartment, they come eye to eye, Sanem runs away. In their next meeting, while she is going to talk to Gökhan exactly, this time there will be a police raid. Sanem is taken into custody with other women. They cannot communicate again, then Sanem leaves the tape recorder at Gökhan's door, but does not knock on the door, does not face with Gökhan, leaves the tape recorder and walks away. Throughout all these encounters, Sanem's attitude is very timid and wild. Even in the scene where Sanem suffers physical violence from Hayat and shelters in Gökhan, she does not stay with Gökhan and leaves there. Later, Gökhan comes to their house to see Sanem, and this time Sanem has a customer. Mavi and Gökhan talk. Mavi's cynical attitude towards Gökhan and Gökhan's not understanding of what Mavi says in the jargon of her own community shows the difference between Gökhan and Sanem. It can be said that this difference is a harbinger of one of the possible problems of the relationship that Sanem and Gökhan can establish. It gives clues on the main problem that two people of "different worlds" may encounter in their relationship. As a matter of fact, the stereotype of "unhappy or desperate love" of the stories about LGBTI+s is made to be felt by the audience here. Following Mavi and

Gökhan's dialogue, Gökhan waits in front of Sanem's room and witnesses Sanem's customer going out. Then Sanem opens the door and sees Gökhan. Clearly, Sanem is disturbed by this situation and closes the door to Gökhan's face, while Gökhan's expression is also full of embarrassment. The door is a little bit opened by itself, Sanem is sitting inside, she closes the door again. In this symbol-filled relationship, the plastic stars Sanem stuck to the ceiling of her room in the first scene is important. These stars, which can be the symbol of Sanem's freedom and captivity that she could not find anywhere, fall constantly throughout the film. As Duyan mentioned in her study, the places where transvestites and transsexuals live are shown as restrictive places like an open prison. It can be said that the artificial stars that Sanem stuck to the ceiling of her room in the house where she was also a prisoner, represent her longing for freedom. As a matter of fact, these stars fall when Sanem is sad and hopeless throughout the film. The last time the star falls is when she meets Gökhan at the door of her room. Sanem closes the door on Gökhan's face, the star falls. Sanem leaves the star to Gökhan's door this time. This star metaphor can be associated with Sanem's linking her freedom to Gökhan this time. Gökhan can be considered as a "hero" who will save her from this life, but the important thing here is Sanem's passivity. It is a highly passive representation to see the saviour of her bondage with her community as a man. Throughout the film, this "saviour man", "hero" waiting mood is also valid for the other characters. Situations such as Hayat's seeing an extremely bad man like Süleyman as her "husband", her "laço", being obsessed with Süleyman and attacking Sanem, or when Sanem is very upset since Hayat says to her that *she will never have a Laço* at some point in the film, are the examples of their representation as if the only purpose of these characters in life is to find a "laço", a "husband". It can be said that this form of representation presents the problems of transvestite characters, who are marginalized and oppressed, and are trying to continue their lives with difficulties and often have to do sex work, in a simplistic way. As a matter of fact, these characters, whose only problems in life are reduced to "finding a laço", are dragged into disasters by their "laços" and become unhappy again at the end of the film. Hayat and Mavi are arrested, and Sanem leaves Gökhan. Returning to the relations of Sanem and Gökhan, some important details draw attention, the two, who cannot communicate clearly, talk for the first time after a disaster. The place that Sanem ran away after injuring Süleyman is Gökhan's house. The interesting point here is, Sanem is shocked after injuring Süleyman, and she is not

even able to move and she manages to run away upon the guidance of Mavi, but at the next scene, as if nothing had happened, Sanem gets out of the shower in Gökhan's house, prepares breakfast and continues her life suddenly. Lack of communication always catches attention in their relationships. During the time they spend at Gökhan's house, they get closer and communicate despite being disconnected. Sanem's jealousy towards Gökhan draws attention. Buket gets worried about the news and wants to reach Gökhan, Sanem is very uncomfortable with this. Sanem's obsessive attitudes towards Gökhan and the "femininity issues", mentioned in the character analysis, imprison Sanem in stereotypes in the context of representation. When they come face to face with the Buket, her attitude towards Buket is very harsh. Then, after Buket reported Sanem, she ran away with Gökhan. Gökhan offers Sanem to cut her hair and wants her to behave like a man. This would be the breakout point of their relationship. Sanem reluctantly accepts this suggestion, gets her hair cut for Gökhan and wears men's clothes. The only concern of Sanem here is not the crime she committed and the decision to be arrested, but the worry that Gökhan will not like her when she disguises. This presents the character of Sanem in an extremely reductionist approach. While Sanem is running away as a criminal and there is a risk of being caught and punished, her only concern is what Gökhan would think when she disguised herself as a man. Similarly, while Gökhan asks her to disguise so that Sanem will not be caught, Sanem interprets it as just Gökhan embarrassing her. These situations can also be considered unrealistic. After Sanem disguises, they go to Çağlar, who is a friend of Gökhan. Çağlar is an extremely homophobic and transphobic character. He serves to reproduce homophobia and transphobia with his function in the film. He despises Sanem and he kicks out Sanem and Gökhan from the house with exaggerated sentences such as *I don't want some weirdo fag in my house... He's sure to have AIDS*. The interesting point here is that Sanem is a woman, even if she is disguised, Sanem's appearance looks like a woman. It can be said that this extraordinary change is pushing the unrealistic limits in the film. Along with the homophobia and transphobia of Çağlar, Gökhan also has homophobic/transphobic discourses and this is a factor in their separation with Sanem. Gökhan criticizes Sanem for taking make-up materials from the house while escaping, and not behaving like a man in Çağlar's house, and finally make sentences like, *after all, you are a man*. No matter what Sanem does, she cannot make anyone believe that she is a woman, including the person she loves. This "womanhood problem" can also be linked to

the discourse of "the impossibility of being a woman" directed at transvestites and transsexuals mentioned by Duyan in her study. Ultimately, Gökhan and Sanem stay on the street, and when Gökhan falls asleep on the bench by the sea, Sanem goes to the toilet, changes his clothes and puts on clothes, puts on make-up, while singing the song that Buket sang on the tape recorder, puts the tape recorder next to Gökhan and leaves him. Sanem leaves the person she loves for the sake of being a woman and returns to her old life. Here, too, the "unhappy and hopeless love" stereotype has been reproduced.

Another stereotype in the film is the relationship between Aygöl's character and her mother. In the character analysis section, Aygöl's relationships with her family were mentioned. The point to be emphasized here is Aygöl's mother's statements about her. After being beaten by the police, Aygöl is taken to the hospital. Mavi calls Aygöl's mother. The dialogue at the hospital between Hayat and Macide is as follows: Macide says to Hayat: *I understand... or at least I try, but this life you live, is not real life*. On top of that, Hayat replies: *My name is 'Hayat' (means life), auntie. That's enough for me*. This dialogue reproduces highly discriminatory discourses and again, transvestites are criticized without giving reasons. At the same time, transvestites are represented as pitiful people with codes containing extremely drama and grief. Then his mother, Macide, says she wants to take Aygöl to Germany. Hayat then asks whether her brothers will accept her like that. Macide replies: *I wouldn't tell anyone. If someone asks I'd say my distant relative from Turkey. He'd get unemployment benefit, he could live alone, but at least I'd see my child*. These discourses also reproduce drama-based, marginalizing stereotypes. The representation of a transvestite who will never be accepted, who cannot work and has to be alone also serves a discriminatory discourse.

It will be enlightening to talk about the events close to reality as well as the clichés encountered in the film. It would be enlightening to include the dialogues during the incident when Aygöl was beaten and thrown on a roadside by a civilian car during the police raid. Aygöl is taken out of the building by two policemen, as battered. Then the police chief asks: *What the hell, you knocked the hell out of this*. The police officer replies: *He fell from the stairs*, and then the chief said *throw this away, I don't wanna see*. This dialogue can be said to be true in the context of understanding the negative and discriminatory attitude of the police towards transvestite and transsexual sex workers. In

addition to this, in another incident, Sanem was subjected to physical violence and rape by Süleyman and she injured Süleyman. Upon this incident, the house was scattered, Hayat and Mavi, although not shown, were detained by the police and later arrested. On the news, the incident is reflected in the headline "Transvestite Gang Spread Terror". The audience learns about this situation when Buket accidentally hits this news on the internet. Details of the news are as follows:

With the uncensored photograph of Hayat,

2 of the 3 transvestites who stabbed the customer they took into their homes in 8 times were caught and 1 is still wanted.

Three transvestites, who lived together and continued their lives as prostitutes, first stabbed their customers Süleyman Ç. 8 times. Later they stole all his money and cell phone and ran away. 2 of the crime machine transvestites were caught in a short time. Fingerprints were found at the scene, while one of the transvestites pleaded guilty, the other shed tears, claiming that he was innocent. The police chased the other transvestite who managed to escape. Victim Süleyman Ç. is fighting for life in intensive care.

This news language is important in understanding the attitude of the media towards transvestites and transsexuals. The language of the news is set up to be highly marginalizing and even targeting. Whereas, the only guilty person in the incident is Süleyman, but his name is mentioned as a victim in the news and only trans women who are mentioned as "transvestites" are blamed. Most of the time, the language of news for these people in the media is established in this way. In terms of understanding the attitude of the media, this scene of the movie can be said to be true. In general, transvestites and transsexuals are portrayed as the perpetrators of the incident by specifying their gender identities without mentioning the details of the news in the mainstream media. This headline and language is also a true example of the media's biased and marginalizing attitude.

In summary *Teslimiyet (Other Angels)*, takes an important step in Turkey's Cinema in terms of focusing on the lives of trans women and sex worker characters and playing these characters by transsexual actors. In addition, the negative, discriminatory and targeting attitudes of the law enforcement and media towards transvestites and transsexuals

reflect the reality in the film. On the contrary, it reproduces existing stereotypes in the context of the lives, professions, place of residence, bilateral relations, expectations from life, and the lack of an alternative life.

8.5 Analysis of the Film *Köpek*

8.5.1 Plot of the Film

The 2015 film *Köpek*, directed by Esen Işık, contains three separate stories. The first story focuses on a family living in difficulties in a neighbourhood with low socio-economic and cultural status. The family is told through the little son of the house, Cemo. Cemo is trying to support his house by selling handkerchiefs with his friend Mehmet and does not go to school. Mehmet goes to school but is unhappy with his stepmother and plans to move another house separately with his sister, so he sells handkerchiefs outside of school. Cemo's mother works as a cashier in a public toilet. His father is an unemployed alcoholic. There is also a younger brother and a sick grandmother at home. One day Cemo finds a puppy and wants to adopt it, but his father and mother do not want the dog. The story proceeds through the puppy and tells of Cemo's effort to adopt the dog.

The second story is the story of Hayat and Mustafa. Hayat and Mustafa are married and have a daughter. Similarly, this family lives in a district with low socio-economic and cultural status. Hayat is a housewife, and her husband Mustafa is a minibus driver. While Mustafa is an extremely jealous, oppressive, violent and macho man, Hayat is a quieter, calm character. In the story, the problems in their marriage, the pressure of Mustafa on Hayat and the events that resulted in the death of Hayat are told.

The third story is the story of Ebru, a transsexual woman who makes a living by doing sex work. Ebru lives with her housemate, who is a gay man and has a beauty salon in a more decent neighbourhood than others, in the house above this salon. Ebru cannot forget Hakan, who is a pharmacist and his ex-boyfriend. The story tells about the problems of Ebru's gender identity and her relationship with Hakan.

8.5.2 Character Analysis

Cemo (Oğuzhan Sancar): Cemo is a child who grew up in poverty in a very poor neighbourhood. Together with his friend Mehmet, he tries to support his family by selling handkerchiefs. Her mother works in a public toilet. His father is an alcoholic character who does not work. Despite receiving money from the state due to poverty, he confiscates the money Cemo earned by selling handkerchiefs. Cemo also has a younger sister and a sick grandmother. Cemo is also taking care of his grandmother. Cemo is a very smart and compassionate child character who stands up despite all these difficulties. He is often subjected to violence in the film. He is interested in a girl in their neighbourhood, who lives in luxury estates, which are described as opposite to the life of the Cemo, and when he goes there to talk to the girl, he is subjected to violence by the man who is the security guard of the site. Later, he was subjected to violence from the ferry worker for selling handkerchiefs on the ferry. He is subjected to violence from children selling handkerchiefs in another neighbourhood, he is subjected to violence by the police for not going to school but selling handkerchiefs, and he is subjected to violence in the house by his father. Cemo's life is interwoven with violence. In this spiral of violence, he is very merciful. On his trip with Mehmet, he finds a puppy whose mother is dead and does not want to leave it, but he is afraid to take it home because he thinks that his father will not want and will harm it. After all, he does not leave the dog and takes it home and hides it in his garden. When his father finds out about the situation, he takes the dog and runs away. His father's attitude towards Cemo is extremely harsh. Cemo, who escaped from the violence of his father, takes shelter in his mother, his mother is a compassionate, loving woman and shows only that love for Cemo throughout the story, but his mother's situation is also very difficult. She has to take care of her children and sick mother-in-law and support her home while dealing with a violent and alcoholic husband. Cemo goes to his mother with the dog, and his mother does not want the dog, fearing that his father will kill him because he killed the birds they had previously fed. Despite everything, Cemo does not leave the dog and makes feeding plans by hiding it. Taking the dog, they go to the house of the girl he is interested in to talk and meet. Just as they talk, the security guard comes and attacks Cemo, the old man who owns the grocery store across the road intervenes and saves Cemo. Cemo is

unable to go to his house, he cries and has wets his clothes. He waits until it gets dark. Meanwhile, during the brawl, the dog remained with the girl named Lara, whom Cemo was interested in, and her mother forced her to leave it on the street because she did not want it. Although the girl resisted and cried, with the direction of her mother, the security guard takes the dog from her and leaves it to the street. Then he kicked the dog approaching him hard, Cemo, who saw this, came running from the grocery shop and stabbed the security guard in the leg. Afterwards, Cemo is taken by the police, Mehmet stays with the dog in his lap, and the old man who owns the grocery shop takes him away. Cemo was subjected to a lot of violence when he was a child and still became the victim of his compassion. In summary, Cemo is a compassionate character who was born as the "other" and continues his life as the "other" and has to endure everything at a child age, and unfortunately, his "bad fate" has not left him.

Mehmet (Bekir Sevenkan): Mehmet is Cemo's friend, lives in the same neighbourhood as Cemo and goes to school. The reason why he sells handkerchiefs is his unhappiness due to living with his stepmother. He is saving money to move to another house with his sister. Mehmet is also subjected to violence throughout the story. He is quieter and calmer than Cemo, and he is also an extremely compassionate child. Cemo and Mehmet support each other throughout the story.

Hayat (Beren Tuna): Hayat is a young mother and a housewife. She is married to Mustafa. While Mustafa is a violent, macho, oppressive character, Hayat, on the contrary, is a quiet, calm, non-communicative, passive and unhappy woman. Mustafa does not allow Hayat to go somewhere alone or to meet with her family. Hayat does not quite go out of his word. Hayat is represented as an ordinary woman in the traditional family structure. She draws attention with her physical features, costumes, timid behaviours and unhappiness. Hayat hardly smiles throughout the film. She is responsible for domestic work, goes shopping and prepares food with the money her husband gave her. In the first scene of the story, it is shown that they had sexual intercourse with Mustafa. Their daughter listens to them at the door, and Hayat is under the pressure of her husband during sexual intercourse, as in all of her life. Her anxiety during sexual intercourse is that her child hears them and then the first thing she says she is going to the grocery shop. Hayat, in this representation, is the mother, the wife, and the person responsible for the house, before

a woman. Mustafa does not want her to go to the bazaar alone, too. First, he tells her to go with her aunt. When Hayat tells her that her aunt is sick, he says he will come and take her. The pressure on Hayat is understood in these dialogues. Finally, Mustafa is convinced and lets Hayat go out alone. Then Hayat talks to someone nervously on the phone, tells that she will come and leaves home. The person she speaks to on the phone is her ex-fiance whom she had to leave. She tries to get to the meeting place, nervously along the way. She is constantly harassed by men while on the road. In the minibus, she witnesses the physical harassment of a man and the abusive behaviour of other men at the grocery store where she enters to charge her phone that has run out of power. She meets her ex-fiance, Murat, in a tea garden by the sea. They talk about their relationship that had to end. Hayat talks about Mustafa, she tells that Mustafa did not send her to the village to see her family, and that her family had not come for three years. She tells that she did not love Mustafa at first, but later loved her after she had a child. Here, it is understood that Mustafa put pressure on Hayat. Hayat's admiration of the seaside and the fact that she went there for the first time proves that her life is usually spent at home and that she does not go out much. The woman trapped in this domestic space shows the pressure of patriarchal domination on women. After sitting for a while Hayat says that she has to go and leaves. As they leave, Murat returns a scarf, that Hayat gave him years ago, to Hayat, then offers to come with him and hugs him. Hayat says that this is not possible, she behaves very shy when Murat hugs her and they leave. During all this time, Mustafa followed Hayat. He intercepts Hayat and applies violence. Meanwhile, the police are involved. Although Hayat takes shelter in police officers, they talk to Mustafa and turns Hayat over to Mustafa. It draws attention that Hayat is very afraid of Mustafa. Then, Mustafa takes Hayat and they go home. He constantly applies psychological violence to Hayat. Finally, he stabbed Hayat to death. Hayat is fearful and anxious throughout this whole process. It is obvious that she is constantly living with the fear that she will be killed by Mustafa. Ultimately, she is brutally killed by Mustafa. Hayat is subjected to various forms of violence by men throughout the film and becomes a victim of male violence. She is represented as extremely passive, timid and unhappy.

Ebru (Çağla Akalın): Ebru is a young, sex worker transgender woman. Within the general norms of representation, she is represented as a stereotypical transgender woman. Being a sex worker can be considered as a profession stereotype of the story. Ebru lives

with a friend who is gay and owns a beauty salon. Their house is on the upper floor of the beauty salon. Ebru's costumes, wigs she uses, her habit and demeanour are again a stereotypical representation of a transgender sex worker. Like Hayat, Ebru is subjected to male violence throughout the film. She also shows violent behaviour herself. This violence-oriented representation is also included in the stereotypes attributed to transsexuals. Ebru is exposed to psychological violence of her customer in the first scene in the story. At the next scene, she is subjected to the physical violence of other men on the street. The only person who does not commit violence to Ebru in the film is her ex-lover, Hakan, but Hakan did not want to have a relationship with Ebru because she was a transgender woman, saying that he was ashamed of Ebru because of her gender identity and the reactions he will receive from his environment, and applied psychological violence to her. Ebru loves Hakan very much, her only goal is to be with him. There is not much information about Ebru's life in the film. The only person close to her is his gay friend Kaan. Her family or other friends are not shown. Although Ebru is constantly subjected to violence and does sex work, her only goal in her life is to be with Hakan. This situation can also be considered as a reductionist representation. In addition, Ebru's attitude towards herself fosters this perception of "the person who should be ashamed". In the first scene, Ebru says, *Don't worry honey, nobody saw it* when the man, who is a customer, is annoyed by the possibility of Ebru being seen by others in his house, while she smokes on the balcony of his customer's house. This can be an example of this kind of representation. In her relationship with Hakan, Hakan does not want to have a relationship with Ebru, although he is interested in Ebru, and even hesitates to hold Ebru's hand. Ebru, on the other hand, does not give up Hakan although she is upset about this situation, Even she does not give up after Hakan is engaged to another woman. She tells Hakan that even being married will not cause any problems for her. In summary, while Ebru is clearly marginalized by others throughout the film, her view to herself is also marginalizing. In addition, Ebru constantly has to deal with violence throughout the story. Apart from the customers and the men who inflict physical violence on her on the street, the male ferry worker, the male customers at the next table in the tavern and the male waiter have a humiliating, transphobic and violent attitude towards Ebru. Ebru also responds to these people with a violent attitude. Apart from this violence, in the scene at her home, one of the male workers who came to repair the washing machine is clearly molested at Ebru in a way that

amounts to harassment. Ebru is subjected to various types of violence or harassment of men. The fact that going to the same tavern with Hakan and his fiancée, obsessively watching Hakan constantly, and singing the song *I Will Not Complain To Anyone* while just looking at Hakan, also represents Ebru as an obsessive person in a way that can be dangerous. At the same time, Ebru was subjected to male violence during the time in the tavern. The attitudes of the men on the next table and when Ebru fight with them, the waiter's coming after Ebru and directly kicking out her from there, reproduces the stereotypes of violence against transsexuals. Eventually, Ebru gets very drunk, Hakan tries to help her, Ebru refuses. He leaves Ebru and goes, and the men at the next table take her from the tavern and inflict physical violence. At this point, acts of violence against transsexuals are reproduced. In the scenes where Ebru was subjected to physical violence, it is seen that the people around never intervene, but they watch and record the event with phone cameras. In a way, seeing violence against transsexuals as "normal" is also valid for representation. In summary, Ebru reproduces the stereotypes attributed to transsexuals with its function and representation in the film.

Mustafa (Barış Atay): Mustafa is a character at a young age, who is married and has a child. He is a minibus driver, and is the husband of Hayat. The character of Mustafa shows extremely masculine, macho, aggressive and jealous character traits in the film. His oppressive and domineering attitude towards his wife Hayat is quite evident. Mustafa is a character in which masculine roles that display fully patriarchal characteristics become very clear. His oppressive attitude in his relationship with Hayat is understood by his not allowing Hayat to go anywhere alone. Although he portrays a good father towards his child, his wife's constant unhappiness and fear prove Mustafa's aggressive and unstable attitude. The day when Hayat allows him to leave the house alone, he follows Hayat, while Hayat goes to meet her ex-fiancé. Mustafa witnesses this meeting. Following Hayat makes Mustafa's jealous and insecure character understood. Ultimately, Mustafa catches Hayat, inflicts violence on her in the middle of the street first, then they go home, he has nervous breakdowns at home, yells at Hayat, walks on her, and shows disturbing psychological violence behaviours. He does not allow Hayat to explain itself. In the end, he cannot overcome his anger and stabbed Hayat, injuring her first and then he does not take her to the hospital, but watches the woman's dying. The scene where Mustafa kills Hayat can be considered the most disturbing scene of the film. This psychological, physical violence and

murder is portrayed through the eyes of the audience. Showing violence against women and a murder with its all details but not showing the causes of this problem, ensures that violence is legitimized, “normalized” and reproduced. In the film, the dominant and aggressive attitude of the patriarchal order towards women is validated by reducing it to individual issues. The function of the character of Mustafa in this film cannot go beyond reproducing this aggressive and dominating structure that reaches murder in a way.

Hakan (Salih Bademci): Hakan is a young man. He is a pharmacist and he is Ebru's ex-boyfriend. Hakan belongs to the bourgeois class, while the other characters in the film belong to the working class. It also draws an educated and contemporary male profile. In the movie, Hakan is the only male character who does not commit violence to Ebru. At the same time, it is clearly understood that his interest in Ebru continues. Hakan tries to tell Ebru that their relationship is over, although Ebru always comes to him, wants to see him and forces him to have a relationship again. The problem in Hakan's relationship with Ebru is Ebru's gender identity. Hakan hesitates about having a relationship with a transgender woman and this attitude marginalizes Ebru. As a response to Ebru's demand to be together again, his reaction, saying that *it is not about you and me, it is not as simple as you think*, cannot go beyond reproducing the marginalizing attitude and transphobia towards transsexuals. Hakan does not inflict violence on Ebru like the other men in the story, but by being shy of having a relationship with Ebru and being ashamed of her, he marginalizes Ebru in other ways.

Kaan (Hakan Karsak): Kaan is a gay male character at a young age. He has a hairdresser and he is the only friend and roommate of Ebru shown throughout the film. They live in the upper floor of the hairdressing salon. Kaan is depicted as a sharp-tongued, realistic and harsh speaking character, but also extremely feminine. Kaan draws a typical gay male portrait with his mood, attitude and behaviour and also with his costumes, which is seen in a few scenes. His realistic attitude in his relations with Ebru and his reactions to Ebru's thoughts about Hakan show that Kaan is trying to help Ebru. According to Kaan, Hakan will never dare to take Ebru's hand and reach a relationship he wants. He speaks very clearly about it. Ebru criticizes this realism of Kaan, does not accept and criticizes Kaan with discouragement because of his fear when he sees his father. Here, the problems LGBTI people experience with their families are expressed in a very superficial way.

These persons are represented alone. Throughout the film, the Kaan character is shown very little, no other friend is shown, and similarly, Ebru is also represented alone. Nothing about her friend or family other than Kaan is shown. Kaan and Ebru are represented as people condemned to loneliness due to their gender identity and sexual orientation.

Murat (Cemal Toktaş): Murat is a male character at a young age. Murat is Hayat's ex-fiance whom she had to leave. He is represented respectfully and kindly. His interest in Hayat continues and he tries to win her back, but Hayat, even though she also continues to be interested in Murat, does not return to him because she is now married and has a child. Unlike Hayat's husband Mustafa, Murat is a mild-headed and respectful character. He regrets their forced separation with Hayat. Despite his interest, he does not put pressure on Hayat and respects her decision. It is represented more positively than other male characters in the movie.

Cemo's Father (İbrahim İris): He is a middle-aged, non-working, alcoholic character. The character, who is Cemo's father, is depicted as a loveless, indifferent, violently oriented character who is also unemployed and has a low socio-cultural and educational level. Despite receiving money from the state due to poverty, he does nothing for his children and seizes the money earned by his wife and child and puts that money into alcohol. In addition, he appears before the audience as a bad character who has killed birds previously fed by his wife and children and has the potential to kill the dog that Cemo finds and wants to look after. He does not even take care of his patient mother, who lives with them at home. His wife and son Cemo take care of his elderly and sick mother. Cemo's father is portrayed as a masculine, alcoholic, unemployed, violent-oriented, apathetic and unconscientious character.

8.5.3 Analysis of the Representation Policies of the LGBTI+ Characters in the Film

The film *Köpek* has the feature of being a drama film that includes different stories and different characters. In one of the different drama stories in the film, the plot is based on the drama of a puppy who lost his mother and the children who adopted him. The most effective symbol of innocence in the story is the puppy dog, which is why the title of the film can be considered to be *Köpek (The Dog)*. The film, which started with a poor family

living in a neighbourhood with a low socio-cultural, economic and educational level, continues with another family that is suitable for the traditional Turkish family structure with similar conditions, and in the last story, the socio-cultural, economic and educational level is one degree higher. It continues with the fragments from the life of a transsexual and sex worker living in the district. While these different stories intersect at some points, the characters do not meet and cross paths. The common point in the stories is the bad things that happen to all the characters. The common point of the characters in the film, which focuses on characters presented within certain stereotypes, is that they constantly encounter bad events and try to combat them. Ultimately, again in a stereotyped way, these "other" characters cannot escape the bad end and their "destiny" exposes them to punishment, death and violence in negativity.

Throughout the film, the audience sees various forms of violence. Cemo and Mehmet, Ebru and Hayat are constantly subjected to psychological, emotional and physical violence. The most obvious character subjected to violence is Ebru, a transgender woman, and the character that follows her is Hayat, even this violence becomes such that it will cause the death of Hayat. Ebru and Hayat characters are important characters in terms of the inclusion of the subject of violence against women in the film. The point to be made in the film is that this violence cannot go beyond showing its existence. In the story where violence against women and even murder is the subject, simply showing this problem without mentioning its cause, effect and process in society can contribute to the reproduction of this violence. Without mentioning the dominant and aggressive attitude of the patriarchal order and hegemonic masculinity on women and other identities, these issues, which are dealt with superficially and by being reduced to individual issues, without being related to violence, enable the story to reproduce stereotypes and present the other in otherness, as opposed to being transformative.

Processing the drama of three women - Ebru, Hayat, Cemo's mother - imprisoned by men and society in unhappiness and presenting this situation as unchanging "facts" or "destiny" makes it possible to say that the film reproduces stereotypes. Especially the fact that Ebru, a transgender woman, is a sex worker, but she has not mentioned the difficulties she has experienced in the field of work and that she has not been left with any alternative and she is constantly exposed to male violence proves that social problems are handled

superficially. Similarly, the fact that Hayat has no other life alternative other than her husband Mustafa and that she continues to stay with Mustafa even though she will be killed almost one day, and ultimately her murder by Mustafa, is presented with a "fatalistic" perspective, and presents violence as the usual flow in an individual and superficial way. . In summary, all the female characters in the film are portrayed as passive and dependent on men. All women experience these disasters by the men they depend on. In terms of women's representations, it can be said that the film reproduces stereotypes and literally justifies violence by not allowing the possibility of changing the drawn fate.

In addition to the passive and needy representations of women, the majority of the male characters in the film are violent, unscrupulous and harassing. From the main male characters Mustafa and Cemo's father to the supporting characters, the attitude of men towards women and children is domineering and abusive. The men who subjected Ebru to physical violence in the middle of the street, the customer, the ferry worker, the assistant in the pharmacy or the man who was sitting next to Hayat in the minibus, the man in the grocery store she entered to charge his phone, the security guard who constantly chased Cemo and used physical violence, the buffet worker, even all the men in the film, including the police, have negative representations. Only the grocer who saved Hakan, Kaan, Murat and Cemo are good in the film. At this point, the film reproduces the dominant attitude of hegemonic masculinity.

In the main story of the film, uncanny streets, abusive men, and a society oriented towards violence are depicted. Everyone in the film, from the working class to the police, shows a violent tendency in one way. Even the attitude of the police towards Cemo and Mehmet is violent. Even while trying to advise these two children to go to school considering their future, the police show physical violence to the children. Similarly, the security guard that Cemo stabbed is always full of violence. Throughout the film, without giving any valid reason, the security guard attacks Cemo and Mehmet, and inflicts physical violence. He even kicked the puppy that Cemo and Mehmet found and tried to adopt, and the reason why Cemo injured the security guard with a knife is that he kicked the puppy. The kicking of a puppy reveals this violence against everyone and everything in a way that disturbs the audience, but is rather superficial. The scene where Ebru is in the tavern, the men with whom she discussed come and take Ebru, who falls asleep on the table, saying

that *Wait! I will show you the fag*, and Ebru's screams echo on the street, but nobody helps Ebru and the scene where he throws a hard kick to Ebru lying down is disturbing. Similarly, the scene in which Hayat is stabbed arbitrarily and left to die slowly by Mustafa is extremely disturbing. Mustafa stabs Hayat many times, asks Hayat's questions as her blood flows from her body, applies psychological violence, and Hayat is injured and subjected to the pressure of Mustafa for minutes. Ultimately, she is shown lying on a sofa covered in blood, but she has not died yet, her breathing and moaning are heard, at that time Mustafa wipes the blood from his hands on his pants, lights a cigarette and watches Hayat's dying. These scenes present all forms of violence that will catch the audiences' eyes throughout the entire film. It can be said that explaining these forms of violence in a superficial framework without referring to their social causes normalizes this violence.

In summary, the movie can be evaluated positively in terms of containing the characters of Ebru and Kaan and providing visibility to LGBTI+s. In addition to this, the film presents the characters with certain stereotypes, It also hosts many clichés in the context of poverty, marginalization and violence. Although it focuses on social issues, it can be said that with an individual and reductionist approach to events, it only reproduces existing violence without addressing the origins and causes of the problems, and without establishing a relationship with patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity, class conflict and social inequalities.

9. CONCLUSION

In this study, in which LGBTI+ representations in Turkey's Cinema after the 90s were examined, and it was concluded that the dominant ideology presented LGBTI+ characters with a marginalizing perspective by ascribing heteronormative, patriarchal and gender representation practices to them. These marginalizing representations are interpreted through the status of LGBTI+ characters in society, their life conditions and forms, and their characteristics. LGBTI+s are represented in almost all films as if they were uneducated, uncultured, violent-oriented, diffident, unhappy, traumatized and uncanny. It has been observed that, in the vast majority of the films that include LGBTI+ representation, these people are only presented with their tries to survive in the slums with high crime rates, almost without mentioning the economic and social problems, exclusions, displacements, physical, verbal and psychological violence in the places where these people live, or they are presented with their struggles against poverty, without mentioning family structure, unemployment, marginalization, harassment and other physical problems in the workplace, and their deprivation of job opportunities, in a superficial and cliché way from realities and factors such as they generally do compulsory sex work or are unemployed.

In the films subject to the study, it is seen that a cause-effect relationship is not established as mentioned above, and it is claimed that LGBTI+ people do not make a request to change their lives full of negativity and that these difficult living conditions are compatible with their "hopeless fate and bad luck". With these metaphysical inferences, the perspectives of LGBTI+ characters towards themselves are also portrayed as negative. With this fatalistic perspective, the way of thinking and behaviour that society expects from these people is met. The representation styles of LGBTI+ people present the LGBTI+ characters in films with certain stereotypical features. Films with cliché characters reproduce the existing marginalizing and discriminatory discourses instead of producing transformative representations. In addition, the problems experienced by LGBTI+ people in the films are described as being extremely superficial and individual problems, being detached from their social and political economy context.

In the first section of the study, LGBTI+s are explained with related definitions and concepts. Explanation of the concepts makes the confused and misunderstood terms clearer and easier to understand. The concepts explained can be used to serve the discriminatory tendency of language and discourse, mostly by obscuring them. Especially in media discourses, stereotypical characters are used in a marginalizing manner based on these concepts. For example, while the concept of transvestite is a concept that expresses the desire to belong to the opposite sex and act as the opposite sex in terms of appearance and behaviour, without any surgical intervention, operation, or treatment, it is used to describe men with a female appearance has a tendency to crime and violence in media. This transvestite stereotype is generally accepted in the society, but this concept also includes women who look and act like men and they have no connection with their profession whether they are a sex worker or not. With these stereotyping, LGBTI+ concepts are made obscure and serve discriminatory discourses. In order to understand the films and characters analyzed at the end of the study, it is aimed that these explanations provide convenience in terms of correctly matching their equivalents in the representations as well as understanding the social identities.

The sections of the study other than definitions and concepts include various historical perspectives. The phenomenon of homosexuality and the processes experienced by LGBTI+ people in social and natural history have been examined in relation to the current structure. According to the information obtained from the sources that homosexuality has been examined in social history, homosexual orientation and relationships, which were considered as human nature in many parts of the world in the Ancient Age, began to be defined negatively with the political, legal, cultural and especially religious-based changes that emerged in the Middle Ages. According to the religion-based perspective, with heteronormative order and reproductive-oriented sexuality being regarded as the only true form of relationship, homosexuality started to be seen as “crime, sin” and LGBTI + people were sentenced to criminal sanctions and even death penalties.

In the sources where natural history is examined, scientific and medical studies to explain homosexual orientation and relationships in history are discussed. The phenomenon of homosexuality, which is defined as "perversion, crime, sin" by religion-based views, has been defined as a "disease" in the perspective of scientific and medical studies for many years, and LGBTI+ people have been tried to be treated or exposed to harmonization policies. In addition, homosexuality, as seen in all these scientific and medical studies, could not be explained with a single cause. The contribution of these studies is that studies that will prove that homosexuality is not a "disease" have begun to be carried out in this process. Homosexuality, which was defined as a "disease" for many years, was removed from the category of "disease" in the 90s, but it has been observed that the effects of this negative perspective continue today, since it has been considered negatively for many years.

The marginalization that LGBTI+ people, which have always existed in history, are constantly exposed to, despite all the negativities, triggered them to engage in rights struggles. Stonewall Riots in the USA in 1969 has taken its place in history as a revolutionary development for LGBTI+s.

Based on the information obtained in the historical review section of the study, another concept that should be examined in order to understand discriminatory policies against LGBTI+ is gender theory. According to the result obtained from the concept of gender, which is examined in detail in the study, the concept of gender is a social and cultural-based concept besides the gender assigned by birth. The concept of gender, which accepts the heteronormative order as the only true, separates women and men with clear boundaries and creates a discriminatory view against women. Gender is imposed on society by supporting the heteronormative and male-dominated view, which is the ideology of the capitalist order. In doing so, it creates an "ideal woman/man" model that othering women and LGBTI+ people. According to the conclusion obtained in accordance with the examinations made in this study, the differences that are thought to be between men and women, which the concept of gender separates with certain boundaries, are less than similarities and these differences are entirely related to social and cultural norms. Considering LGBTI+ people and women who are excluded from society in the light of this information, it has been concluded that the concept of gender has an important effect at this point.

The most important area in which male-dominated and heteronormative views are imposed on society, supported by the concept of gender, is the field of representation. For this reason, the concept of representation is explained in the next section of the study. According to the result obtained as a result of examining the concept of representation, representation practices are in the hands of the power and are closely related to power relations. From this point of view, the concept of representation serves for the marginalizing and discriminatory discourses towards people who are beyond the norms of the dominant ideology in society. With representation policies, people who are beyond the desired norms are easily marginalized. The most effective means of using representation policies is the media. The influence of the media on societies is extremely strong and with the representation practices in the media, LGBTI+s can easily be presented to the society as the "other". It was concluded that in most of the news, advertisements, series and cinema texts examined in the study, LGBTI+s were presented to the society by marginalizing them.

Cinema is a very effective tool considering its accessibility and impact on the masses around the world. Cinema, which is more effective in the sense of having the opportunity to make "as if real" works compared to other media tools, is a field that can be studied both in terms of being accepted as the 7th art and being a big industry. The fact that everything can be the subject of cinema makes it a free space. Cinema, a field that can be used as a propaganda tool if need be, enables world-known or unknown places, people, different cultures and lives to reach everywhere, and to recognize new things that can never be known. For these reasons, the main subject of the study is the cinema.

The representation policies towards LGBTIs were examined, respectively first in the world cinema and then in Turkey's cinema. As a result of these examinations, it has been determined that the marginalization towards LGBTI+ people is more intense in Hollywood Cinema, which is called mainstream, compared to the world cinema. LGBTI+s in mainstream cinema took part in films with certain stereotypical representations until almost 2000s. In these representations, LGBTI+ characters are often represented as comedy elements or unhappy, suicidal persons. Today, positive representations in the context of LGBTI+ representations can be seen in mainstream cinema. When it comes to Turkey's cinema, according to the results obtained from the examination, there has not been any noteworthy LGBTI representation in terms of visibility up to 90s. By the 90s,

with the increase of independent filmmakers, neoliberal policies and the issue of identity becoming more prominent, in addition to this, as one of the consequences of neoliberal policies, politics that are the result of a very fragmented identity strategy that defines and represents society in isolation from the class context, there have been significant changes in the visibility of LGBTI+s.

In the light of the information obtained from the character and content analysis of the films selected as a sample from the 90s and 2000s, there have been positive developments in terms of LGBTI+s' representation in cinema in these years, but the subject that will be emphasized here is the representation styles of LGBTI+s. According to the common determinations obtained as a result of the character and content analysis of the selected films *Düş Gezginleri*, *Dönersen Islık Çal*, *Gece*, *Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar*, *Teslimiyet Köpek*, it was concluded that LGBTI+ people were presented with stereotypical representations. In all the films examined, these stereotypes are as follows; LGBTI+ people generally work as sex workers, they are uneducated people living in neighbourhoods with low socio-cultural and economic status, cannot maintain happy relationships, and often have to leave their partners, are subjected to various forms of violence or are killed. It is observed that LGBTI + people are portrayed as people who mostly live in "slums" with low socio-cultural, economic, and educational levels do not have the struggle to change their living conditions. Even, it is not seen that they make an effort to change or improve their living conditions.

According to this representation strategies, LGBTI+ characters has been presented with a reductionist perspective by confining them to an uneducated, uncultured, superficial area. In addition to these, the characters are also violently oriented types, especially in transvestite characters, this violent tendency is clearly shown. Relationships of homosexual partners are presented by gender-based roles that are alleged to exist in heterosexual couples or assigned to the parties -one side being more masculine/feminine, and the masculine side having high economic status. In addition, the gender identity or sexual orientation of LGBTI+ characters in these films are based on clichés such as harassment, rape, and bad relationship traumas, thus, a cause-effect relationship is established. While the discourse of the power is based on these stereotypical representations towards LGBTI+ people, the problems that these people experience are presented by reducing them to individual issues. These people are presented in a superficial context without mentioning

the difficulties they face in terms of educational opportunities, career choices, living standards, like that they had to do sex work because they were not provided with job opportunities.

The reason why all these stereotypical features described above are loaded onto LGBTI+s and represented by marginalization in the media and cinema is the capitalist system. The dominant ideology that constitutes the capitalist order is heteronormative, patriarchal, class-based and gendered. According to the heteronormative order, the "only true" gender identity is cisgender, and the "only true" sexual orientation is heterosexuality. This imposing heteronormative view marginalizes people who do not have these characteristics, and separates them from society, or forces them to live within the limits determined by it. The reason why the relationship form deemed correct by the capitalist system consists of heterosexual persons is the "sacred" values and reproductive-oriented sexuality that is attributed to the family institution. Individuals that will ensure the continuity of the system are produced in the family institution. Moreover, the family institution enables women to support the patriarchy by imprisoning them from the public sphere to the home, with passive roles such as "mother, wife". The concept of gender is a view that supports the confinement of women from the public sphere to the home. Therefore, gender serves for the patriarchal order. In addition, almost all the LGBTI + characters in the films belong to working-class and their living conditions are very difficult. LGBTI+ characters with a highly prosperous life are almost non-existent; if any, those also display heterosexual characteristics. There is a class-based discrimination in these representations. The point of view towards people outside the norms created by the capitalist order with a focus on capital and the continuation of the system, feeds on these discriminatory views and marginalize LGBTI+ people. For this reason, the representations of LGBTI+s in films are marginalizing and these films serve to reproduce the existing discrimination.

According to the results of the study, it was concluded that the presence of LGBTI+ representations in Turkey's cinema in the 90s and afterwards is an important step in terms of visibility, while LGBTI+ representations in story are reproducing the existing transphobic, homophobic, discriminatory, and marginalizing ideology rather than being transformative. It has been determined that there has been no positive change or progress in the representations during the ten years from the 90's to the 2000's.

APPENDICES

Düş Gezginleri

Director: Atıf Yılmaz Batıbeki

Screenplay: Atıf Yılmaz Batıbeki, Yıldırım Türker, Osman Çallı

Cast: Meral Oğuz (Nilgün), Lale Mansur (Havva), Deniz Türkali (Olay), Selçuk Özer (Faruk), Yaman Okay (Nafiz), Sema Çeyrekbaşı (Şükran), Tarık Günersel (Necdet).

Producer: Atıf Yılmaz Batıbeki

Genre: Drama

Production Year: 1992

Features: 35 mm, Colour

Duration: 105 min

Country: Turkey

Language: Turkish

Release Date: 28 December 1992

(<https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/935/dus-gezinleri>) Retrieved date: 11.07.2020

Dönersen Islık Çal

Director: Orhan Oğuz

Screenplay: Cemal Şan

Cast: Fikret Kuşkan (Transvestite), Mevlüt Demiryay (Dwarf), Menderes Samancılar (Adıgüzel/Pimp), Derya Alabora (Sex Worker), Ferment Yönel (Madam Lena).

Producer: Memduh Ün

Genre: Drama

Production Year: 1993

Features: 35 mm, Color

Duration: 83 min.

Country: Turkey

Language: Turkish

Release Date: 12 February 1993

(<https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1028/donersen-islik-cal>) Retrieved date: 17.07.2020.

Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar

Director: Atıf Yılmaz Batıbeki

Screenplay: Yıldırım Türker

Cast: Derya Arbaş (Serap), Deniz Atamtürk (Arif/Fulya), Deniz Türkali (Melek), Uzeyir Heparı (Hakan), Cengiz Sezici (Osman), Mehmet Teoman (Mehmet).

Producer: Metin Erarabacı

Genre: Drama

Production Year: 1994

Features: 35 mm, Color

Duration: 102 min.

Country: Turkey

Language: Turkish

Release Date: 1 April 1994

(<https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1087/gece,-melek-ve-bizim-cocuklar>) Retrieved date: 23.07.2020

Teslimiyet (Other Angels)

Director: Emre Yalın

Screenplay: Zeynep Özcan, Emre Yalın

Cast: Kanbolat Gökem Arslan (Gökhan), Didem Soylu (Sanem), Seyhan Arman (Hayat), Buse Kılıçkaya (Mavi), Ayta Sözeri (Aygül), Zeynep Özcan (Buket), Müfit Aytekin (Süleyman), Kerim Yağcı (Hasan), Deniz Bayramoğlu (Çağlar).

Producer: Emre Yalın, Mehmet Ali Arslan

Genre: Drama

Production Year: 2009

Features: HDCAM, Color

Duration: 92 min.

Country: Turkey

Language: Turkish

Release Date: 17 December 2010

(<https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/2843/teslimiyet>) Retrieved date: 07.09.2020

Köpek

Director: Esen Işık

Screenplay: Esen Işık

Cast: Oğuzhan Sancar (Cemo), Bekir Sevenkan (Mehmet), Beren Tuna (Hayat), Çağla Akalın (Ebru), Barış Atay (Mustafa), Salih Bademci (Hakan), Hakan Karsak (Kaan), Cemal Toktaş (Murat), İbrahim İris (Cemo's Father).

Producer: Brigitte Hofer, Cornelia Seitler

Genre: Drama

Production Year: 2015

Features: Color

Duration: 98 min.

Country: Switzerland, Turkey

Language: Turkish

Release Date: 10 December 2015 (Switzerland)

(<http://www.beyazperde.com/filmler/film-241643/>) Retrieved date: 16.09.2020

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