



Persistent othering in Turkish cinema: the stereotyped and gendered Greek identity

Levent Yılmazok

Faculty of Art and Design, Beykoz University, Istanbul, Turkey

ABSTRACT

In Turkish cinema, the regular narrative of exclusion or othering of minority ethnic, religious, and gender identities harnesses the nation-building process against groups that function as the 'constitutive outsider.' Although recent Turkish cinema has challenged many established cultural patterns, this challenge does not yet extend to stereotyped and heavily gendered constructions of Greek identity. In this paper, I argue that these constructions are persistent, and can be seen in recent films. Specifically, I demonstrate that Greek characters are limited to a few stereotypical names and roles, assigned heavy Turkish accents, and for the most part, confined to female roles depicted primarily as 'indecent' and/or objects of the male gaze.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 8 January 2018; Accepted 19 April 2018

KEYWORDS Turkish cinema; Greek identity; stereotyping; gender; 'the other'

Introduction

In the narratives of Turkish films, as in virtually all national cinemas, the continuous exclusion or othering of minority ethnic, religious and gender identities harnesses the nation building process against groups who function as the 'constitutive outsider.' Among them, Greeks have especially been subjected to stereotyping and gendering. Although recent Turkish cinema has challenged many established cultural patterns, this challenge does not extend to stereotyped constructions of Greek identity. In this regard, I argue those constructions are persistent, and can be seen in recent films as well. Specifically, this article aims to demonstrate that Greek characters in Turkish cinema are limited to a few stereotypical names and roles, assigned heavy Turkish accents, and for the most part, confined to female roles depicted primarily as 'indecent' and/or objects of the male gaze.

This article begins with a discussion of the concepts of identity, difference and nation building, which is followed by some historical background of



Turkish nation building vis-à-vis its relations with Greek identity. Then I will provide the cinematic representations of gender and othering processes with regard to Greeks. Finally, there is a closer examination of two selected films, one from traditional Turkish cinema and the other, a more recent production. Theoretical references will contribute throughout the paper as needed.

Identity, difference, and nation building

Nation building is based on the exclusion of differences. Anthony Smith argues that every nationalism has an ethnic core or basis, whether it entails principally a civic-territorial or an ethnic-genealogical model of nationalism.¹ However, Etienne Balibar offers an important rejoinder, claiming that an ethnic base is not natural. It is constructed, and the term 'fictive ethnicity' should be applied to any 'ethnic' community instituted or produced by a nation-state.² The constitution of national identity requires a degree of homogenization, and this is achieved by characterizing 'others' as problematic units of the nation. Those not considered intrinsic to a constructed and homogenized national identity are excluded and treated accordingly - as foreigners or 'aliens'. This last point is key, because the formation (and stabilization) of national identity requires a configuration of those who are 'outside' it. The unity of the nation state is, in other words, performed by an exclusionary move: the creation of a constitutive outsider.³

In our era of transnationalism and multiculturalism, cultural identities are often seen as neither fixed nor unified, but rather fragmented, fluent and changing. However, the construction of nation and national identity tends to contravene multiculturalism insofar as such constructions require a discursively enforced unity. In the Foucauldian sense, power, discourse and representation are important elements in the nation-making process. Moreover, and as Jacques Derrida and Stuart Hall note, members of minority groups are often exposed to prejudicial and polarized forms of representation that work to exclude them from idealized notions of national identity.⁴

As Hall explains, stereotyping reduces other people to a few simple and essential characteristics, representing those characteristics as fixed by nature.⁵ Inherently reductionist, stereotyping works to simplify and exaggerate the characteristics of a person, rendering them easy to grasp, recognize, and remember. This is a process that reduces difference, only to essentialize and fix it in a series of binary oppositions - us/them, normal/deviant, normal/pathological, acceptable/unacceptable. These oppositions reinforce the borders between national identities and excluded others, both of which are ideologically constructed.

Together with the strategic work of stereotyping, sexing and gendering are effective tactics in the construction of nation and identity. Tamar Mayer writes:

... when sexed bodies comprise the nation we can no longer think of the nation as sexless. Rather, by exploring the gender ironies of nationalism we expose the fact that sexuality plays a key role in nation-building and in sustaining national identity.6

Mayer observes that the (feminized) sexed nation is the property of men. The nation is constructed according to patriarchal heteronormativity where sexuality is principally an issue of shared cultural and political codes. George L. Mosse coins the term 'manliness' to describe an idea of nation as something that belongs to men and pacifies femininity. In the division of labor with regard to nation building, women are assigned the task of ideological, biological, and cultural reproduction of the nation, as Yuval-Davis and Anthias contend.8 In this context, women's 'purity' and 'public modesty' carry symbolic importance. The 'ideal' woman is modest, committed to her nuclear family, and restricts her fertility in order to serve the nation. Her overarching role is to maintain patriarchy and heteronormative codes as key components of the nation state.9

In sum, I argue that Turkish nationalism has been reinforced by an ideologically fabricated Greek identity, one that is underscored by processes of gender and othering. Before turning to cinematic representations of these processes, I outline the important historical background of Turkish nation building vis-à-vis its relations with Greek ethnicity.

Turkish nationalism and Greek identity

Nationalist consciousness had emerged among the state elites before the foundation of the republican regime. There were expressions of overt Turkish nationalism during the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 as an ideological reaction against Ottoman defeats and territorial loss. Kemalism (as implemented by Mustafa Kemal [later Atatürk]), the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey, in addition to adopting a Westernized and secular world-view, also emerged as a nationalist project following a successful war of independence. In this regard, nationalism gained status as one of the ideological principles of the new regime. The principle of nationalism aimed both to provide a common identity to all citizens and as a means to distinguish the Turkish republic from its Ottoman antecedent. Kemalism was configured as an Enlightenment ideology, a strategy of Westernization which excluded Islam in the country's further development. It sought the nation in the pre-Islamic roots of Turks and in historical Anatolian civilizations. Although Kemalism distanced itself from the Ottoman past and its Muslim roots, Islam has, nonetheless, functioned as a unifying element – as much as nationalism – of national consciousness throughout Turkish republican history.

The Greeks, a non-Muslim minority group, have long been considered to be outside Turkish national identity. There are, in fact, historical reasons for

political and popular distrust of Greeks. The Greeks were the first ethnic group of the Ottoman peoples to gain independence and establish their own state (1830), and the Turkish governing elites believe that Greece still has territorial designs on Turkey. The 1897 Ottoman-Greek war, the revolt of Pontic guerrilla forces in the north Black Sea region during the First World War, and the collaboration of the Greek minority and the Istanbul Patriarchate with the Greek invasion of western Anatolia during the War of Independence (1919-22) all nurture the perception of a Greek threat to Turkish land. Moreover, the irredentist Megali Idea aims to resurrect the great Greek state in the lands where Greek populations once lived, while the *Enosis* project aims for the unification of Cyprus and Greece. The persistence of these ideas keeps the Turkish state alert against its western neighbor and, historically, they explain the perception of the Greek minority as a threat to national unity during the early years of the republic.

In 1923, the population exchange agreement between Turkey and Greece aimed to constitute more homogenous national populations on both sides. The Republican period has included a number of key events/moments marking state and popular discrimination against the Greek minority. To exemplify, in 1942-43 Turkey adopted a capital (wealth) tax, ostensibly to curb wartime profiteering. In effect, the tax provided a tool with which to punish non-Muslim business people, especially Greeks, Jews and Armenians. A 1955 pogrom against the Greek minority also harmed other non-Muslim minority groups, and finally, the Cyprus dispute of 1963-64 led to the expulsion of many Greeks from Istanbul. 10 It is arguable that a similar exclusion and othering applies to Turks in Greece. Both groups have been negatively affected by tensions between the two countries throughout history, with each subjected to retaliation due to particular political crises.

It is important to note that Turkish identity has been, and remains, associated with Muslim identity in practice. This is true of the state, its institutions and policies, but also of the wider social and political culture. As Bernard Lewis remarks, 'the older idea that Muslim equals Turk and non-Muslim equals non-Turk persisted'; 11 non-Muslims have always been the 'other' of Turkish nationalism. A very palpable reason behind associating 'Turk' with 'Muslim' can be based upon the Treaty of Lausanne, signed just before the declaration of the Republic and which brought international recognition to Turkey. The Treaty of Lausanne provided some protections – especially religious and educational ones - to non-Muslim minority groups. So, practically all of the Muslims - Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Laz and others - had been counted under the same title of 'Turk' despite that was not mentioned in the Treaty. The same protections were provided for the Muslim minority in Greece. The protections of minority groups based on religions were guaranteed by the League of Nations, i.e. Court of International Justice. 12 Therefore, it is understandable that official nationalism, though it officially excluded Islam



as noted above, benefitted from Muslim-majority identity for the sake of forming a 'Turkish' nation.

Although data during the Ottoman period has been the subject of academic debate, it is widely agreed that the populations of Greeks and other non-Muslim minority groups have decreased substantially in the last hundred years. To give a figure, the Greek population of Istanbul has recently been estimated to be 2000-2500, 13 less than 0.1% of the city's inhabitants, whereas it was 12.3% before World War I.14

Since the 1990s, the number of films and publications that focus on minority groups (or that question minority-related historical events) has increased. Published works include both academic papers and novels, while film culture has brought the lived experience of minority exclusion and otherness to the screen. For their part, non-Muslim groups have developed counter-discourses to official nationalist ideologies. In the next section, I examine the historical representation of Greek identity in Turkish film.

Turkish cinema and Greek identity

Turkish cinema interacts with Greece (and Greeks) in three ways: (1) co-productions between filmmakers from Turkey and Greece; (2) the participation of Greeks, or Turkish citizens of Greek origin, in the production of Turkish films; (3) the representation of Greek identity in Turkish films. My primary topic is this third, representational dimension. I provide a historical examination of stereotyping in Turkish cinematic representations of Greek identity, and then proceed to the specific question of gender in relation to this topic.

Turkish-Greek co-productions began after the 1930 agreement establishing greater cultural cooperation between the two countries. The first co-production in Turkish film history was On Istanbul Streets,16 made in cooperation with Greece and Egypt. With dialogue in Arabic, French, and Greek, as well as Turkish, this film featured Greek stars and songs. The second co-production, titled The Bad Road, 17 came in 1933, in which prominent actors from Greece took part. 18 With the exception of periods when relations between the two countries were strained, many Turkish-Greek coproductions have been made over the years. The Council of Europe Eurimages fund, which encourages co-productions between two countries or more, helped to increase the number of Turkish-Greek collaborations by the 1990s.

Many actors and crew members from Greece participated in these co-productions, and a number of films were based on works by Greek writers. At the same time, Turkish citizens of Greek origin and Greek residents in Turkey contributed to Turkish cinema as actors, cinematographers, art directors and sound technicians, etc. These contributors included the following: Lazaros Yazıcıoğlu, Kriton İliadis, İoakim Filmeridis, Manasi Filmeridis, Yiannis (Coni) Kurteşoğlu, Kostas Psaras (as cinematographers), Stavro



Yuanidis (as art director), Yorgos İliadis (as sound technician), Diamantis Filmeridis, Markos Buduris and Alekos Aleksandru (as editors). 19 During periods of strained relations between the two nations, Greek roles were usually played by Turkish actors.

In this analysis of Turkish cinematic representation of Greeks, I propose three significant groups of film. In the first group, the Greek was portrayed (implicitly or explicitly) as the 'enemy'. For the most part, the subject matter of these films related to the War of Independence, Byzantine Empire, or Cyprus. The first feature film to depict the Turkish War of Independence was The Shirt of Fire (1923), 20 made just after the war. The Conquest of Istanbul (1951)²¹ is the first Turkish film in which the Byzantines appear.²² In the prolific 1960s and 1970s, Turkish cinema exploited the theme of the Byzantines. In a dozen films replete with chauvinism, fights, flashing swords, and acrobatic movements of fictitious heroes, the Byzantines were presented as the historical 'enemy' of the Turk. In the post-1990 period, three further films addressed the Byzantines and began to move beyond the earlier chauvinistic representations. Love under Siege (1997)²³ filtered its international political conflicts through a love story set during the siege of Istanbul by the Ottomans. The Shady Byzantine (1999),²⁴ a comedy, ridiculed the Byzantine-themed films of the 1960s and 1970s. A sequel to this film was made in 2016 and titled Game of Byzantine.²⁵ Finally, in films treating the Cyprus conflict, the Greek was the clear 'enemy', beginning with The Evil in Cyprus: The Red EOKA (1959).²⁶ Since then, approximately twenty such films have been made. Among them, only The Mud (2003)²⁷ brought a counter-discourse to the Cyprus conflict.

The second film group includes those belonging mostly to Turkish mainstream cinema - from melodramas to comedies - in which Greek identity is not the principal issue, but appears in the larger narrative. In these films, non-Muslims in general and Greeks in particular are given minor roles, such as servants, neighbors, landladies, artisans, barkeepers, waiters, dancers, singers, or prostitutes. Many of these films fail to show Istanbul's (and by extension, the nation's) multiculturalism. Greek characters are often portrayed as 'unlovable', 28 tend to speak Turkish with broken accents, and are generally treated in clichéd or stereotyped representations.

The third group of films belongs to recent Turkish cinema, in which it has become possible to question national identity and its cultural effects more explicitly. Among other themes, these films have given narrative and cinematic voice to problems confronted by the Greek minority. Ask Your Heart (2010)²⁹ recounts the story of the Pontian Greeks in the Black Sea region who were forced to hide their Christianity for two hundred years. Waiting for the Clouds (2005)30 gives the history of a woman who, having lost her family during the 1916 deportation from the Black Sea region to the south, is forced to conceal her Greek identity for sixty years. Pains of Autumn

(2009)³¹ depicts a love story set in the context of the aforementioned 1955 pogrom. Both My Darling Istanbul (2007)³² and The Exile (2013)³³ examine the 1964 expulsion of the Greeks. In Toss Up (2004),³⁴ we follow the disintegration of a relationship between a Turkish man and Greek woman, when the latter must leave Turkey during the Cyprus dispute of 1974. Photographs (1989)³⁵ also suggests that Greeks are not seen as genuine citizens, when a Greek family feels obliged to leave Turkey because of the son's love affair with a Turkish girl. In Fog and Night (2007), 36 old women from the Greek minority in an Istanbul district are frightened (by a real estate agent) into selling their property and leaving Turkey.

Film offers a complex cultural practice in the articulation of nationhood, drawing on a range of narrative-cinematic tools and devices. Andrew Higson notes that cinema never reflects a fully formed national culture or homogenous identity, but rather, privileges specific subjects of the nation thought to be legitimate.³⁷ Certainly, many films of various national cinemas have engaged this problem and given representation to those subjects deemed 'illegitimate' by the larger social and political culture. Nevertheless, Higson's point remains valid, especially with regard to what we might call 'nationalist' productions - those films which, with varying degrees of intention, serve to reinforce national unity. Such films might – and mostly do – privilege the elements of the nation deemed dominant, majority, and legitimate, while leaving others out. In this way, cinema participates in the cultural construction of national identity. Turkish cinema - despite many exceptional films released in recent years - has largely functioned to consolidate national unity by excluding or stereotyping minority groups.

Power relations are often fueled by binary oppositions in which the dominant pole tends to maintain position by reducing the 'other' to a few simple and essential characteristics which are easily grasped, widely recognized, simplified and exaggerated. Hall argued that, 'without relations of difference, no representation could occur'³⁸ and 'difference signifies, it "speaks".³⁹ In this sense, I propose that the representation of Greeks in Turkish cinema is also a matter of 'relations of difference' - relations clearly marked by power insofar as the Greeks occupy a minority position in relation to Turkish national identity.

Turkish filmmakers have, for many years now, regularly limited the Greek minority presence in film to a few names and stereotyped roles. This is a persistent practice found in a range of filmmakers from diverse ideological standpoints. Moreover, most Greek characters in Turkish films speak with a typically heavy, broken accent. As few Greek actors remained in Turkey, Greek roles in recent Turkish cinema have been played by Turkish actors. These actors pronounce the Turkish letter 'ş' instead as 's', 'c' as 'z', and 'i' as 'i'. Notable examples of this include: Eleni, Niko and Madam Sula in Photographs; Tina and Eleni in Cholera Street (1997); 40 Hristos in The Boatman

(1999);⁴¹ the old woman who sells her ration card in Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds (1999);⁴² Madam in *Goodbye* (2000);⁴³ Tasula in *Encounter* (2003);⁴⁴ Tasula in Toss-Up; Eleni, Eftimiya and Stavro in As You Wish (2005);⁴⁵ Madam in Tram (2006); 46 Madam Eleni and Maria in Fog and Night; the gambler Niko and the waiter in The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali (2007);⁴⁷ Elena, her procuress, and Yorgo in Pains of Autumn. 48 The fact that these common pronunciations occur repeatedly suggests that actors and directors are relying upon representations in previous films rather than social observation or investigation. However, the documentaries Yearning for Istanbul (2010)⁴⁹ and The Witness of Life: The Expulsion of Greeks-The Exiles of 1964 (2014),⁵⁰ give voice to Greek people who once lived in Istanbul before their forced migration to Greece. They have little to no accent comparable to that of their fictional counterparts in Turkish cinema.

Having examined the ways in which Greeks have been represented as the national enemy and given reductive roles and speech, I now turn to the more complex question of gender in relation to these representations.

Gender and Greek identity in Turkish cinema

With the exception of (previously noted) periods of difficulty between the two countries, Greek women, whether from the minority community of Turkey or from Greece, have had film roles since the early years of Turkish cinema, as well as in Turkish-Greek co-productions. When political issues prevented the casting of Greek actors, the parts were taken by Turkish actors. In recent years, most of the Greek roles have been acted by Turks. Greek characters/types however, as a rule, have been subject to highly gendered roles and narratives. In a love relationship, for example, the male has been Turkish, the female Greek. Where a female character is shown to be 'indecent' or otherwise socially unacceptable (and/or if the film includes non-Muslim characters/ storylines), her character is very often Greek.

Examples abound and they are not only in the past. Recent, even 'new wave' Turkish cinema leaves these gendered stereotypes intact.⁵¹ The Pretty Barber (1933)⁵² portrays a love triangle of two Turkish men and a Greek woman.⁵³ In Efe of Aydın (1952),⁵⁴ Osman Efe (İhsan Evrim) is engaged to a Greek girl, Irini (Ayfer Feray). In Love in Istanbul (1961), 55 Gisela Dali is a Greek woman who is in love with a Turkish journalist.⁵⁶ In On the Rocks (1970),⁵⁷ the Greek girl, Tina (Tina Ros) and the Turkish fisherman, Ali (Yılmaz Güney) of the neighboring village, fall in love and struggle for union (although their nationalities are not expressed clearly, they are implied); Greeks and Turks call each other 'the other side' in this film. Cholera Street concerns the love relationship between a young Turkish boy and a Greek prostitute in a suburb of Istanbul. In Please Don't Go (1998),58 the mentally disabled young Greek girl, Triandafilis, marries a Turkish boy,

Rıfat. The Boatman narrates the love story of a Greek singer and a mute Turkish boatman. In My Darling Istanbul, Greek Irini falls in love with the Turkish journalist, Ali, and comes to Istanbul. Pains of Autumn treats a relationship between a Greek prostitute and a Turkish nationalist. The protagonists of the love story in *The Exile* are Eleni, a woman from the Greek minority, and Sedat, a Turkish male.

Three films - Photographs, The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali, and Ask Your Heart - provide alternative representations of Greek identity. Photographs treats the story of a Greek boy, Yorgos (Hakan Ural), and a Turkish girl, Neslihan (Hülya Avşar), who cannot marry because of social and familial pressures. Ask Your Heart is a love story between an Orthodox Christian Pontian man, Mustafa (Kenan Ece), and a Muslim Turkish woman, Esma (Tuba Büyüküstün). Like other Pontians, Mustafa hides his religious identity, but religious difference is a serious obstacle between the two lovers. In both films, love between a Turkish female and a Greek male is unacceptable and these characters are not permitted to marry. ⁵⁹ Mr. Remzi (Gökhan Mete) of Photographs, the father of Neslihan, shouts at Mr. Niko (Levent Yılmaz), the father of Yorgo, 'You live in this country and lust after our women!' The Greek family feels obliged to leave Turkey; this is the cost of a relationship between a Greek boy and a Turkish girl. In Ask Your Heart, Esma sets herself on fire and burns to death. However, the long and happy marriage of another couple in *Photographs*, Greek Eleni (Güzin Özipek) and Turkish Ahmet Usta (Tuncer Necmioğlu), seems to find societal approval. In The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali, a Turkish woman, Defne (Cansu Dere), is married to a Greek arms dealer, Dimitri (John Baker). However, she does not love her husband and eventually unites with an old love, the Turkish protagonist Ali (Kenan İmirzalıoğlu). Although these three films provide alternative representations (achieved mainly by making their male character Greek, and the female character, Turkish), they do little to alter or subvert the persistent othering and exclusions in Turkish narrative cinema and the wider culture. In normalizing and approving societal attitudes and discourses, they adopt - to borrow from Susan Hayward⁶⁰ – an auto-reflexive viewpoint, a reflection from the center of the culture.

There is a notable lack of restraint shown by filmmakers in depictions of the Greek female body, with a regular tendency to erotic visuality or suggestions of 'indecency'. In the early film, Binnaz (1919),61 the Greek actress Madam Kalitea plays a governess who seduces the males of the mansion.⁶² The Cadi of Athos (1938)⁶³ was prohibited from being screened abroad because of its intensely erotic scenes featuring a young Greek girl.⁶⁴ In Secret Diary of a Taxi Driver (1958)⁶⁵ and in its 1967 remake,⁶⁶ Eftalya (Nilüfer Sezer) and Miça (respectively) play a Greek mistress involved with two different men. Despina (Gülbin Eray), the wife of a Greek mechanic in Birds of Exile (1964)⁶⁷ is presented as an 'indecent' adulteress, with one of the Turkish male characters describing her as a 'hussy'. In Night Journey (1987),⁶⁸ Stella is a woman in a Greek village left partially deserted after the population exchange in the 1920s; she is said to make love with many different men. In Cholera Street, Salih (Okan Bayülgen) is a young Turkish boy who starts a relationship with a Greek prostitute, Tina (Müjde Ar). She is vilified and described as a 'whore' by other male characters, yet we see Salih and Tina make love. At the same time, Salih's father (Savas Dincel) has a relationship with Eleni, another Greek woman in the same district. The young Greek woman, Elena (Beren Saat) in Pains of Autumn, is a prostitute sharing the same house with her procuress, an older Greek woman.

In order to develop this analysis of gender and Greek identity in Turkish film, I turn now to a closer examination of two selected films - one from the past/traditional cinema, and the other, a more recent production. I begin with Crying Angel (1970), 69 then move to a discussion of Pains of Autumn, released in 2009.

Crying Angel

There have always been significant differences between cinematic representations of Turkish and Greek female characters. This must be seen, of course, in the context of how all female characters have been viewed in relation to men. Gönül Dönmez-Colin notes, for example, that Turkish cinema has always shown women in stereotyped roles and subordinate to men. They were deceived and deserted village maidens, vamps or femme fatales who often paid for their transgressions with their lives. The identity of Turkish woman is, however, also split into the decent family woman who is the organizer of private space and the prostitute who crosses into public space, the domain of men. 70 In a similar vein, Asuman Suner analyses this split as between 'virtuous' and 'vicious' women. While virtuous women, with their loyalty, devotion and honor (equated with virginity), deserve the love of the male protagonist, his sexual desire is reserved for vicious women.⁷¹ However, when it comes to leading roles, the characters with whom the audience is asked to identify, the Turkish woman has nearly always been 'decent', even if she is a prostitute.

In her analysis of the phenomenon of Türkan Şoray, a Turkish film star, Seçil Büker notes that in her roles, Şoray typically remains faithful to her first man, refusing to give herself to others. In this way, she (as both character and star) retains her honor even as she occupies men's fantasies. Across her film roles, Soray is able to offer the 'good' prostitute, the eternal virgin, the 'ideal' girl. She is, in effect, an angel. 72 Indeed, Soray represents an idealized Turkish woman created for, and appropriated by, the mass audience. Crying Angel is a good example that contrasts this embedded 'virtuousness' of Turkish woman to the 'viciousness' of Greek woman.

Crying Angel is the story of a blind girl named Sabahat (Türkan Şoray), who lives a poor life with her father and stepbrother. With the help of a rich man who loves and wishes to marry her, she recovers her sight after surgery. Sabahat is so good-hearted and pure-minded that she is called an 'angel' by the inhabitants of her island. Her close friend, Tasula (Oya Peri), is from the Greek minority and portrayed as an indecent girl hated by the islanders and believed to have misled Sabahat. The 'virtuous' Turkish girl is given her opposite in the 'vicious' Greek girl. From the dramaturgical point of view, there is no reason for assigning Tasula a Greek origin.

Tasula is introduced to the spectator in the sequence immediately following Sabahat's depiction as the angel of the island. In contrast to her friend, Tasula is condemned by the craftsmen of the town who call her 'filthy', a 'harlot', 'bitch' and 'commodity'. We are told that she has just found a good and rich man, but she is such a sordid person that she will leave this man for a wealthier one. Tasula has such a bad reputation that Sabahat's stepbrother blames her for a misunderstanding about Sabahat's prostitution: 'You deserve to be killed! What happened is because of you, the bitch! She has awakened because of you. She has escaped because of you. We all have been wasted because of you.' When Tasula pays a visit to their home, Sabahat's father tells her it is a virtuous house, not like the ones she works. The earrings gifted to Sabahat by Tasula are rejected by the father. Tasula and her own father (Kosti), a tavern keeper, live in fear. Tasula's only friend is Sabahat.

Crying Angel has, at its core, an important representation of female friend-ship across the Turkish-Greek divide. However, as Sabahat and Tasula represent between them, the aforementioned split between virtue and viciousness, honor and dishonor, that divide is actually reinforced. As Greek 'other', Tasula threatens Sabahat's virtue, and by extension, the virtue of the nation. Sabahat's modesty and purity are given symbolic importance in the maintenance of not only patriarchal codes, but the national boundary itself.

Pains of Autumn

This film is an account of events in Istanbul just before and during the September 1955 pogrom against the Greeks. Behçet (Murat Yıldırım) and Suat (Okan Yalabık) are good friends raised together like brothers. Suat is an amateur journalist in search of information. Behçet is the son of a retired administrator for the Turkish intelligence agency, a man who remains influential in the organization. Behçet is engaged to Nemika (Belçim Bilgin), the daughter of a current administrator in the organization. However, Behçet is also drawn to Elena (Beren Saat), his Greek prostitute neighbor. In an increasingly hostile political climate related to the crisis in Cyprus, nationalist groups (backed by the state) provoke demonstrations against the Greeks in Turkey.

Political opponents of the government, including Suat, are also threatened with violence.

In this film, Elena is clearly represented as to-be-looked-at-ness, to borrow the term coined by Laura Mulvey. Mulvey theorized 'the look' in cinema as threefold: the look of the camera that records the film; the look of the spectators who see the final film product; and the look of the characters at each other in the film. 73 Christian Metz describes the person on screen as the 'other', whereas the look of the all-perceiving spectator is all-powerful; without the spectator, there would be no one to perceive the one on screen (the perceived).⁷⁴ In this regard, it is the desire to see, termed scopophilia by Freud, that emerges as one of the key pleasures satisfied by cinema. It is the pleasure of looking, taking 'other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze'. 75 As Mary Ann Doane notes, this spectatorial desire is delineated as voyeurism or fetishism in film theory, especially where it refers to the pleasure in 'seeing what is prohibited in relation to the female body'. 76 According to Mulvey:

In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness.77

Mulvey also notes that women traditionally function as erotic object both for the characters in the narrative of the film and for the spectator. 78 In Pains of Autumn, there are two scenes of explicit voyeurism in which Behçet, the young Turkish man, watches Elena, the Greek prostitute. First, he watches her as she undresses at the opposite window, clearly aware of, and enjoying his gaze ('the pleasure in being looked at'). The second scene occurs when Behçet goes to Elena's home and is allowed (or rather, pressed) by the procuress to watch through a hidden hole in the wall as Elena has sex with a client. These are heightened scenes of voyeurism, but of course throughout the film, Elena functions as an erotic object for both Behçet and the spectator; she is a shared phantasy for both and connotes to-be-looked-at-ness. Finally, Behçet falls in love with Elena and they are shown making love. The spectator is positioned/identifies with the Turkish male character, and indirectly participates in the sexual act (possesses her, as Mulvey notes).⁷⁹

The cinematic language of the film reinforces this sense of identification and possession. Mulvey points out that it is the effective use of subjective camera angles which draws the spectator to the male voyeur's position.80 Moreover, 'it is the place of the look that defines cinema, the possibility of varying it and exposing it'.81 This is a power that is unique to cinema, lending it a visual influence that regularly exceeds other arts. The spectator

sees Elena from the point of view of Behçet, through his eyes. In this specific example, the film positions its Turkish audience (and indeed enlists non-Turkish spectators) to watch as Turks in order to see/possess the Greek 'other'. Nemika, Behçet's Turkish fiancé is of course also subject to the male gaze, but as an idealized 'honorable' Turkish woman, in contrast to Elena's 'dishonor'.

Metz states that there is always a play of identification in cinema upon which the spectator depends.⁸² In the specific context of gender relations, Mulvey argues that the male spectator, by virtue of identifying with the protagonist who is the representative of patriarchal power, indirectly possesses the female on the screen. For Mulvey, this is an integral element of classic cinema.⁸³ Steve Neale observes that identification in film is in accordance with socially-defined and constructed gender categories of male and female.84 To borrow Judith Butler's term, performativity, the action of gender requires a repeated performance that is the re-enactment and reexperiencing of already socially established meanings. In this way, these meanings are further legitimized and reinforced.⁸⁵ Thus, we become what we perform. Classic cinema provides a key site for these processes, constructing and reconstructing gender roles in every production. In Turkish cinema, the performance and representation of gender has been repeatedly mediated by cultural discourses about national identity and the Greek 'other'.

As in other historical revolutionary moments, the Turkish republican revolution made use of gender roles and meanings to shape its cultural and political objectives. The founders of the republic attributed special significance to women, granting them a symbolic role as ideological bearers of the national project. Moreover, as biological reproducers of the nation, 86 mothers were expected to transmit republican values to their children. Re-framed as modern, educated, and emancipated, the women of the republican revolution were simultaneously constructed as modest, decent, and devoted to familial values. These last traits were, indeed, seen as key 'cultural markers' of national identity.⁸⁷ If 'the body comes to bear cultural meanings', ⁸⁸ then the meanings and construction of national identity figure there too, and Turkish women are no exception. Cinema conveys this mission. Nowhere is this more evident than in these representations of Turkish and Greek women - so marked by difference and by complex entanglements of gender, nation and otherness.

Conclusion

Although the founding ideology of Turkish republic involved a territorial model of nationalism, it also involved ethnic features. More specifically, in majority public opinion and in state policy/pronouncements, Greeks and non-Muslim groups were perceived to be disloyal to the development of the 'Turkish nation', and therefore subjected to forms of othering and exclusion.

As Yuval-Davis and Anthias show in their study of gender and nation, women have often been signifiers of ethnic/national differences, and enlisted (as symbols/figures) in the production and reproduction of identity categories.⁸⁹ This is certainly true for Turkey, where women have also been assigned a symbolic role in the construction, reproduction and transformation of identity categories. Because nation, gender and sexuality intersect in the female body, its discursive construction remains an important marker of difference, boundaries, and national identity. 90 Michel Foucault suggests that power dictates its law to sex, by categorizing sex in a binary system of licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden. 91 In the Turkish nation (where the ethnic core is the dominant pole), these binary categories are projected onto the domain of the body, in particular, onto its to-be-looked-at-ness, where the female body is object of the male gaze.

A study of Turkish film history - including the recent or 'new' cinema of countercultural filmmaking – reveals that the stereotyping of Greeks has been a prevalent attitude among filmmakers. Cinematic representation has worked to validate binary oppositions between Turkish national identity and the Greek other, differentiating the two as us/them, acceptable/unacceptable. As we have seen, this process has included representations of sex and gender that reinforce notions of difference and exclusion. The theoretical concept of the gaze has enabled us to see how Turkish spectatorship functions in relation to filmic treatments of Greek women. Whereas the Greek female body has been exhibited as the eroticized and indecent 'other' of the male gaze, Turkish women have been placed at the core of gendered ideals of nationhood. The Turkish audience has continuously been reminded that Greeks are not one of 'us'.

Notes

- 1. Smith, National Identity.
- 2. Balibar, "The Nation Form," 96.
- 3. Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?" 3.
- 4. Derrida, Positions; Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other."
- 5. Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other," 257–9.
- 6. Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism," 2.
- 7. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality.
- 8. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, Woman-Nation-Gender.
- 9. Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism."
- 10. For explanations and details of relevant historical events, see: Bahcheli, Greek-Turkish Relatons; Arı, "Lozan Barış Görüşmeleri"; Alexandris, The Greek Minority; Zürcher, Turkey; Poulton, Top Hat; Güven, "6-7 Eylül Olayları"; and Andrews, Ethnic Groups.
- 11. Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, 139.
- 12. The Treaties of Peace, Vol. II.
- 13. Kara, "Distribution of Non-Muslim Population," 27-8.

- 4
- 14. Torun, "Arkalarından Gelen Şehir 'İstanbul'," 34.
- 15. Savaşkan Durak, "Non-Muslim Minorities" examines selected literary works to show how Armenian and Greek minority groups have defined their self-image against the Turkish identity.
- 16. Ertuğrul, dir., İstanbul Sokaklarında.
- 17. Ertuğrul, dir., Fena Yol.
- 18. Özgüç, Türlerle Türk Sineması, 340; Scognamillo, Türk Sinema Tarihi, 42.
- 19. Balcı, Yeşilçam'da Öteki Olmak; Bozis and Bozis, Paris'ten Pera'ya Rum Sinemacılar.
- 20. Ertuğrul, dir., Ateşten Gömlek.
- 21. Arakon, dir., İstanbul'un Fethi.
- 22. Özgüç, Türlerle Türk Sineması, 34.
- 23. Pertan, dir., Kuşatma Altında Aşk.
- 24. Müjde, dir., Kahpe Bizans.
- 25. Müjde, dir., Bizans Oyunları.
- 26. Hançer, dir., Kıbrıs'ın Belası Kızıl EOKA.
- 27. Zaim, dir., Camur.
- 28. Balcı, Yeşilçam'da Öteki Olmak.
- 29. Kurçenli, dir., Yüreğine Sor.
- 30. Ustaoğlu, dir., Bulutları Beklerken.
- 31. Giritlioğlu, dir., Güz Sancısı.
- 32. Yasar, dir., Sevgilim İstanbul.
- 33. Özlevi, dir., Sürgün.
- 34. Yücel, dir., Yazı Tura.
- 35. Tözüm, dir., Fotoğraflar.
- 36. Yasalar, dir., Sis ve Gece.
- 37. Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema," 44.
- 38. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 397.
- 39. Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other," 230.
- 40. Altıoklar, dir., Ağır Roman.
- 41. İlhan, dir., Kayıkçı.
- 42. Giritlioğlu, dir., Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri.
- 43. Ökten, dir., Güle Güle.
- 44. Kavur, dir., Karşılaşma.
- 45. Başeskioğlu, dir., Sen Ne Dilersen.
- 46. Arun, dir., Tramvay.
- 47. Doğan, dir., Son Osmanlı: Yandım Ali.
- 48. In *Tram*, Hamit (Fırat Tanış), ridicules the heavy accent of Madam (Tomris İncer) from the Greek minority, saying that she cannot speak Turkish properly, and forcing her to correct her accent.
- 49. Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, prod., Hasretim İstanbul.
- 50. Akar, prod., Hayatın Tanığı: Rumların Zorunlu Göçü-1964 Sürgünleri.
- 51. Asuman Suner (*New Turkish Cinema*) explains the new wave Turkish cinema as the cinema that emerged in the second half of the 1990s, which while continuously returning to the idea of homeland reveals tensions, dilemmas and anxieties about belonging, identity and memory. These films, from time to time, examine state policies against religious and ethnic minorities, focussing on the destroyed lives of ordinary people because of the country's turbulent political climate in the recent past. Suner notes that women are often absent in new wave Turkish cinema and that stories still revolve around the male characters,



with women viewed solely as objects of male desire. These films do little to disrupt patriarchal Turkish culture. In this article, I attempt to show that besides subordinating women to men in general - recent or 'new wave' Turkish cinema cannot escape gendering Greek identity by making Greek women the objects of Turkish male protagonists and their spectators.

- 52. Ertuğrul, dir., Cici Berber.
- 53. Scognamillo, Türk Sinema Tarihi, 57.
- 54. Sırmalı, dir., Efelerin Efesi.
- 55. Duru, dir., İstanbul'da Aşk Başkadır.
- 56. Özgüç, Türlerle Türk Sineması, 342.
- 57. Filmer, dir., Şeytan Kayaları.
- 58. Başaran, dir., Sen de Gitme.
- 59. The apparent reason for prejudice against the marriage of a Turkish (Muslim) woman to a non-Muslim man is religious difference. However, as the priest in Ask Your Heart informs Mustafa, this depends on the religion of the male party. In a similar vein, in *Efe of Aydın*, Osman Efe tells Irini that Islam permits a Muslim man to marry a Christian woman.
- 60. Hayward, French National Cinema.
- 61. Fehim, dir., Binnaz.
- 62. Bozis and Bozis, Paris'ten Pera'ya Rum Sinemacılar, 136.
- 63. Ertuğrul, dir., Aynaroz Kadısı.
- 64. Balcı, Yeşilçam'da Öteki Olmak, 92.
- 65. Yılmaz, dir., Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri.
- 66. Jöntürk, dir., Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri. The actress playing Miça is not stated in film credits.
- 67. Refiğ, dir., Gurbet Kuşları.
- 68. Kavur, dir., Gece Yolculuğu.
- 69. Önal, dir., Ağlayan Melek.
- 70. Dönmez-Colin, "Women in Turkish Cinema," 91.
- 71. Suner, New Turkish Cinema, 165. The emancipated characters of feministoriented films that began to appear in the 1980s are exceptions. Nevertheless, as Suner also noted, the representation of the female body remains problematic in these films, for woman continues to be represented as sexualized object of the voyeuristic male gaze. Women are more active subjects in these films, but the development of female phantasy has not yet occurred.
- 72. Büker, "The Film Does not End," 164.
- 73. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema."
- 74. Metz, "The Imaginary Signifier," 51.
- 75. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 8.
- 76. Doane, "Film and The Masquerade," 76.
- 77. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 11.
- 78. Ibid., 11.
- 79. Ibid., 13.
- 80. Ibid., 15.
- 81. Ibid., 17.
- 82. Metz, "The Imaginary Signifier," 49.
- 83. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 11-3.
- 84. Neale, "Masculinity on Spectacle," 5.
- 85. Butler, Gender Trouble, 140.
- 86. Yuval-Davis, Gender & Nation.



- 87. Wilford, "Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism," 6.
- 88. Butler, "Performative Acts," 520.
- 89. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, Woman-Nation-Gender.
- 90. Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism."
- 91. Foucault, The Use of Pleasure.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Levent Yılmazok holds a MFA degree in Cinema from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (Istanbul) and a PhD from Universiteit van Amsterdam. His dissertation is entitled 'Eurimages and Turkish Cinema: History, Identity, Culture'. He is an assistant professor at Beykoz University. His research interests include national cinemas, film history, identity, and representation.

Bibliography

The Treaties of Peace: 1919-1923, Vol. II. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924.

Akar, Rıdvan, prod. Hayatın Tanığı: Rumların Zorunlu Göcü-1964 Sürgünleri [The Witness of Life: The Expulsion of Greeks-The Exiles of 1964]. Istanbul: CNN TURK, 2014.

Alexandris, Alexis. The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations: 1918-1974. Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1983.

Altıoklar, Mustafa, dir. Ağır Roman [Cholera Street]. İstanbul: Belge Film, Paris: Les Films Singuliers, Budapest: Focus Film, 1997.

Andrews, Peter Alford. Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichart Verlag, 1989.

Arı, K. "Lozan Barıs Görüsmeleri ve Nüfus Mübadelesi." Toplumsal Tarih no. 115 (Temmuz 2003): 86-89.

Arakon, Aydın, dir. İstanbul'un Fethi [The Conquest of Istanbul]. Istanbul: Atlas Film, 1951.

Arun, Olgun, dir. Tramvay [Tram]. Istanbul: Plato Film, 2006.

Bahcheli, Tozun. Greek-Turkish Relations Since 1955. Boulder: Westview, 1990.

Balcı, Dilara. Yeşilçam'da Öteki Olmak: Başlangıcından 1980'lere Türkiye Sinemasında Gayrimüslim Temsilleri. İstanbul: Kolektif Kitap, 2013.

Balibar, Etienne. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology." In Race, Nation, Class: Ambigious Identities, edited by Etienne Balibar, and Immanuel Wallerstein, 86-106. Translated by Chris Turner. London: Verso, 2002.

Başaran, Tunç, dir. Sen de Gitme [Please Don't Go]. Istanbul: Magnum Film, Paris: Les Films du Grain de Sable Gie, Athens: Georgios Katakouzinos Productions, 1998.

Başeskioğlu, Cem, dir. Sen Ne Dilersen [As You Wish]. Istanbul: Kara Film, 2005.

Bozis, Yorgo, and Sula Bozis. Paris'ten Pera'ya Sinema ve Rum Sinemacılar. Translated by Sula Bozis. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2014.



Büker, Seçil. "The Film Does not End with an Ecstatic Kiss." In Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey, edited by Deniz Kandiyoti, and Ayse Saktanber, 147-170. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Butler, Judith. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. London: Routledge, 1990.

Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." Theatre Journal 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 519-531.

Derrida, Jacques. Positions. Translated by Alan Bass. London: Continuum, 2004.

Doane, Marry Ann. "Film and The Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator." Screen 23, no. 3-4 (1982): 74-88. doi:10.1093/screen/23.3-4.74.

Doğan, Mustafa Şevki, dir. Son Osmanlı: Yandım Ali [The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali]. Istanbul: Özen Film, 2007.

Dönmez-Colin, Gönül. "Women in Turkish Cinema: Their Presence and Absence as Images and as Image-makers." Third Text 24, no. 1 (January 2010): 91–105. doi:10. 1080/09528820903488976.

Duru, Süreyya, dir. İstanbul'da Aşk Başkadır [Love in Istanbul]. Istanbul: Duru Film, Athens: Nikos Sabatakos & Son, 1961.

Ertuğrul, Muhsin, dir. Atesten Gömlek [The Shirt of Fire]. Istanbul: Kemal Film, 1923. Ertuğrul, Muhsin, dir. İstanbul Sokaklarında [On Istanbul Streets]. Istanbul: İpek Film, 1931.

Ertuğrul, Muhsin, dir. Cici Berber [The Pretty Barber]. Istanbul: İpek Film, 1933.

Ertuğrul, Muhsin, dir. Fena Yol [The Bad Road]. Istanbul: İpek Film, 1933.

Ertuğrul, Muhsin, dir. Aynaroz Kadısı [The Cadi of Athos]. Istanbul: İpek Film, 1938.

Fehim, Ahmet, dir. Binnaz [Binnaz]. Istanbul: Malul Gaziler Cemiyeti, 1919.

Filmer, İlham. Şeytan Kayaları. İstanbul: İlham Filmer, 1970. On the Rocks.

Foucault, Michel. The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality Volume 2. Translated by Robert Hurley. London: Penguin, 1992.

Giritlioğlu, Tomris, dir. Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri [Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds]. Istanbul: Avşar Film, 1999.

Giritlioğlu, Tomris, dir. Güz Sancısı [Pains of Autumn]. Istanbul: C Yapım, Asis Yapım, 2009.

Güven, Dilek. "6-7 Eylül Olayları." Radikal, September 6, 2005. Accessed April 26, 2010. http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163380.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader, edited by Patrick Williams, and Laura Chrisman, 392-403. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Hall, Stuart. "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?" In Questions of Cultural Identity, edited by Stuart Hall, and Paul Du Gay, 1-17. London: Sage, 2002.

Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of the Other." In Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, edited by Stuart Hall, 223-290. London: Sage, 2003.

Hançer, Nişan. Kıbrıs'ın Belası Kızıl EOKA. İstanbul: Tez Film, 1959. dirThe Evil in Cyprus: The Red EOKA.

Hayward, Susan. French National Cinema. London: Routledge, 1993.

Higson, Andrew. "The Concept of National Cinema." Screen 30, no. 4 (1989): 36-47. doi:10.1093/screen/30.4.36.

İlhan, Biket, dir. Kayıkçı [The Boatman]. Istanbul: Sinevizyon Films, Athens: Marathon Films, Sofia: Adela Media, 1999.

Jöntürk, Remzi, dir. Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri [Secret Diary of a Taxi Driver]. Istanbul: Duru Film, 1967.



Kara, Mehmet. "The Analysis of the Distribution of the Non-Muslim Population and Their Socio-Cultural Properties in Istanbul (Greeks, Armenians and Jews), In the Frame of "Istanbul: European Capital of Culture 2010." MA thesis, Fatih University, 2009.

Kavur, Ömer, dir. Gece Yolculuğu [Night Journey]. Istanbul: Alfa Film, 1987.

Kavur, Ömer, dir. Karşılaşma [Encounter]. İstanbul: Alfa Film, Budapest: Objektiv Filmstudio, 2003.

Kurçenli, Yusuf, dir. Yüreğine Sor [Ask Your Heart]. Istanbul: Film F Production,

Lewis, Bernard. The Emergence of Modern Turkey. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, prod. Hasretim İstanbul [Yearning for Istanbul]. Istanbul: Paradoks Yapım, 2010.

Mayer, Tamar. "Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage." In Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation, edited by Tamar Mayer, 1-22. London: Routledge, 2000.

McCarthy, Justin. Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire. New York: New York University Press, 1983.

Metz, Christian. "The Imaginary Signifier." Screen 16, no. 2 (1975): 14-76. doi:10. 1093/screen/16.2.14.

Mosse, George L. Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe. New York: Howard Fertig, 1985.

Müjde, Gani, dir. Kahpe Bizans [The Shady Byzantine]. Istanbul: Tükenmez Kalem Film, Özen Film, 1999.

Müjde, Gani, dir. Bizans Oyunları [Game of Byzantine]. Istanbul: Avşar Film, Tükenmez Kalem Film, 2016.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Screen 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18. doi:10.1093/screen/16.3.6.

Neale, Steve. "Masculinity on Spectacle: Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema." Screen 24, no. 6 (1983): 2-17. doi:10.1093/screen/24.6.2.

Ökten, Zeki, dir. Güle Güle [Goodbye]. Istanbul: United Film Production, Paris: Atelier Creation Corneille, Budapest: Objektiv Filmstudio, 2000.

Önal, Safa, dir. Ağlayan Melek [Crying Angel]. Istanbul: Er Film, 1970.

Özgüç, Agâh. Türlerle Türk Sineması: Dönemler, Modalar, Tiplemeler. İstanbul: Dünya, 2005.

Özlevi, Erol, dir. Sürgün [The Exile]. Istanbul: Erler Film, 2013.

Pertan, Ersin, dir. Kuşatma Altında Aşk [Love under Siege]. Istanbul: Sanmal A.Ş., Athens: Tartaruga Ltd., Budapest: Magyar Filmiroda RT, 1997.

Poulton, Hugh. Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic. London: Hurst & Company, 1997.

Refiğ, Halit, dir. Gurbet Kuşları [Birds of Exile]. Istanbul: Artist Film, 1964.

Savaşkan Durak, Nuran. "Non-Muslim Minorities and Turkish National Identity: A Research Through Armenian and Greek Literary Works." PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2004.

Scognamillo, Giovanni. Türk Sinema Tarihi. Vol. 2. Baskı. Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2003.

Smith, Anthony D. National Identity: Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

Sırmalı, Şakir, dir. Efelerin Efesi [Efe of Aydın]. Istanbul: Duru Film, 1952.

Suner, Asuman. New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.



Torun, Ayla. "Arkalarından Gelen Şehir 'İstanbul': Rum Azınlıklar Bağlamında Türk Sineması'nda İstanbul Algısı." DFA diss., Beykent Üniversitesi, 2014.

Tözüm, İrfan, dir. Fotoğraflar [Photographs]. Istanbul: Umur Film, 1989.

Ustaoğlu, Yeşim, dir. Bulutları Beklerken [Waiting for Clouds]. Istanbul: Ustaoğlu Film Production, Paris: Silkroad Production-Arte France Cinema, Berlin: Flying Moon Filmproduktion-ZDF/Arte Production, 2005.

Wilford, Rick. "Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Surveying the Ground." In Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition, edited by Rick Wilford, and Robert L. Miller, 1-20. London: Routledge, 1998.

Yasalar, Turgut, dir. Sis ve Gece [Fog and Night]. Istanbul: Kara Film, 2007.

Yasar, Seçkin, dir. Sevgilim İstanbul [My Darling Istanbul]. Istanbul: Amenis Film, Athens: Hyperion Production, Katerina Film, 2007.

Yılmaz, Atıf, dir. Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri [Secret Diary of a Taxi Driver]. Istanbul: Duru Film, 1958.

Yücel, Uğur, dir. Yazı Tura [Toss Up]. Istanbul: Can Sanatsal Etkinlikler Ltd., Athens: Cinegram, 2004.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. Gender & Nation. London: Sage, 1977.

Yuval-Davis, N., and F. Anthias, eds. Woman-Nation-Gender. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Zaim, Derviş, dir. Çamur [The Mud]. Istanbul: Marathon Filmcilik, Rome: Downtown Pictures, Lefkosia: Artimages, 2003.

Zürcher, Erik J. Turkey: A Modern History. London: I.B. Tauris, 1993.