Being a Tourist in the Geographies of Power:

Cross-dressing Performance in Turkish Cinema

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A **Tourist** is someone

who comes but does not stay,

who is both/neither foreign and/nor an inhabitant,

who is nomadic and placeless,

whose space is her/his performance: being on a road,

who is in between,

who knows at the beginning of the journey that s/he will return,

who seeks his/her own alienation,

then, who disappears suddenly.

Abstract

This thesis is the first scholarly work to bring together a detailed examination of cross-dressing films in Turkish cinema in conjunction with military coups, offering a new perspective on cross-dressing films of Turkish cinema by placing them within the social and cultural context in which they were made. It is suggested that cross-dressing characters in films promise and provide opportunities, which I call the effects of cross-dressing gender performance, which can be read as strategies for handling the national and personal traumas associated with military coups. In order to establish this relationship between military coups and cross-dressing films, the concept of ontological security, as developed by Anthony Giddens, is used, arguing that a military coup disrupts ontological security at the level of the state by destroying the continuity, coherence, and stability of routines. In parallel, cross-dressing gender performance in films disrupts ontological security at an individual level by its effects on the characters. The primary effect is that cross-dressing performance provides mobility to its performer not only between the gender binary but also on the map of all kinds of power relations. By means of gender unintelligibility, cross-dressing characters can transform other forms of identity – class, ethnicity, religion, and the institutions of power – time, space and language. Indeed, cross-dressing characters in films function in ways which complicate our understanding of all categorisations. In order to discuss this mobility of the cross-dressing character, I use the Deleuzian concept of *becoming*. Second, cross-dressing performance involves being visible but not recognisable, thereby allowing characters to escape surveillance. I discuss this effect through Bakhtin's concept of the *grotesque*. Third, cross-dressing gender performance involves experiencing otherness without being other, which is explained by the concept of the *carnivalesque*. It is my contention in this thesis that these three effects of cross-dressing fracture the elements of ontological security, time and space, language, and identity, and in these fractures, the cross-dressing character not only finds a way to overcome the crises which are caused by national traumas, but also makes visible the discourses which are embedded in these institutions. By making connections between military coups and cross-dressing films within the context of Turkey and its cinema, the thesis employs close textual analysis and discourse analysis around the narratives of these films.

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction

This thesis focuses on cross-dressing films in the cinema of Turkey, and argues that as products of popular cinema, these films represent the collective anxieties and desires of particular periods while offering different kinds of representational strategy than other popular film genres because they can make the construction strategies of these representations visible through the use of deconstruction.[1] The cinema of Turkey has previously been discussed in terms of both masculinity[2] and femininity.[3] Although there is an increasing number of publications on gender politics and the cinema of Turkey, cross-dressing films have been largely ignored and excluded from these discussions. The thesis not only analyses cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema but also argues that there are parallels between the production of cross-dressing films in the Turkish popular cinema industry and times of military coups followed by political and social tensions. The thesis theorises this connection by using the concept of ontological security. I claim that both military coups and cross-dressing films disrupt ontological security on different levels. Cross-dressing provides its performer with mobility against the constraints imposed by a military coup, the ability to escape the panoptical social mechanism against the solid surveillance

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[1] 'Deconstruction' is a term which Derrida (1967) invented by adapting Heidegger's (1972) notions of `destruktion`: "Derrida stresses that deconstruction is not an act or operation, deconstruction is not the effect of a master interpreter. Rather deconstruction happens within texts from inside out of their own resource" (Smith 2005: 9). Deconstruction can be accepted as a "positive device for making trouble" and "a traumatic response to political certainties" (Collins & Mayblin 2011: 4). Cross-dressing works as a deconstruction effect: it shows both how a text's explicit formulation undermines its non-explicit aspects and its implicit aspects together from inside the text. According to McQuillan (2001: 8), "the task of deconstruction is to rethink the conceptual and non-conceptual foundation of the western tradition from the ground up". It can therefore be accepted as a way of threating the western philosophical tradition of binarism. In this sense, cross-dressing deconstructs text where it is located. Cross-dressing, like deconstruction, allows the other of a binary to speak in text.

[2] Masculinity studies are quite a new academic area for Turksih academia . The most influential study of masculinity in Turkish cinema was made by Umut Tümay Arslan in her book *Bu Kabuslar Neden Cemil?* ('What are the reasons for these nightmares, Cemil?') (2004) which discussed fatherhood, and the representation of masculinity in the *Yeşilçam* ('Greenpine') melodrama. Volkan Yücel discussed crime drama and masculinity in his book *Kahramanın Yolculuğu* ('The Journey of the Hero') (2014). The new Turkish cinema was discussed by Asuman Suner as a "new masculine melodrama" in her book, *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity, and Memory* (2010). Pınar Taş discussed Nuri Bilge Ceylan's films and masculinity in her essay 'Independent Turkish Cinema and Masculinity' (2011). In addition to these studies, discussion of masculinity in Turkish cinema has been based on star studies. For example, Z.Koçer's *Yılmaz Güney in Yıldız İmgesindeki Erkeklik Kurulumları* ('The Star Image of Yılmaz Güney and the Structure of Masculinity') (2012) explored the relationship between political persona, star persona and masculinity in relation to Yilmaz Guney.

[3] The melodrama traditions in *Yesilcam* ('Greenpine') give a great opportunity to discuss femininity in Turkish cinema. Hasan Akbulut`s books *Melodram Kadına Yakışır* ('Female Images in Turkish Melodrama Films') (2008) and *Melodramatic Image* (2012) discussed genre and gender relations in Turkish cinema. The masculine outlook and absence of women in the new Turkish cinema was discussed by Asumen Suner in her book *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity, and Memory* (2010). Özlem Güçlü studied *Female Voice and the Silent Image of women in Turkish Cinema* (2013). The relationship between religion and women and the representation of this relationship on screen were discussed by Gönül Dönmez Colin in her book *Women, Islam and Cinema* (2006).Turkish cinema, female stars and the star/audience relationship in terms of star studies was discussed by Agah Özgüç in *Women Of Turkish Cinema* (2008*)* and by Atilla Dorsay in *Women of Yeşilçam (2005)*. The relationship between the 1980 military coup, feminism and the representation of women in Turkish cinema was discussed by Eylem Atkakav in her influential book *Women and Turkish Cinema* (2013). Furthermore, women directors and their film language were discussed by Rüken Öztürk in *Women Directors in Turkish Cinema* (2004).

implications of a military coup, and experience of otherness without being other against the discrimination politics of a military coup. All these actions fracture the suppliers of ontological security, time, space and language, which can also be accepted as institutions of power.

The importance and meaning of cross-dressing for Turkish culture

The act of crossing requires at least one binary opposition. These may be man/woman, upper class/working class, white/black, traditional/modern, or human/non-human: to put it in simple terms, the self and the other. There is a need for at least two stable and fixed notions. It can be claimed that cross-dressing is a rather western[4] idea. In other words, this idea belongs to western culture where the boundaries between notions are very strict, based on the Enlightenment system of measuring, classifying, and categorizing a word in order to understand and regulate it. According to Herbert Schiller (1976:52), "The assumption that binary alterity is part of the human conditions was a foundational building block of much of European philosophy of the Enlightenment". Furthermore, to understand cross-dressing in binary terms, a particular understanding of the differences and unequal relations between the binary terms, which are also the origins of the western philosophic tradition, is required.

This does not mean that cross-dressing performance cannot be seen in other cultures which did not experience the Enlightenment. Turkish and Ottoman cultures had their own cross-dressing performers – the *zenne*, the *köçek* and the *tavşan* (traditional male to female dancers)[5] – who represented and were represented in a different way from western understanding. They were not located somewhere between binary genders. Being a *köçek* or a *zenne* was related to age and ethnicity. Only young boys and usually non-Muslims and non-

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[4] The categories of west and east do not refer to geographical reality; rather they imply power relations between western countries and non-western countries which can be called eastern, third world, or Islamic world according to historical and ideological needs. The system of the cultural representation of west and east which is also the source of the binary category west/east cannot be considered without considering these power relations. My intention is not to generalise these terms. For more detail, see Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism*. For more detail about the dangers which are embedded in this binary, *see* Cemil Aydin (2017) *The Idea Of Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History*.

[5] The *köçek* was a handsome young male dancer, cross-dressed in feminine attire. The *zenne* and the *tavşan* were also male dancers who pretended to be women, but their dress was different from that of a *köçek*. For example, the *zenne* had a special hat. On the other hand, it is said that the *tavşans* were usually older than *köçeks*.

Turkish speakers could be male-to-female cross-dresser dancers.[6] For example, having sex with one of them did not make a man a homosexual[7] because their sexual positions were completely different from western examples of cross-dressing. After the modernization/westernization process began in late Ottoman times, at the end of 1800s, their position in society changed and they were named cross-dressers by western travellers. Although their traditions were based on a different social organization and involved relationships between discourses of 'otherness' (age, religion, ethnicity, gender)[8], cross-dressing began to be discussed only between the elements of a gender binary which belonged to the western tradition of sexuality.

With the Kemalist modernisation of Turkey, a new Turkish alphabet was adopted and the Turkish language was purified of foreign words. A law named the 'Acceptance and Implementation of the Turkish Letters' (*Türk Harflerinin Kabulü ve Tatbiki Hakkındaki Kanun*) made the use of the new alphabet in public communications compulsory as of 1 January 1929 (Aydemir, 1995). Under this law, it immediately became unlawful to write Turkish with Arabic letters (Metz, 1996). This modernization of the Turkish language made it impossible to understand written texts from earlier periods. Indeed, the new Turkish language did not reveal gender. The third person singular pronoun is simply '*o*' and it can be male, female,

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[6] According to Metin And (1976), an expert in traditional performance art and rituals in Turkish culture who studied male-to-female cross-dressing traditional dance, the absence of female-to-male cross-dressers is related to the absence of women in the public sphere. Our knowledge of traditional male-to-female cross-dresser dancers is based on the writings of western travellers. However, they were forbidden to enter women's spaces such as the *harem*. Therefore, writings and pictures about male-to-female cross-dressers include more realistic knowledge than that available on female-to-male cross-dressers. The representation of female desire and sexuality was based on the fantasy of western spectators.

[7] Michel Foucault (1990) wrote that the contemporary terminology of sex and homosexuality as a category of modern medicine is based on the eighteenth century understanding. As David M. Halperin (1986) pointed out, the use of modern terms such as homosexuality in order to understand historical identities can be misleading. Moreover, these terms which were produced by the west are not suitable for discussing eastern identities. However, although I am aware of this, I could not find another way to express the situation.

[8] Some important studies have pointed out the tension between western and eastern understandings of sexuality. Joseph Massad`s influential book *Desiring Arabs* (2007) discussed the influence and impact of Orientalism on shaping Arabs' own perceptions of sexuality. Mehmet Kalpaklı and Walter Andrews analysed Ottoman love poets and discussed cross-cultural parallels in the sociology and spirituality of love in Europe – from Istanbul to London – during the long sixteenth century in their book *The Age of Beloved* (2005). The book edited by Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najambadi, *Islamicate Sexualities: Translation Across Temporal Geographies of Desire* (2008) was interested in comparative literature studies and queer theory in the Muslim world, including Arabic, Persian, French, Spanish, Christian and Islamic literature. In that book, papers written by Najambadi, Epps, Traub and Rouhi discussed the validity of the western terminology of sexuality as fixed binary oppositions in treating Arab literature which expresses a range of desires which are not fixed. Dror Ze`evi in his influential book *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in Ottoman Middle East* (2006) brought into focus the sexual discourses manifest in a wealth of little-studied source material – medical texts, legal documents, religious literature, dream interpretation manuals, shadow theatres and travelogues – in an analytical exploration of Ottoman sexual thought and practices from the heyday of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. In his influential book, *Osmanlı`da Seks* ('Sex in Ottoman') (2005), Murat Bardakçı claimed that same-sex relations became a hidden desire after Tanzimat 1839 when the first step of westernization was taken. As seen above, discussions of the tension between western and eastern understandings of sexuality are based on an historical approach. Little attention has been paid to carrying the discussion over to current situations.

neutral or something else. So translations of earlier written texts on Turkish culture and even more new written texts can be said to be genderless. The ambiguities in the written texts[9] of Turkish culture make it essential to look at visual art and cinema to find types of language which are embedded in performances in order not only to understand the discourse of sexuality in Turkey but also to make connections between the discourse of sexuality and other discourses.

In addition to the language revolution, dressing gained another layer of meaning for Turkish culture during the early Turkish Republic in the 1920s. Dress and dressing are a kind of stage where the modernization history of the Turkish Republic can be seen. The distinction between two roots of identity in the Turkish citizen`s formation – modernization and conservatism – has become visible around dress and dressing because no other symbol apart from veiling can express the differences between west and east so quickly and so efficiently. The modern face of the Turkish republic was able to be determined from a citizen's clothes. Women were 'emancipated from' their veil by means of Kemalist modernization. The *fes* which was worn by Ottoman men as a hat was banned and a western style of hat was introduced and men were obligated to wear this instead of a *fes*. Anyone who did not want to wear a new-style hat was arrested. In other words, during the process of Turkish modernization, Turkish citizens can be considered as cross-dressers from tradition to modernity.

Dress is the symbol by which a person is identified as either modern or conservative in Turkey. In Turkey, women wearing a headscarf were banned from universities and the public sector between 1980- 2011. However, the elected governments passed legislation to remove the ban on the headscarf in universities; even so, the ban could not be abandoned completely because of the strict opposition from secularist establishments, mainly the judiciary, and the military. In the last twenty years, the headscarf has transformed from being a religious symbol to being a threat to the principle of secularism. This is why dress became the symbol of anxiety about modernization. The headscarf is highly politically

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[9]There is considerable discussion today about whether many love poems which were written by men to women can be considered as love poems which were written by men to men. The genderless Turkish language does not allow to us decide (see Andrew, W. & Kalpaklı, M. (2005), *The Age of Beloveds*, Bardakçı, M. (2005), *Osmanlı`da Seks*, and Ze`evi, D. (2008), *Müslüman Osmanlı`da Arzu Ve Aşk.*

charged in the context of Turkey. It is not surprising that the AKP[10] uses this argument and embodies the anxiety about modernization under the name of 'türban'. After the AKP government, the meaning of dress and veiling became a hidden space of power relations between west and east which has shaped the politics of Islam in Turkey. Briefly, it can be said that dressing can be considered as a surveillance tool of its period and as a discursive and political practice in the Turkish case. So when discussing cross-dressing in Turkish cinema, the special meaning of dressing for Turkish politics and the cross-dressing tradition of Ottoman culture where the relationship between discourses of otherness can be seen, the new genderless Turkish language and Turkey's geographical and ideological position should all be borne in mind. The power of discussing cross-dressing in Turkish cinema and the opportunities which will be provided by this discussion are based on these arguments. These arguments make the discussions about cross-dressing performance unique and productive for the Turkish case.

Cross-dressing has been discussed in three different ways in Turkish academia: from the star persona of cross-dressing performers such as Bülent Ersoy, Zeki Müren and Huysuz Virgin, from an historical point of view such as discussion of the *köçeks* and *zenne*s, and from trans-national cinema,[11] discussing the films of Ferzan Özpetek and Kutluğ Ataman, among others. In her essay 'The Stage: A Space for Queer Subjectification in Contemporary Turkey' (2012), Eser Selen focused on the relationship between stage and cross-dresser Turkish performers such as Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy and Seyfi Dursunoğlu. According to Selen, their presences on stage were based on the absence of queerness in their everyday lives. Başak Ertür and Alisa Lebow tried to read perceptions of transgender in terms of law using Bülent Ersoy`s autobiography in their essay *Şöhretin Sonu* ('The End of Fame') in a book edited by Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice in 2012 entitled *Cinsellik Muammas*ı ('The Enigma of Gender').

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[10] It can be claimed that "Turkey's democracy reached a turning point with the meteoric rise of the pro-Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the 2002 election". After the 2002 election, "the AKP, which won the most votes and seats in the National Assembly after the July 22, 2007 elections and formed the government, has also been indicted on the grounds of becoming the focal point of activities against secularism. The resuscitation of the debate on the donning of turbans on the university campuses and other public institutions of Turkey has been defended as a religious right of the religious women by the conservative parties of Turkey, and resisted as the promotion of a symbol of political Islam by the secularist parties and political forces of the country" (Kalaycıoglu 2008: 2).

[11] In the 2000s, Turkey encountered trans-national cinema through the work of Fatih Akın, a member of the third generation of immigrant workers in Germany, and his international success. After him, the international successes of Ferzan Özpetek, Kutluğ Ataman, Ayşe Polat, Thomas Arslan and Buket Alakuş attracted academic discussion on trans-national cinema. For more detailed information, see Nejat Ulusay (2008), *Melez İmgeler: Sinema ve Ulusötesi Oluşumlar (*'Hybrid Image: Cinema and Transnationalism'*)*, Özgür Yaren (2008), *Avrupa Göçmen Sineması (*'European Migration Cinema'), Asuman Suner (2006), *Hayalet Ev: Yeni Türk Sinemasında, Aidiyet, Kimlik ve Bellek* ('Ghost House'), Hamid Naficy (2001), *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Film Making,* and Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissayanake (eds) (1996), *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary.*

Barış Kılıçbay compared two recent Turkish-German films in *Lola + Bilidikid* (1999) and *Auslandstournee* (1999). Drawing on Butlerian theory of gender melancholy, he explored the close relationship between transvestism and cross-dressing, motherland and national identification in his essay, 'Impossible Crossings: Gender Melancholy in *Lola + Bilidikid* and *Auslandstournee*' (2006). Tolga Yalur`s essay, *Osmanlı`da Bir Cinsel Kimlik Olarak Köçek* ('Köçek as a Gender Category in Ottoman Turkey') (2013) and Şeyma Ersoy Çak`s essay *Köçek ve Çengilerin Toplumsal Cinsiyeti* ('The Gender of *Köçeks* and *Çengi*') (2009) discussed traditional performance art in terms of gender using queer theory. As stated above, none of these discussions focused on cross-dressing itself or on temporally cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema. Neither did they focus on the relationship between politics and gender performance. They all ignored the special meanings of cross-dressing performance in the Turkish case.

In this thesis, cross-dressing is discussed as an act of crossing in order to release the term 'cross-dressing' both from the gender binary and from its western understanding. In order to discuss the term in relation to power and to establish a connection between the cross-dressing and the politics of the era, in this study, I argue that cross-dressing is not only about the gender binary or the clothes codes inherent in the binary, it is embedded in institutions of power such as time, space, language, memory and identity which have been structured according to the historical position of a text. In other words, cross-dressing is not wearing the clothes of another sex but is wearing the tensions of a specific period which are embedded in time, space, language and memory in a gendered way. Therefore, in this study the discussion focuses on the question of what cross-dressing does in particular narratives rather than the question of what cross-dressing is.

I shall therefore discuss three principal effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject:

1- Cross-dressing gives mobility to its subject not only between gendered identities but also on the map where all relations between subjects and power are located. In films, cross-dressing characters not only change their gender they also change other relations with power. That is why in films, cross-dressing characters not only change their gendered identity but also their class, ethnicity, religion and whatever other characteristics they have, because, we are connecting with the power relations map in many different forms.

When one of these forms changes its position, all the other forms are affected by the change and the subject becomes mobile in this map. Briefly, they become a tourist on the map of power relations by means of cross-dressing, because cross-dressing is a kind of deterritorialization of identity in order to reterritorialize it. In this journey from deterritorialization to reterritorialization, the consistency of hegemonic discourse disperses and identity becomes mobile. In other words, identity moves away from 'being' and comes close to 'becoming' by means of cross-dressing. In this thesis, the act of crossing as a mobility effect of cross-dressing which is embedded in cross-dressing performance is explained by the idea of becoming. I claim that cross-dressing is a body of becoming and that therefore cross-dressing enables the process of becoming visible. For Gilles Deleuze, becoming was a process, both relationally and in terms of inter-connectivity. 'Becoming' implies having to "get outside of dualisms" which have been structured by western thought and instead to "be-between, to pass between … never ceasing to become" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 277). 'Becoming' in this sense explains the world not as relatively stable and discrete forms or beings (subjects/objects, bodies/images), but as processes of movement, variation and multiplicity. Becomings are transformations – not of forms transforming into another or different form but of constantly transforming relations (Coleman 2008: 168). Briefly, it can be said that cross-dressing is a way of diverting and tricking the power which speaks through our bodies. The mobility of cross-dressing which is provided by the concept of becoming uses the body as a counter-weapon against power.

2- Cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying the desire to be visible and at the same time to escape from panoptic[12] social mechanisms. The narratives of cross-dressing films usually create a necessity for the character to change his/her appearance. A kind of panoptical society is created for the characters; they always know that they are being observed and are never sure, when they encounter their observer. The characters can escape this panoptical society of narrative only if they change their subject position on the map of power relations. They can escape from the panoptical social mechanism because, although they are still there, they are visible but not recognisable because their body has been emancipated from their determination. Because their bodies are in the process of becoming, they are the frame of undecidability. In order to discuss this effect,

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[12] It should be remembered that dress and wearing are subject to surveillance in Turkish politics and culture.

I use the theory of the grotesque body. For Mikhail Bakhtin, the grotesque body represented a powerful force. It is a body that is always in process. Mary Russo described the grotesque body as one which is "open, protruding and extended, the body of becoming, process and change" (in Hirschorn 1996: 131). A grotesque body transgresses the boundaries between bodies. Extenuated or escalated, the distortional and shapeless body of a grotesque challenges the stable and unchangeable body just as cross-dressing does. In this sense, a grotesque body is a degradation of what is accepted as a normal body. It is exaggerated and unmeasurable. The cross-dressed body exaggerates the sexual orientation of the body in very similar way to how the grotesque does. The sexual fragmentation of the body (breasts, buttocks, hair) is highlighted and caricatured. The elements of human anatomy can be seen to be in conflict. Cross-dressing might be perceived as a significant distortion of the known or recognized regulatory forms of the body. The grotesque can be seen not only in the form of the body but also the performance of the body. By means of grotesque elements, the performance of the cross-dressed body becomes artificial and annihilated. That is why, even though their bodies are still there, they cannot be recognised and therefore they can escape surveillance.

3- Cross-dressing is a way of escaping the fear of being other and at the same time experiencing otherness. In order to discuss this effect, I use the term 'carnival'. Cross-dressing as a grotesque body usually creates a carnival atmosphere in films. According to Peter Ackroyd, "cross-dressing is so deeply rooted in festive celebration and anarchic display that it survived centuries of persecution. It passed from the pagan rites of antiquity into medieval folk ceremonies and seasonal festivities … "(1979:51). The power of carnival to turn things upside down is facilitated by bringing it into a dialogic relation with official forms. Carnival enables open-ended, irregular bodies. The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time is of particular significance. Anti-authoritarian forces can be mobilized against the official culture. Carnival times are sharply distinct from the serious official, feudal, political cult forms and ceremonies. The joiner of the carnival can experience what s/he is not without any judgment. You can be what you want to be in carnival for a while. By means of the carnival in films which is created by a cross-dressing character, the character can experience otherness without any judgment.

All of these terms help to explain the subject's way of being mobile on the map of power relations by using cross-dressing. In this thesis, I ask the question if a subject changes his/her position on the map of power relations by using cross-dressing, how are other forms of identity, forms of oppression and relationships between discourses and power relations affected and then relocated by this change? I also argue that the effects of cross-dressing performance fracture the plane of power and the cross-dressed character becomes a tourist on the map of power relations, because s/he fractures power relations. Almost all cross-dressing characters in Turkish films can *escape* from the system and at the same time express themselves *within* the system. They can perform these two actions simultaneously because of their mobility, which is the tool for re-establishing power relations in their own way. On the other hand, performing both actions together fractures power relations and the order of the system. My aim in this study is to follow these fractures in institutions of power – time, space, language, and identity – in order to analyse the relationship between Turkish politics and cross-dressing films.

Turkish Politics and Cross-Dressing Films

On 15 July 2016, Turkey experienced very dark and interesting political chaos. One of the closest allies of the AKP government, the Fethullah Gülen Movement, attempted a coup against the government but the coup was forestalled by the civil forces. This was the beginning of a series of traumatic events. Everyone from ordinary citizens to the military, to the government and to public officials had many questions: What were the dynamics behind the coup attempt? How could this military coup attempt be explained? What would happen next? However, I had a very different question in my mind, one which no-one else would even have thought of: would any cross-dressing films appear in cinemas? This failed military coup attempt had a different meaning for me: it had the potential to help me make a convincing case for my thesis. I waited, and after six months, the first cross-dressing film appeared: *Olanlar Oldu* (January 2017, directed by Hakan Akgül). After this film, in May 2017, Şahan Gökbakar masqueraded as a woman for Halkbank television advertisements. This thesis is based on a hypothesis and the possible explanations for it. These films showed me that my hypothesis was correct: there are connections to be made between military

coups and cross dressing films in Turkey. This thesis argues the reasons for this relationship. I do this by using the concept of ontological security.

If we look at the history of Turkish cinema, it can be easily recognised that cross-dressing films are repeated at particular times with similar narratives but different aesthetics and connotations. In the Turkish context, the production of cross-dressing films increased during times of national trauma such as military coups. In this thesis, I examine the reasons for this by asking questions such as: Why were they repeated? What is the importance of these films in Turkish political, cultural and economic contexts? What kinds of difference in the representations of cross-dressing can be found between the periods? What kinds of relationship can be found between military coups and cross-dressing films?

This thesis theorises the relationship between cross-dressing films and military coups by exploring the concept of ontological security and through a close analysis of a number of case study films. In order to discover this relationship between cross-dressing films and military coups, it is essential to provide an overview of the cross-dressing films in the history of Turkish cinema. According to film historian Agah Özgüç (2006), the first cross-dressing film appeared in modern Turkey in 1923. It was entitled *Leblebici Horhor*, and the film is now lost. Özgüç (2006) wrote that it told the story of Leblebici Horhor (played by Behzat Butak) who disguises himself as his daughter in order to save her when he realizes that she is going to be kidnapped. The film, directed by Muhsin Ertuğrul, belongs to comedy in terms of genre. After this first film, audiences had to wait some years in order to watch what could be termed a cross-dressing film because, according to Özgüç (2006), a second cross-dressing film appeared with female cross-dressing featured in *Fosforlu Cevriye* (1959). After *Fosforlu Cevriye*, cinema audiences in Turkey witnessed a number of cross-dressing characters either as a main character or a supporting motif in films over the following ten years, such as *Şoför Nebehat* (1960, directed by Süreyya Duru), *Gece Kuşu* (1960, directed by Hulki Saner), *Aslan Yavrusu* (1960, directed by Saner), *Belalı Torun* (1962, directed by Memduh Ün), *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* (1964, directed by Saner), *Yalancının Mumu* (1965, directed by Semih Evin), *Babasına Bak, Oğlunu Al* (1965, also directed by İnanoğlu), *Efkarlıyım Arkadaş* (1966, directed by Türker İnanoğlu), *Asker Anası* (1966, directed by Asaf Tengiz), *Kibar Haydut* (1966, directed by Yılmaz Atadeniz), *Beş Ateşli Kadın* (1968, directed by Seyfettin Tiryaki), and *Avanta Kemal* (1968, directed by Uğur Duru).

After the popularity of cross-dressing performances in Turkish films during the 1960s, a second phase of production took place in the 1980s beginning with *Deliler Almanya`da* (1980, directed by Yunus Bülbül), then *Beddua* (1980, directed by Melih Gülgen) and *Şabaniye* (1984, directed by Kartal Tibet). Arguably the decreased number of cross-dressing film productions can be discussed with reference to contemporaneous debates about identity politics since the second wave of feminism in Turkey (unlike the second wave of feminism experienced during the 1960s and the 70s in the western world, Turkey experienced a second wave of feminism during the 1980s and I shall discuss this in greater detail in the section 'Framing Turkey' in Chapter 1). Furthermore, the growth of the LGBT movement allowed the production of 'realistic'[13] transgender movies. After a long break, a third wave of cross-dressing films appeared in the 2000s with *Komiser Şekspir* (2001, directed by Sinan Çetin) *Hababam Sınfı Merhaba* (2007, directed by Kartal Tibet), *Plajda* (2008, directed by Murat Şeker) and *Şeytanın Pabucu* (2008 directed by Turgut Yasalar). Although I shall introduce these films later, the reason for giving this detailed chronology here is to point out the production dates of cross-dressing films. These three distinct periods of film production – the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s – coincided with not only significant turning points in Turkish political history but also times of national trauma, specifically military coups. When we look at the list of cross-dressing films in Turkish cinema, it can be easily claimed that there has been a direct relationship between military coups and cross-dressing films in the Turkish context. The topic of this thesis is this unexplored and undiscovered relationship.

In order to examine the relationship between cross-dressing films and military coups, I employ two theoretical approaches. First, in order to argue that there are connections to be made between military coups and cross-dressing films, I used the concept of ontological security, a concept I found appropriate to explicate this link. Second, in order to connect cross-dressing and ontological security, I used the concepts of becoming, the grotesque, and the carnivalesque, which are the sources of the effects of cross-dressing performance in the films to which I gave a brief introduction in the previous section.

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[13] Although I am aware that the notions of real and realistic involve many questions, I am using this term in a Zizekian sense. According to Slavoj Zizek (1991), 'real' is an understanding of power relations which affect us. It is not a spiritual or metaphysical idea about a set of universal truths. The narrative of `realistic' transgender movies in Turkey is based on discrimination against transgender sex workers, such as *Dönersen Islık Çal* (1992, directed by Orhan Oğuz), *Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar* (1993, directed by Atıf Yılmaz) and *Robert`in Filmi* (1992, directed by Canan Gerede).

I am using ontological security as a connection point between military coups as times of national trauma and cross-dressing films by saying that both military coups and cross-dressing films destroy ontological security: military coups destroy it at the level of the state, whereas cross-dressing films destroy it at the level of the individual subject. Despite this similarity, however, both military coups and cross-dressing films reconstruct ontological security in different ways. Ontological security is a productive concept which can be adapted for different discussions from different disciplines, from individual to state, from international relations to personal relations. This approach of Anthony Giddens has been used at the sociological, physiological and political levels. That is why it can be a useful connection point between cross-dressing, the state politics', and military coups as national traumas. According to Giddens, ontological security is a "confidence or trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (Giddens 1991: 374). "Ontological security theory … generally refers to the study of the practices that social beings utilise to secure their sense of Self through time" (Delehanty & Steele 2009: 524). It involves having confidence in the routine and reliability of persons, places and things. What is 'secure' in ontological security is a psychological trust in the reliability and constancy of the world existing in the way it is 'supposed' to exist and the narrative which supports the constancy of the social construction of self-identity (Giddens 1991; Mitzen 2006). According to Giddens, questions of time, space, continuity and consistency are the actors of the ontological security of identity. In this sense, the increasing number of cross-dressing film productions during times of national trauma would not be a coincidence. In the framework of Turkey, when the ontological security of the nation was threatened by military coups, cross-dressing films appeared as an example of how individuals re-organize ontological security by means of cross-dressing.

Military coups in the history of Turkey interrupted and threatened not only the ordinary processes and continuity of the nation but also the idea of national identity. Furthermore, time and space, even language and acts of speaking, changed their ordinary meaning and usage under military rule. On the other hand, cross-dressing performances in films disrupt and fracture the source of stable identity (time, space, continuity, coherence, memory and so on) which the system of ontological security then re-organizes for the performer's own benefit which can be accepted as the dream of a citizen who has to live under the military

rule. A cross-dressing character can do it in films by means of the effects of cross-dressing. However, between disrupting and re-organizing ontological security, institutions of power such as language, time, space and gender are transformed into a what I term the 'playground of the subject'. The crises which cross-dressing causes for ontological security can be termed as `fracturing` where the subject can travel in the geographies of power according to his/her needs. Fracturing can make both discourse and its roots visible. Therefore, the moments created by cross-dressing performance which can be called fracturing reveal not only a discourse but also a relationship between discourses. The main aim of this current study is to follow these fractures in order to understand the map of power of a particular time – in this case, times of national trauma.

This overlap between military coups and cross-dressing film productions in Turkey gives an opportunity to further discussions of cross-dressing, underlining that this is not an issue which is related only to gendered performance . Here, it is worth remembering that the idea of cross-dressing was a tradition in Ottoman culture which was based on the discourse of otherness. Although cross-dressing films begin with an examination of gender forms, they spread their examination over all forms of order, identity and socially and historically constructed representations of power. So discussing cross-dressing performance can allow the following question to be addressed: Can temporally cross-dressing performances in films be used as productive tools in order to understand 'how the system of knowledge of a film's period is designed' and 'what kinds of relationship can be found between the different discourses of the period'?' If they can, how can cross-dressing be used for this purpose? Why is cross-dressing a productive tool for identifying not only gender discourse but also other orders of discourse? All of these areas can be discussed in relation to textual questions such as: What is cross-dressing? What kinds of contribution does cross-dressing performance make to the narrative? What kinds of opportunity does cross-dressing provide to the text itself? These questions enable us to turn back to beginning of this study: the three effects of cross-dressing gender performance in Turkish films.

Within this framework, cross-dressing films provide subjects with the mobility which, as I mentioned above, is necessary for handling trauma and economic, cultural and political problems. This mobility gives an opportunity to re-organize and re-stabilize notions of subjectivity, collective identity, history, truth, continuity and coherence, routine, time and

space. Furthermore, it can be claimed that cross-dressing performance provides freedom for the subject in order to both escape a panoptical society and surveillance which are created by military coups and at the same time the ability to be visible as an anchor of identity. Cross-dressing films involve and reveal components which destroy the idea of homogenous society, culture and identity by using the idea of the gendered body in unfamiliar ways. It can therefore be claimed that cross-dressing films show how strategies and tactics for managing social anxiety are fundamentally gendered. Briefly, in all these films, cross-dressing performers can *escape* the system and at the same time express themselves *within* the system. They play with the elements of ontological security by means of the effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject. These effects can be accepted as a way of handling national trauma.

When I examine cross-dressing films of Turkish cinema, I recognise that cross-dressing performance provides the character involved with three advantages which I term the three effects of cross-dressing: being mobile in the map of power relations, which I explain by using the idea of 'becoming'; change in order to escape surveillance, which I explain by using the grotesque; and, experiences of otherness, which I explain by using the term 'carnivalesque'. I make a connection between these three effects and the importance of cross-dressing for Turkish culture: the genderlessness of the Turkish language, the cross-dressing traditions of Ottoman culture, which were based on discourses of otherness, and dress used as a surveillance tool. Further, I take into account the production period of these films and I recognise that the dates when cross-dressing films were produced overlap with military coups in Turkey. In order to make a connection between them, I use the term 'ontological security' and argue that both cross-dressing and military coups destroy ontological security and re-construct it on different levels and in different forms. To explain how cross-dressing destroys and re-constructs ontological security, I use the three effects of cross-dressing in the narrative. However, there is something further which happens between destroying and re-constructing which I have called 'fracturing'.

Methodology

I am using Norman Fairclough`s text-oriented critical discourse analysis (CDA) to address my research questions. Discourse can be accepted as a form of social practice which shapes and is shaped by institutions and power relations. According to Foucault (1977: 27), "discourses are autonomous systems of statements structured by historically specific formation rules with particular systems of power/knowledge relations". CDA is based on revealing these systems of statements which are accepted as natural, universal truths and foundations of human beings. CDA is one way to show how meaning is constructed and structured ideologically by power relations.

In order to analyse discourse critically, the researcher should explore relationships between the text and its language, the text and its historical, political and cultural position/location (Contextuality), and the text and other texts of culture (Intertextuality). By doing this, we can understand how knowledge was structured in what kind of order, which includes power, ideology and politics which change their position according to discourse. However, before following all these steps, the researcher should determine his/her texts: for the current study, the texts are films.

In order to identify my case films, I used the term 'temporary cross-dressing performance' as a filter. My interest in this study is in those cross-dressing films in which characters use cross-dressing to find a solution for similar circumstances, generally to escape enemies who are threatening them. Their cross-dressing activity is not based on sexual orientation or desire. I therefore excluded from the study realistic transgender, drag or cross-dressing films such as *Zenne* (2011), *Ruhumu Asla* (2001) and *Dönersen Islık Çal* (1992). Furthermore, I was not interested in the stage performance of cross-dressing such as Huysuz Virgin. It is films such as these which I call temporary cross-dressing performance. I chose five temporary cross-dressing films from the many available as texts which can be accepted as kinds of forms of social practice from three different military coup eras which can be accepted as turning points in the Turkish political and cultural structure: from the 1960 military coup, one male cross-dressing film*, Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* (1962) and one female cross-dressing film, *Şoför Nebehat* (1960); from the 1980 military coup, one male cross-dressing film*, Şabaniye* (1982); and from the 2007 military ultimatum, one male cross-dressing films, *Şeytanın*

Pabucu (2008) and one female cross-dressing film, *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba* (2007). I shall explain why I choose these particular films, their importance, and the films themselves in more detail in Chapter 1, but here I can say that their popularity, their stars and their positions in Turkish cinema history affected my selection. In order to select my case study films, I first watched all of the cross-dressing films listed in the Introduction. After watching all of them, I eliminated some in which the cross-dressing characters only have a supporting role; these were *Avanta Kemal, Kibar Haydut, Beş Ateşli Kadin, Beddua* and *Komser Şekspir*. I then eliminated the films in which the narratives are not based on the transformation of cross-dressing characters even though a cross-dressing character is one of the main characters; this removed *Aslan Yavrusu, Efkarlıyım Arkadaş* and *Fosforlu Cevriye*. I then considered the popularity of films. Three of the films which I choose, *Hababam Sınıfı, Şoför Nebehat* and *Şabaniye*, all are serial films. Şaban and Şoför Nebehat are well-known characters in Turkish cinema and many films have been made which depict their various adventures. *Hababam Sınıfı* is a classic novel which has been adapted for the screen many times. I chose *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* because it is an adaptation of *Some Like it Hot* (1959) and involves classic cross-dressing formulas. I selected *Şeytanın Pabucu* because its star Fatih Ürek is a well-known gay singer and this could enhance the discussion because his performance of masculinity, femininity and cross-dressing involves multiple layers of performance.

After choosing the five case-study films, I examined the texts as cultural products representative of the social practices in which the discourse is both constitutive and constituted and started to carry out close textual analyses. In this study, I examine all elements of films as written texts in order to understand the structure of how discourses were embedded into them, the kinds of strategy used in order to make discourses meaningful and natural, and whether the cross-dressing films help to reproduce unequal power relations, and if so how. Hence I examine the films with regard to the characters, narratives, cinematic elements such as music, sound, colour, lighting, editing and mise-en-scène, and other visuals such as costuming, questioning how these aspects collectively engage with discourses. In order to do that, I watched the films several times in order to identify catch any repeated patterns. These patterns might help me to establish any relationships which might exist between different texts and different films. In order to

identify these patterns, I asked what kinds of opportunity cross-dressing performance give to the narrative and to the character(s) in each film. I discovered that some identical formulations are repeated from one film to another. I categorised these scenes which enabled me to realise that they all relate to time, space, memory, language and gender. I therefore decided to analyse them more deeply under these five headings.

After this categorisation, I asked how a cross-dressing character uses these elements differently from other characters. Answering this question enabled me to discover the effects of cross-dressing performance on its performer. I then established connections between these effects and the historical political and cultural locations of the films. In other words, in order to contextualise the study, I read these effects alongside the implications of the three selected periods of military coup. I researched the newspapers of the chosen periods and explored personal memories of times of military coups in order to understand the social relations and discourses instantiated in these texts. I explored the Turkish political, historical and cultural situation at the times when the films were produced in order to understand the relationship between cross-dressing films as discursive practices and wider social and cultural structures and in order to find continuity and determine discontinuity between texts and culture. In this way, the texts became more open and showed how they interrelated with the cultural political practices of the periods in which they were produced.

It can be said that military coups constitute an endless process in Turkey's political history; one follows another. That is why for this study I had to restrict the era of the military coups considered. The phrase 'the time of a military coup' is used widely in my text in order to identify political periods in which cross-dressing films were produced. Turkey experienced two (1960 and 1980) military coups and three memorandums (1971, 1997 and 2007). I have focused on only two military coups, those in 1960 and 1980, and one memorandum, that of 2007. I excluded the 1971 and 1997 memorandums because they can be accepted as only interventions in Turkish politics and did not affect everyday life in the way that the 1960 and 1980 coups did. On the other hand, 2007 was the turning point of the relationship between the military and politics. The 2007 memorandum is accepted as a breaking point by many scholars (Balcı 2007, Özbudun and Hale, 2010, Çınar 2011, Aydınlı 2009, 2011) The shadow of the military as guardian of Kemalist secularism had lain over Turkish politics from the beginning of the modernisation process until it was lifted by this memorandum. The power

of military forces began to decrease against the rise of Islamic conservatism after this memorandum. The political climate of Turkey changed, which is why I distinguished this memorandum as more significant than those of 1971 and 1997. By the term 'the time of a military coup', I refer to the periods which began with a military coup and ended at the second election after the coup. Even though the 1960 military rule ended with the 1961 election and the 1980 military coup ended with the 1983 election, rebuilding the sense of safety, recovering the boundaries of collective attachment and becoming accustomed to a new order took time for the Turkish people. The elections which took place immediately after military coups – in 1961 and 1983 – were conducted under the military coup in order to consolidate the expectation of the military powers. For example, in the first election after the 1980 military coup, the party members who stood in the election had to be approved by the National Security Council. For the 1983 election, the army imposed a rule that none of the parties was permitted to criticise the military. I therefore chose to regard the second election as the end of a time of military coup. So the 1960 military coup ended with the 1965 election and the 1980 military coup ended with the 1987 election. By the term 'time of a military coup', it is these periods to which I refer.

I do not follow the narrative lines of the films from beginning to end. Rather, I explore selected scenes by using close textual analysis. Furthermore, I shall not use all of the films for all of the topics, because I am not searching for general ideas, formulas or mega-structures in order to discuss cross-dressing. Rather, I shall try to discuss cross-dressing reciprocally: how discourses relate to each other – which can be called the system of knowledge – and are embodied in cross-dressing texts and how cross-dressing challenges and/or reproduces them. The selected films will help us to discuss "the limit and forms of the sayable (what can be said in this particular period), conservation (how utterances emerge and disappear), memory (which utterances are accepted as valid at this particular time), reactivation (how older or foreign discourses are imported and reconstituted) and appropriation (who has access to which discourse)" of the chosen periods (Foucault 1977: 139-140).

Chapter Outline

The chapters which follow will highlight different questions and/or aspects of about cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema. Chapter 1 provides an overview of Turkish politics, culture and cinema and the production of cross-dressing films. The key questions which are addressed in this chapter are where and when cross-dressing films appear. This chapter presents the conceptual framework of the thesis and situates the case studies into debates around culture and politics in and of Turkey. In this chapter, I shall introduce cross-dressing films and at the same time I shall try to answer the question 'what does cross-dressing *do* in the films'. This chapter is, for this reason, entitled 'Framing Turkey' and this frame can be accepted as a stage of the choreography which will be produced in Chapter 2, which is based on the question 'who/what?'

In Chapter 2, I shall discuss my theoretical inclination. The terms and ideas of 'becoming' (Deleuze), 'carnivalesque' and the grotesque body (Bakhtin), 'performativity' (Butler) and 'undecidability' (Derrida) which can serve to explain my understanding of cross-dressing performance in the narratives are discussed. The definition of cross-dressing for the purposes of this study is given. In order to discuss cross-dressing, I have used different terms not only from different study areas but also from different cultures. Therefore, I have used 'Choreographing' as the title of this chapter, because my intention is not only to use these terms but also to explore the relationship between them. I am not interested in the single performance of these terms as stable entities, but rather I am interested in locating and designing these terms according to each other's performance. In this chapter, I shall try to choreograph these terms in order to make a useful theoretic map which can be used to explore Turkish cinema effectively. This chapter discusses three effects of cross-dressing performance making use of these theories.

 Chapter 3 explores ontological security. In the first two chapters, I frame Turkey and mapping the emotions of films and choreograph theory, in order to point out the theoretic position of this thesis, to introduce the selected films and to make a connection between national trauma and their narratives. In this chapter, I shall use these three actions together in order to discuss what kinds of opportunity cross-dressing performances provide for films. In other words, the previous chapter sought to discuss cross-dressing films and this chapter

presents a discussion of cross-dressing *performance* in films. I shall therefore consider the question of how cross-dressing performance and military coups disrupt the system of knowledge which is the source of ontological security in the films.

Going back to Giddens, questions of time, space, continuity and consistency are the actors of the ontological security of identity. It can be claimed that ideologies, systems and any kind of relationship between human beings require ontological security in order to be and work efficiently. Furthermore, they require an agreement about the elements of ontological security without integration. Cross-dressing performance can be accepted as serving both the 'denaturalization' and the 're-idealization' of gender norms (Judith Butler) or misogyny (bell hooks); either way, cross-dressing encourages its audiences to re-think elements of ontological security which are usually accepted unquestioningly. I shall use my choreography of theory from Chapter 2 in order to understand how cross-dressing destroys and re-establishes ontological security. Hence, chapter 3 discuses ontological security in relation to military coups and cross-dressing.

In the chapters which follow, I use the term 'fracturing' to describe the crises and troubles which cross-dressing causes to the idea of ontological security in films. I use different thematic concepts in order to understand the questions asked by the cross-dressing character. Each concept is addressed in a separate (but linked) chapter. Each chapter discusses how cross-dressing performances leave traces and questions behind them and how the roots of discourses can be visible through fractures which are produced by these traces and questions. Furthermore, the fractures which are made by cross-dressing performances in films overlap the fractures made by military coups in the case of Turkey. This overlapping helps us to add new dimensions to the discussion. Each chapter starts with an examination of elements of ontological security and then I shall discuss the value of each element in terms of sociology and/or philosophy. After that, I shall consider how cross-dressing fractures this element after how a military coup destroys it.

In Chapter 4, I discuss masculinity and femininity fracturing. I shall address this question: if gender is a performance what would happen if we change our performance? In order to find an answer, I explore crises of masculinity and femininity according to their periods. My argument is that cross-dressing is used for overcoming crisis of masculinity and femininity

which are caused by military coups in the films. This discussion can help us to understand the relationship between gender discourse and other discourses and how they are affected by military coups as national traumas.

In Chapter 5, I shall discuss language, speech and voice fracturing. Cross-dressing characters also disrupt the relationship between voice and body and between the speaking subject and the listening object. The same body uses different types of voice performance at the same time. It creates soliloquy. The performer speaks with someone else with a 'cross-dressed gender' voice and style and at the same time still gives her/his own reaction to the self, using their biological given voice in a way which creates schizophrenic situations. This paradox is based not only the different voices of woman-man but also the different ways of using language which woman and man have. In male cross-dressing films, the reluctance of male characters to lose their natural voice and speech can be seen in their performance. Many similarities can be found between the male cross-dressing character who does not want to lose his sound and his right to speak, and the citizen who wants to speak but cannot under military rule. Furthermore, cross-dressing characters also ignore the listening object – who listens to them – while they speak to themselves. These moments are lost time for the listening objects. At these moments, the listening object cannot talk, listen or even understand. Speech and sound become a bridge not only between masculinity and femininity but also between a militaristic hegemony which is not willing to listen and a civilian community who cannot be heard. In this chapter, three different but related topics will be discussed: the relationship between body and sound, the differences in language acquisition between men and women, and the fracturing between listening object and speaking subject in relation to three effects of cross-dressing performance.

In Chapters 6, I discuss time and space fracturing. I consider how cross-dressing performance affects linear time and space perception, which is the main source of ontological security and therefore a source of stable identity. Cross-dressing characters always have an opportunity to break down linear time and space perception which creates a fracture of the linear progressive way of understanding. I discuss space/time fracturing under the three headlines: leaving home and playing with past, liminal spaces and multiple nows, and an envisage future. These three headlines shall be combined with the three effects of cross-dressing performance.

In the concluding chapter, I summarise the results of the various case studies and delineate the patterns as well as the complexity of the different cross-dressing films. I shall turn back to the starting point with the answers which the case studies provided to the research question.

PART ONE

Chapter 1: Framing Turkey and Mapping Cross-dressing Films

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of Turkish politics, culture and cinema while making connections between these and the times cross-dressing film productions appeared. I claim that cross-dressing gender performance gives the character who performs cross-dressing three opportunities in a narrative which I call the three effects of cross-dressing performance: being mobile in the map of power relations, being visible but not recognisable and therefore escaping a panoptical social mechanism, and experiencing otherness without being other. These three effects gain a deeper meaning when they are put into the Turkish context because of the genderless Turkish language; the cross-dressing tradition of Ottoman Turkey which was based on a discourse of otherness; and, the meaning of dress as a surveillance tool in Turkish politics, all which are were discussed in the Introduction. I suggest that these three effects fracture the element of ontological security which is a routine, confidence-giving, basic trust system supported by time, space, language and memory. Because of these fractures, cross-dressing films have been popular narratives in times of national trauma in Turkey such as the various military coups which also destroyed ontological security. In this chapter, I shall discuss two specific military coups, one memorandum and the cross-dressing films of these three periods.

The three distinct periods of cross-dressing film production, the 1960s, the 1980s and the 2000s, coincided not only with significant milestones in Turkish political history but also with times of national trauma,[14] in this case, military coups. It can be claimed that a military coup is a site of national trauma which damages ontological security and which is questioned in a different way by what I term the *fractures* created by cross-dressing performance. Although ontological security and the relationship between ontological security, military coups and cross-dressing will be discussed in the chapter 3, a brief introductory discussion here will be helpful. According to Giddens (1991), 'ontological security' refers to one's belief and trust in the order, reality and truth of time, space, memory, others, continuity and coherence. Individuals seek to ensure their stable mental security and prevent anxieties and chaos by

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[14] According to Dominic LaCapra (1998), "traumatic events are man-made historical phenomena such as genocide, war or military coup that may be theorised retrospectively in the conceptual vocabulary of disciplines such as sociology or psychology" (24). It can be claimed that national traumas are fractures in the process of national identity formation.

creating and using routine. Ontological security is the source of the communication between individuals, economies, ideologies and systems. Turning to films, cross-dressing itself is a way of threating ontological security because it is a way of interrogating the 'reality of order', the 'stability of identity' and the 'continuity of systems' in films. The crises which cross-dressing causes in ontological security can be called fractures. Fractures can help to make the roots of identity visible. This is very similar to seeing a tree and its roots together. The tree, like the representation of identity, seems to be linear, progressive, stable and ordered, but the roots, without a central axis, are based on multiplicity, discontinuities and connection points with other things; they are not a tree but they help a tree to be identified as a tree. According to Kiyoteru Tsutsui (2009), the disruptive force of a trauma also demands a rethinking of taken-for-granted notions of subjectivity, collective identity, history, truth, continuity, coherence and routine which are the sources of ontological security, just as cross-dressing can. I therefore suggest that both military coups and cross-dressing gender performance destroy and re-establish ontological security.

It can, however, be argued that the solution which military coups use to re-establish ontological security is pacifying a subject by curtailing many forms of freedom and taking full control of politics, whereas cross-dressing`s solution is re-activating the subject. Within this framework, cross-dressing films provide the subject with the mobility necessary for handling trauma and economic, cultural, and political problems. This mobility gives an opportunity to re-organize and re-structure notions of subjectivity, collective identity, history, truth, continuity and coherence, routine, time and space. Furthermore, it can be claimed that cross-dressing performance provides freedom for the subject to both escape a panoptical society[15] and surveillance, which are created by military coups and at the same time the ability to be visible[16] as an anchor of identity. Cross-dressing films involve and reveal

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[15] "Jeremy Bentham's panopticon was brought to the critical attention of Anglophone sociologists and criminologists through Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*. Originally published in French in 1975 under the title *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*, Foucault introduced Bentham's prison architecture as an exemplar of the shift in mechanisms of social control. The proposed panopticon was composed of an annular building circling a tower. The peripheral building is divided into cells for the inmates, which have a window facing out of the building and another facing the tower such that the backlighting effect would allow anyone within the tower to see all the inmates. On the other hand, the tower was designed in such a way that one could not tell whether it was occupied. The result of this architecture was 'to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects'" (Foucault 1995: 201 cited in Caluya 2010:622). This architecture can help us to understand modern forms of societal control systems. For example, CCTV cameras, hospitals, school registers, new social media vehicles, family systems and our social relations work like the tower of the prison architecture in order to fabricate bodies and create docile, useful and productive bodies. External surveillance is transformed into internal by means of the idea of the panopticon.

[16] Not only gender but also all kinds of identity are "not being but doing" (Butler 2006). However, all doing also includes showing. Therefore, our identities require being visible in order to be articulated.

components which destroy the idea of homogenous society, culture and identity by using the idea of the gendered body in unfamiliar ways. It can therefore be claimed that cross-dressing films show how strategies and tactics for managing social anxiety are fundamentally gendered. I shall argue that cross-dressing is a way of diverting and tricking the power which enables us to speak by using our bodies.

The overlap between military coups and cross-dressing film productions in Turkey gives an opportunity to discuss cross-dressing, although this is not an issue which is related only to gendered performance. In order to discuss cross-dressing in a wider perspective, I contend that there is a relationship between Turkish politics and cross-dressing performance in Turkish films. I discuss the 1960 and 1980 military coups and the 2007 military memorandum[17] and their effects on cultural life in order to understand the main tensions of the periods and the contexts which they provided for cross-dressing performance. However, in order to understand Turkish politics and culture, the significance of the modernization process should be considered before turning to the effects of military coups. After that, the cinema of the three periods will be analysed to show the kinds of textual landscape in which cross-dressing films were located in order to understand the relationship between the texts. Gender movements and discussions of the periods will be considered next in order to understand how the gender discourses of the periods intersected with the other discourses. This chapter therefore represents a stage which is framed by the three selected military coups where the choreography of theory which is outlined in the next chapter and the case studies which will be outlined the subsequent chapters meet.

Also in this chapter, the visibility of authority and the freedom of particular periods in terms of class, gender and religion will be discussed with regard to five of the most popular cross-dressing films of their periods, whose stars and directors are important figures in Turkish cinema. This chapter also aims to locate the selected five cross-dressing films in Turkish politics and will also introduce the case study films. Before mapping the emotional geography of the selected films, however, other cross-dressing films of the periods should be discussed in terms of the kinds of journey provided by cross-dressing in their periods. I prefer to use the verb 'mapping' because "maps are not only representations of the world,

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[17] There were two more military ultimatums in 1971 and 1997. However, their effects were limited and did not spread throughout society.

they also have the ability to change the way we think about and act upon places depicted in those maps" (Dodge *et al*. 2009: 27). Furthermore, maps not only make visible the relationships between a place and its surroundings but also help us to describe a place according to these relationships. It can therefore be claimed that maps also have a performative function. On the other hand, mapping as an action includes power over the space. Mapping a space implies not only capturing and possessing the space, but also attributing value to it. These points all reflect what I want to do with the films. The cross-dressing films of the chosen periods of the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s will be introduced briefly after a discussion of the military coups. The questions addressed in this chapter will be 'where', 'when' and 'which' cross-dressing films show up.

1.1: Modernisation as a Cross-dressing Performance

The modernization process and its underpinning tension can be seen at work in all kinds of social relations, desires and anxieties and are central to Turkish political and cultural life. It can be claimed that the Turkish national identity was structured in the tension between being modern/western and being traditional/eastern, so understanding the effects of Turkish modernization on society and culture is vital for understanding the possible alternative readings of cross-dressing performance which are particular to Turkish society. I shall discuss gender and Turkey's modernization processes in order to establish the connections between cross-dressing, modernization and the coups.

The Ottoman Empire collapsed after the First World War and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk established the westernized and modernized Turkish Republic in 1923. According to Yeşim Arat (2000), Kemalist ideology was based on three main premises: western as well as modern, rejecting the Ottoman heritage, and legitimizing their modernization project with reference to the pre-Islamic Turkish past. The unique and important characteristic of Turkey's modernization which makes it different from western examples is that it is a state-centred project (Aktar 1993; Ercan 1996; İnsel 1996: 2002; Mardin 2000; Sarıbay 1982; Tarih Vakfı 1998; 1999a). In Turkey, the modernization politics aimed to create a modern state as dominant over society instead of transforming the citizens into modern subject/citizens (Can 1998; Durgun 1997; Keyman & İçduygu 1998; Nişancı 2001; Öğün 1995). Furthermore,

"Turkey is the only Muslim country adopting secularism as the fundamental principle of the modernization project" (Özsoy 2009; 1927). Controlling the position, visibility, and appearance of women in society was regarded as the best way to show the secular, modern and western tendency of the modernisation. (Göle 1996; Kandiyoti 1987)

During Turkey's modernization period, women were a crucial part of the process. The legal emancipation of Turkish women constituted the vehicle for the modernisation (Arat 1997; Durakbaşa 1999; Göle 1996; Kandiyoti 1987). This is not surprising and it is not specific to Turkish Kemalist modernisation because, according to Nira Yuval-Davis (1997: 2), "it is women, the bureaucracy, and the intelligentsia who reproduce nations, biologically, culturally and symbolically." "At the same time, discourse and struggles around the issues of 'women's emancipation' or 'women following tradition' (as have been expressed in various campaigns for and against women's veiling, voting, education and employment) have been at the centre of modernist and anti-modernist nationalist struggles" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 23). The emancipation of Turkish women was the centre of Kemalist modernisation, in fact, it was characterised under the term of 'state-feminism' .The most important date for the emancipation of Turkish women was the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code on 4 October 1926. By means of adopting this law on western private life, women`s position in family life was reorganized. This law made polygamy illegal, gave the right of divorce to women as to men, made civil marriage obligatory, and removed any difference between men and women in terms of inheritance (Lewis, 1962). On the other hand, the Swiss Civil Code did not allow absolute equality between husband and wife: the husband was still the head of the family (Arat, 1997). The turban and the fez were outlawed by the Hat Law and Dress Revolution in 1925 (this will be described in detail below). In 1930, women gained the right to vote before most European countries had introduced it (Lewis, 1962). In 1914, women started to study at universities and in 1934, the first woman judge was appointed (Durakbaşa 1999). The image of the new woman of modern Turkey can be summarised as an educated, professional woman in the work-place, a socially active woman as a member of social clubs, a biologically reproductive woman in the family as a mother and wife, and a feminine woman entertaining men at balls and parties. The duties of modern Turkish women, according to Ataturk, were raising the next generation and being the source and social foundation of the nation (Arat 1997; Durakbaşa 1999; Göle 1996; Kandiyoti 1987). This is referred to as 'state feminism'. As

a result, it can be said that the Turkish modernisation/westernisation sought to create emancipated woman citizens who would be the window through which one can see Turkish modernization. Carole Pateman (1988) described this process as the transformation of traditional patriarchy to civil patriarchy, thus emphasising that civil society and citizenship are also patriarchal masculine notions and norms. So, clothing and styles of dressing served as modernist sites where the battle of conflicting ideologies took place.

Jenny B. White (2003: 149) stated that "Dress became a cornerstone of Turkey`s modernist transformation. In 1925, Ataturk travelled around the country to introduce 'civilized dress' to the people. Headgear had been sign of status and distinction during Ottoman times, the different types demonstrating rank, profession and sex". Modernisation transformed bodies into the essence and symbols of nation by using clothing. Traditional and Islamic ways of dressing were forbidden in the public sphere. According to Kaya Genç, "The world`s first hat revolution took place in Turkey in 1925. On November 25 of that year, the parliament passed a law that made it mandatory for all men to wear Western-style hats in public places; all civil servants had to wear them, and no other type of hat would be allowed. Those who went hatless would be left alone, but if one wanted to wear a hat then one had to either wear the proposed model (and not the traditional turban or fez) or face the consequences, which could be as severe as the death penalty" (2013: 1). This 'Hat and Dress Revolution` initiated by Ataturk produced protests in many cities and many people were arrested. Severe and criminal sanctions were used to implement the new codes of dress, transforming dressing and the body into objects of surveillance. As can be seen easily in records of the period, the Turkish Kemalist modernization process which was based on the appearance of citizens did not take long: in a very short time, Turkish citizens were transformed from Figure 1.1 to Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.1: Ottoman women   **Figure 1.2: Republican women gathered**

                                        around Mustafa Kemal at a ball

So it can be claimed that Turkish citizens actually *wore modernisation*. If cross-dressing is accepted as a journey in the uncertain space between two poles of a binary which can be visualized by dressing, then Turkish modernisation might be called a form of cross-dressing which operates across traditional to modern. Turkish national identity was formed in the fracture between traditional/east and modern/west as *both* traditional and modern and *neither* traditional nor modern. In this fracture between modern and tradition, these terms – west/east and modern/traditional – emancipate their binary opposite and produce new meaning for Turkey's national identity. Joseph R.Gusfield (1967) suggested that traditional society is not a stable and distant society like a binary opposite of modern society (unlike the claims of classic modernisation theory which allow us to think about modernisation as a linear symmetric phenomenon independent from historical and geographical concepts), but that traditions are invented according to the requirements of the modern world in order to legitimate modern discourses.[18] In other words, traditional and modern society exist simultaneously and produce a hybrid society. Modern society brings an idea of the future; traditional society brings an idea of past in this relationship. To this extent, the term 'non-western modernisation' indicates an impossible aim. It can be argued that modernisation can be considered as a level which was structured by the west in order to determine 'other' as a position. In order to deepen the discussion on this point, Immanuel Kant`s argument about time experience in the spatial sense can be used. The relationship between developed countries, developing countries and underdeveloped countries is very similar to Kant's theory of the relationship between nearing, nearness and near-hood (*nahheit*) (cited in Heidegger 1972: 15). A brief summary of near-hood is as follows: there is one point in linear time and your position is measured from this specific point. By your actions, you became near to or distant from a specific point in stratified time. In addition, this specific point changes its position according to your position. Turning back to the discussion about modernisation, it can be claimed that the specific point is the measured level of modernisation. The level which the west has reached historically is regarded as the criterion

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[18] For example, some intellectuals of the republic such as Ziya Gökalp tried to rewrite the history of pre-Islamic Turks in central Asia according to the requirements of the new modern Turkey. He argued that women had been considered equal to men among pre-Islamic Turks in central Asia, unlike during the Islamic Ottoman period. According to Gökalp,(1968:147) "Old Turks were both democratic and feminist … In every business meeting woman and man had to be present together". The Islamic tradition as practised by the Ottomans was accepted as the reason for excluding women and the new citizens of the Kemalist ideology were structured as the opposite of Ottoman citizens, although they were the same. According to Gökalp, democracy and feminism were the basis of ancient Turkish life, which was postponed during Ottoman Empire. The endeavours of Ziya Gökalp can be accepted as 'presentism', which is a kind of historical writing which approaches the past using the concepts and concerns of the present.

for modernity. Non-western countries are considered modern or 'primitive' and undeveloped based on their closeness to or remoteness from this level. However, this level constantly changes its position. Therefore, modernisation for non-western nations is an endless process and a marker of the differences between the west and the non-west. The national identity of a modern state in non-western countries is structured by the tension between west and east. In Turkish modernisation, however, this tension is visualized by dressing, if Indian or African countries' modernisation is taken into consideration. Turkey is particular with respect to modernisation discourse by using dress. It can therefore be claimed that Turkish modernization is a kind of fictional and imaginary formation.[19]

In order to discuss the differences between western and eastern modernisation, the view of Charles Baudelaire, who can be accepted as the voice of the western modernist aesthetic, might be useful. Baudelaire described modernisation in his essay `The Painter of Modern Life` (1860). He stated that modernisation inspires and produces the modernisation of the citizen`s soul as well. Not only cities, fashions and pastoral visions but also identity is thus not only changed but also produced by modernisation. Baudelaire's argument might be applicable for the western type of modernisation. On the other hand, it can be claimed that the Turkish modernisation process created a modernist state without making modern individuals of its citizens. Reşat Kasaba (1998: 30) stated that Kemalist leaders took modernisation to mean clean streets and cities, the modern appearance of citizens, and the type and style of institutions which matched western examples. The answer to why the modernisation process in non-western countries produces a modern state rather than modern individuals would be the Enlightenment, which was experienced by western countries but not by non-western countries. "The conception of universal individualism and modern human rights first appeared in the Enlightenment, was religiously founded by John Locke (1695), metaphysically/ethically founded by Kant (1781), economically founded as the source of the wealth of nations by Adam Smith (1776)" (Izenberg 2011: 124). So the modernisation process of non-western countries without experience of the Enlightenment gives more attention to the state than to its citizens. So because the modernisation of

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[19] Here, the discussion might be advanced by using Benedict Anderson`s (1983) term `imagined communities`. According to Anderson (1983), a nation is a cultural artefact and an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (4-6). "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner 200: 196). Therefore, not only Turkish modernization but also Turkey itself as a nation is imaginary and fictional.

Turkey was a top-down imposition and because of its unsuccessful endeavours to create modern citizens, "the republican leaders were realistic enough to recognize that a strong and loyal Army was vital if the young republic was to endure" (Demirel 2004: 129), and they "saw armed forces as the main pillar of the new regime. However, they were also quite aware of the fact that the military's entanglement in politics worked against both unity and discipline in the military"(Ahmad, 1969: 47, 55). That is why "after Mustafa Kemal came to power in 1923, one of his primary goals was to isolate the military command from direct involvement in partisan politics" (Lerner & Robinson 1960: 26).

As an instance of non-western modernisation,[20] Turkish modernisation delineates the distinction between the west and the east. Therefore, the national identity of Turkey as an example of non-western modernisation can be articulated in between the two, and it constantly carries the tension of being in-between. In this journey of national identity between west and east, the military is a persistent presence. When military coups are discussed, this modernisation process should also be considered. Discussions around military coups cannot be divorced from discussions around modernisation. Furthermore, there are some similarities which can be found between gendered Turkish modernization experiences and the idea of cross-dressing as a journey between binary poles. The brief history of Turkish traumas should start with the Kemalist modernisation project because it can be accepted as the first traumatic development of modern Turkey`s history. If there had been a national cinema at that time, I am quite sure that cross-dressing films would have been popular narratives of the time. Furthermore, it can be claimed that each military coup in Turkey involved the tension of modernisation. The main source of the love/hate relationship between the military and politics in Turkey can be found in this Kemalist modernisation

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[20] It is not the aim of this study to generalize non-western modernization. There are many differences and similarities between them. For example, Indian modernization can be accepted as a "modernisation without westernization" (Chittar 2005: 511) when its social structure and economic action are taken into consideration. Its modernization sought to protect its heritage. According to Atreyee Gupta (2013), promise of Indian modernization as a post-colonial modernization was based on equality, progress and protecting its citizens from poverty. Turning to African countries' development and Saharan Africa modernization, non-western modernization examples such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe were shaped according to ethnic traits (Michologolous & Popionnou 2012: 32). Turkish modernization – unlike Indian modernization – was based on rejecting the Ottoman heritage and – unlike African countries – rejecting ethnicity and creating a new identity positioned beyond ethnicities and heritages. Briefly, being a Turk as a national identity is a state project. On the other hand, the way in which modernization went is not an issue: it is always a way of expressing the distinction between west and east because modernization forces countries to reach a level where the western has already reached. Turkey is the best example of this situation.

process and its tensions. After this introduction, military coups as eras when the production of cross-dressing films increased can now be discussed.

1.2: The 1960s: Following in the Footsteps of Kemalism

In this section, I shall discuss the 1960 military coup and its effects on cultural life and on the cinema industry in relation to the modernisation/westernisation process. Understanding the 1960 military coup is vital for finding a way to discover possible answers to the question of why the number of cross-dressing films increased in the 1960s. Furthermore, understanding the desires and anxieties which were produced by the 1960 military coup might help in understanding how cross-dressing works in films as well as the kinds of need which might be satisfied by cross-dressing films. In order to address this aim, first the politics of the 1960 military coup and then the cinema of the period will be discussed in order to identify parallels between the political events and cross-dressing films.

The 1960 military coup took place after an attempt by the multi-party system at democratisation in Turkey to suppress the conservative inclination of the Democrat Party government of Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar. It took a year, and in 1961 elections were held in order to return to the rule of a civilian government. During 1960 and the post-1960 period, Turkey witnessed political pluralism and the emergence of new and ideologically distinct oppositional political groups.

In 1950, the Democrat Party (DP) had won the election with 53% of the vote and gained a majority in parliament. As soon as the new government was established, its first act was to change the system of assignment and reassignment in staffing. Through staffing, the new government sought to take the Kemalist power of the military and the Kemalist intelligentsia under control. After that, the language of the constitution was changed. This change was understood as a challenge to the language revolution created by Ataturk. The *dervis* lodges and Islamic associations which had been closed by Ataturk were re-opened. Although its politics were considered anti-Kemalist by some groups, the DP again won the 1957 election. The Menderes/Bayar government, which had increased its self–confidence after the second election victory, instituted the 'Inquest Commission' (*Tahkikat Komisyonu*, 1960) in order to suppress the oppositional press and groups. When an economic crisis and black market trade added to the anti-democratic and anti-Kemalist politics of the Menderes/Bayar

government, the military interfered in the country's governance on 27 May 1960 (Avcıoğlu 1996; Daldal 2005; Kongar 2000; Özdemir 2002). Briefly, therefore, anti-Kemalist politics, anti-democratic implications and an economic crisis can be accepted as reasons for the 1960 military coup (Ahmad 1977).

Studies of Turkish politics have presented different arguments about this period. According to Çağlar Keyder (1987), the 1960 military coup was a symbol of bourgeois progressivism and was undertaken in order to develop industrial capitalism as the next level of the modernisation process. According to Sina Akşın (2004), the coup enhanced Kemalist ideology in modern Turkey. According to Emre Kongar (2000), the reason for the military coup was based on the tension between a statist elite who were Kemalist and supported the westernisation process and lived in Istanbul, and traditional liberals such as land barons and provincial notables who lived in Anatolia. According to Keyder (1987), the roots of this tension were grounded in *Tanzimat* (1839-76), earlier attempts at modernization and westernization in the late Ottoman period. This movement of the Young Ottomans[21] was a kind of synthesis between western notions of 'progress' and a harmonious Islamic state. However, their attempts could reach only an urban, upper-class minority. After this first attempt, Kemalist Modern Turkey took its place on the stage of history as an example of a country whose citizens directly faced the effects of modernisation. The 1960 military coup was based on the tension and oscillation of Turkish national identity from west to east and *vice versa*.

After the 1960 coup, the first election took place in 1961 with a new constitution under the military rule. The 1961 constitution was intended to produce a new working class in order to develop industrial capitalism (Kongar 2000). Internal migration began from rural areas to big cities, from farms to factories during this period. The 1960s was the period when the faces of the inhabitants and the voices of the city began to change. In order to develop a new working class, the new constitution allowed unionization, and this led to improving all leftist organizations (Daldal 2005). Workers' fundamental rights and liberties were guaranteed by

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[21] 'The 'Young Ottomans', a group of modern-educated officers and bureaucrats, organized a constitutional revolution to modernize and strengthen state and society on the basis of a positivist and increasingly nationalist set of ideas (Zürcher 1992: 3). Most of them were educated in France and were affected by French literature and art. A French ethos therefore influenced Turkish modern art. For example, speaking French was accepted as a way of being modern. The character of the French babysitter and teacher who worked in *Yali* (the houses of the rich Ottoman aristocratic class) became an important figure for *Tanzimat* literature (*see* Parla 1990).

the new constitution. Moreover, the new constitution supported artistic and cultural life financially and established an `independent art budget commission' (Avcıoğlu 1996; Daldal 2005; Kongar 2000; Özdemir 2002). Although all these attempts can be considered democratic, the military coups oppressed opposition groups and the return of the repression in 1980 was very brutal; this will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Now, the effects of the 1960 coup in terms of the cinema industry will be discussed in order to identify the kind of cinematic universe in which the cross-dressing films were situated.

1.2.1: Cross-dressing films in the 1960s

The 1961 constitution and the advantages which it provided also influenced the cinema of the period. Popular cinema had its heyday during the 1960s and the early 1970s in terms of the number of productions. The popular cinema of this period is called '*Yeşilçam* Cinema', named after the street in Istanbul where the film production companies were located. Internal migration and the new city-dwellers affected the demand for cinema and during these golden years, 200 films were produced every year (Büker 2002). Not only was the domestic market interested in these films, but they were also exported to other Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Iraq and Egypt (Erdoğan 1998). Although melodrama and comedy were still the prominent genres of Yeşilçam cinema, socially realistic films were the key genre to describe the cinema of the period. The films dealing with social issues of the period such as internal migration, workers' rights, and feudal relations can be accepted as outcomes of the 1960 military coup and the 1961 constitution. According to Daldal (2005), the lives of ordinary people against a background of major social events with a Marxist approach were the popular narratives of the period. In addition to socially realistic cinema, national cinema was discussed by Halit Refiğ (1965) who stated that the cinema of Turkey was structured by the demands of the audience without state support or private capital. Hence, for Refiğ (1965), national cinema should be socially realistic but without Marxist and leftist tendencies, and should produce home-grown perspectives and narratives. At the same time came the idea of '*milli cinema*' discussed by Mesut Uçakan in 1965. Uçakan was accepted as a neo- Ottomanist and his solution for the social anxieties of period was based on not only national identity but also Islamic identity through Ottoman culture. As can be understood from these discussions, the theory of Turkish cinema was beginning to be discussed during this period. Turkish cinema theorists began to gather around film

magazines and journals such as *Sinema, Yıldız, Sinema-Tiyatro, Si-Sa, Yeni Sinema* and *Sine-film*. After magazines and journals, cinema workers and theorists began to establish associations. The other distinctive feature of the period was the emergence of auteur cinema. Lütfi Akad, Metin Erksan, Atıf Yılmaz, Memduh Ün, Halit Refiğ and Yılmaz Güney were among the outstanding directors of the period. According to Nilgün Abisel (1995), auteur cinema was trying to find a self-image of national identity which was structured by anxiety about the modernization process. There was also another type of film which was far from the period`s main tendency towards socially realistic cinema: cross-dressing films.

The 1960s was a period when the number of cross-dressing film productions was much higher than during other military coup periods. The absence of an LGBT movement and the domination of heterosexual state feminism can be considered as reasons for this abundance of cross-dressing films. The complex traditions of cross-dressing and same-sex relations of Ottoman culture were rejected by the modern Turkish republic and their space was left empty until the LGBT movement took hold in the 1990s. It can be claimed that this emptiness was filled by cross-dressing films. Furthermore, the distinctive feature of this period`s cross-dressing films was the number of female-to-male cross-dressing films in comparison with other periods such as the 1980s and 2000s. In order to address the relationship between military coups and cross-dressing more efficiently, the other two military coups should be discussed. First, however, I shall look at the period`s cross-dressing films more deeply.

After the first cross-dressing film, *Leblebici Horhor* (1923), the first tomboy character as a female-to-male cross-dresser appeared in *Fosforlu Cevriye* (1959) and was played by Neriman Köksal; the film was directed by Aydın Arakon and adapted from a novel written by Suat Derviş. The heroine is a homeless, poor girl who wants to find a real murderer in order to save her sister who is accused of being the killer. She fights like a man; uses slang words and wears men's clothes. In order to survive on the streets and hold on to life, she needs to look like a man and she pretends to be a man. In this film, gendered identity is visualised by using the relationship between bodies and places. Bodies and places exchange their meanings: in other words, they give their meanings to each other. Fosforlu Cevriye transforms into a man, not only by using clothes but also by using places, because her place is not the home but the street. She destroys the traditional place perception by using cross-

dressing. Cross-dressing performance allows her to use place in her own way. By means of cross-dressing, she gains mobility and fluidity between places. As Henri Lefebvre (1974) wrote, space has been discussed as a fundamental source of social power. Ideological and political power depends on one's ability to transform and control the space and time where the social relations are located. It can be claimed that Fosforlu Cevriye, as a cross-dressing character, destroys the control of power over space. Furthermore, it can be claimed that *Fosforlu Cevriye* as a film re-identifies the city for its new inhabitants who migrated from rural areas to big cities as a result of 1960s politics which sought to enhance industry and create a new working class. The back streets of the city, police stations, pothouses and brothels are not only labelled but also gendered by film. However, Fosforlu Cevriye as a female-to-male cross-dresser is the only one who can experience all of the gendered and labelled places by means of the cross-dressing effect of being visible but not recognisable. If she is recognised as a female, she cannot experience all these spaces.

Figure 1.3: *Fosforlu Cevriye* **film poster - 1959**   **Figure 1.4:** *Gece Kuşu* **film poster - 1960**

In *Fosforlu Cevriye*, cross-dressing gives an opportunity to be mobile through places, whereas *Gece Kuşu* (1960) gives its cross-dressing character an opportunity to be mobile through time. In *Gece Kuşu* (directed by Hulki Saner), Nesrin (played by Belgin Doruk) is the daughter of a rich factory owner, whereas Ali (played by Eşref Kolçak) is a poor young man. In Nesrin`s house, family and friends speak a mixture of French and Turkish[22] and they listen to western classical music. On the other hand, Ali listens to traditional Anatolian music and uses slang and market language. He is a fighter and aggressive. Nesrin falls in love with Ali. Their love is a kind of love between west and east and between modernity and tradition. Ali, who is the symbol of the east and tradition, is an unpredictable partner for Nesrin, who is

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[22] As already explained, the French language has been accepted as a sound of modernisation since *Tanzimat* in Turkey.

the symbol of the west. This understanding of west and east belongs to the cultural politics of the 1960s and it will change by the 1980s, so I shall discuss this new understanding in the next section. In *Gece Kuşu,* in order to understand what her lover Ali does at night, Nesrin masquerades as a man and follows his night-time life. She lives as a woman during the day and becomes Ali's lover and as a man at night and becomes his friend. She gives herself a new name, *Gece Kuşu* ('Night Bird'). Nesrin as a cross-dresser destroys gendered time perception and becomes a mobile agency between gendered times by means of cross-dressing. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1977), time and space are special apparatuses for the coding, transforming and reproducing of social relations. Both Fosforlu Cevriye and Nesrin gain the ability to re-organize and re-produce time and space according to their needs by means of cross-dressing. Power has lost its control over time and space in these films and both women can escape the surveillance mechanism.

Figure 1.5: *Aslan Yavrusu* **film poster – 1960**

In *Aslan Yavrusu* (1960) (directed by Hulki Saner), a cross-dressing character gains mobility between classes. Although she is a woman, Neco Hanım (played by Leyla Sayer) pretends to be a man in order to work in the male-dominated rural fishery industry. Adnan (played by Orhan Günşıray) is a famous novel writer in Istanbul. A friend accuses him of creating unrealistic women characters in his novels. So he makes a bet with his friend about Neco Hanım during a holiday in the countryside. He claims that he can transform Neco Hanım into a woman whom the high society of Istanbul will admire like the women in his novels. In this

film, cross-dressing is not the solution to the tension of the film, not like it is in the beginning. Her gendered cross-dressing at the beginning of the film transforms into class cross-dressing at the end of the film. However, class and gender cross-dressing performances share many of the same characteristics and feature "a pleasure in performance, a fear of discovery, the desire to escape limits and experience a freedom denied to the 'ordinary' woman" (Tasker 1998: 40).

In *Belalı Torun* (1962) (directed by Memduh Ün), cross-dressing gives mobility to a character through family relations and generations. A grandfather (played by Hulusi Kentmen) wants to have a grandson, which is a very traditional wish; however, he does not have one, and his granddaughter (played by Fatma Girik) has to pretend to be a boy (as seen in Figures 1.7 and 1.8), which is very modern. In this film, the granddaughter Belalı Torun gains access to an inheritance and the rights of family representation by means of cross-dressing. Family and kinship can be accepted as a symbol of normative identities and relations. Family can be considered as either an institution (Foucault 1990) or an ideological state apparatus (Althusser 1970), where not only labour power but also agreement and acceptance of power relations have been reproduced. Belalı Torun as a cross-dressing character fractures the idea of family and uses family relations as a space in which power is destroyed by its own weapon. Briefly, by means of cross-dressing, Belalı Torun gains the sovereign power of fathers and husbands for herself. Victor Turner (2004:38) suggested that "every society is confronted by four tasks: the reproduction of populations in time, the regulation of bodies in space, the restraint of the interior body through discipline and the representation of the exterior body in social space and time". Cross-dressing characters in all of these films destroy the tasks which confront society. This film also differs from other female cross-dressing films because in this film the cross-dressing character completely transforms into a man. All other characters think that she is male. However, in *Fosforlu Cevriye* and *Gece Kuşu*, the other characters know that they are women because they still wear some women's clothes and accessories. Their performance rather than their costume makes the cross-dressers men in *Fosforlu Cevriye* and *Gece Kuşu*.
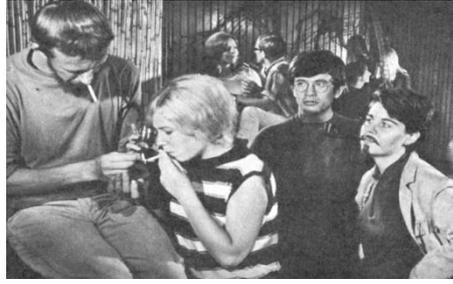
Figures 1.7 and 1.8: Fatma Girik In *Belalı Torun*

As already discussed, the modernization process forced women to be seen in the public sphere as a symbol of the modern state. These female-to-male cross-dressing films which were produced in the 1960s taught women how to be a modern woman in the public sphere. On the other hand, however, cross-dressing performances usually require an alternative reading, as the cross-dressing performance itself asks a question of the system of knowledge and the idea of categorization. The presence of a woman in the public sphere was under surveillance by means of the aims of modernisation. It can be claimed that cross-dressing performance provides a chance for a woman character to be mobile and to create her way of re-connecting the sources of ontological security – such as time, space, continuity and coherent routine – which were threatened by either modernisation or military coups in these female cross-dressing films. In these films, the cross-dressing women characters are free to experience themselves because of the cross-dressing against the surveillance of modernisation.

Turning to male-to-female cross-dressing films, *Efkarlıyım Arkadaş* (1966) (directed by Türker İnanoğlu) attracts attention by involving three different forms of cross-dressing: gender cross-dressing, class cross-dressing and modern/traditional cross-dressing. This film reminds us of Marjorie Garber's (1992) point about the inseparability of gender dress codes from other dress codes such as race, class and ethnicity. Although she is a rich novel writer, Fatoş (played by Filiz Akın) pretends to be a poor girl in order to find a topic for her new novel about poverty. She comes across Gönlübol (played by Sadri Alışık), a poor young man, and they begin working together in a band. Then they fall in love. When she finishes her novel, she returns to her rich life. Gönlübol, who cannot understand what is going on, masquerades as a modern blonde woman (being blonde is accepted as being western and modern in Turkish culture) and goes to Fatoş's house. Fatoş's grandfather, however, falls in love with Gönlübol (as shown in Figure 1.9) and proposes to 'her'. In this film, how class and

modernity are gendered and how they intersect with each other can be read by means of cross-dressing.

Figure 1.9: Sadri Alışık in *Efkarlıyım Arkadaş*: Hulisi Kentman as Fatoş's grandfather tries to seduce Sadri Alışık as Gönlübol

In addition to these films, there are several examples in which the cross-dressing character can be seen as a supporting motif. For example in *Avant Kemal* (1968), Fikret Hakan masquerades as a woman in order to be close to his lover. In *Beş Ateşli Kadın* (1968), Cüneyt Arkın masquerades as a woman in order to arrest a group of women who are laundering illicit money. In *Kibar Haydut (1966)*, Yılmaz Guney masquerades as a woman in order to help his lover. As can be seen from these examples, the 1960s cross-dressing films described space, time, class and so on by using the tension between west/modern and east/traditional which was also the tension behind the 1960 coup. Moreover, cross-dressing films provided mobility between these terms, unlike the military coup. It can also be claimed that the cross-dressing films of the 1960s described the big city with its specific time, space and class to its new inhabitants who were encouraged to immigrate by the 1960 coup, and its aim to create a new working class.

I chose two films which belong to the 1960s political, cultural and cinematic environment for this study: *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah (1964)* and *Şoför Nebahat (1960*). *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* was adapted from the western cross-dressing film *Some Like it Hot* (1959). This adaptation from western cinema (Hollywood) makes it valuable for discussing not only questions about what kinds of difference can be found between western and eastern representations of cross-

dressing, but also how cross-dressing fractures the idea of the gendered westernization/modernization process of Turkey. Furthermore, *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* can be used as a source in order to understand Turkification[23] strategies. *Şoför Nebahat* (1960) became a very popular narrative in Turkish cinema so it was extended into a series and many *Şoför Nebahat* films were made. It was chosen for this current study because of its popularity. I shall now relate the stories of these two films in greater detail.

Figure 1.10: Sadri Alışık and İzzet Günay in
Fıstık Gibi Maşallah **-1964**

Figure 1.11: Sezer Sezin in
Şoför Nebehat - 1960

Fıstık Gibi Maşallah, directed by Hulki Saner, was an outcome of the 1960s cultural and political environment described in the Introduction. A pair of out-of-work musicians and comedians (Naci, played by İzzet Günay, is handsome and a womanizer, on the other hand, Fikri, played by Sadri Alışık, is a comic and responsible member of the group called 'Wasps' (*Eşek Arıları*) who accidently witness a mob killing are obliged by poverty and self-preservation to disguise themselves as women in order to get jobs with an all-female band about to leave Istanbul. The soloist of the band, which is called 'Blue Butterflies' (*Mavi Kelebekler*), is Gülten (played by Türkan Şoray) and she is seeking a rich husband to marry. Although Gülten believes/knows that Naciye[24] is a *woman*, Naci falls in love with her. Naci has to play three different characters in the film, Naci as himself, Naciye as a woman in the band, and Kemal, a rich yacht-owner, in order to win Gülten. On the other hand, a real rich old man falls in love with Fikriye without knowing that she is a man. At the same time, the killers are seeking the two men who witnessed the mob killing. These mixed relationships

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[23] According to Savaş Arslan (2011:18) "Turkification is not only as a translation and transformation of the west through *Yesilcam*`s own terms and terminology but also as a practice of nationalization. Turkification may be thought of as a process of coexistence between the west and the east, with various failures, novelties and aggression.

[24] In Turkish, male names can be transformed into female names by using a suffix. For example 'Naci' and 'Fikri' are the male names whereas 'Naciye' and 'Fikriye' are female names.

between the characters create comedy which takes place between knowing, unknowing and misunderstandings. Furthermore, comedy underlies the journey from being a *wasp* to being a *butterfly.*

The female-to-male cross-dressing film of this period which will be discussed in this study is *Şoför Nebahat* ('Driver Nebahat and her Daughter'), made in 1964 by Sürreya Duru. After her father dies, Nebahat (played by Sezer Sezin) has to be a driver like him; in order to survive in a man's world she pretends to be a man. She is a divorced woman with a teenage daughter Hülya (played by Filiz Akın). Although everyone knows that Nebahat is a woman, Nebahat prefers to dress like a man. She behaves like a man. The main question underlying this situation is that if everyone knows that Nebahat is a woman, why does everyone behave as if she is a man? Briefly, it can be said that performance determines gender. No matter what an individual's biological sex, if a person acts like a man, everyone accepts that the person is in the frame of masculinity.

1.3: The 1980s: Neo-liberal Transformation

After the 1960s, cross-dressing film production stopped until the 1980s. Then, after the 1980 military coup, cross-dressing characters showed up again in Turkish cinema. Therefore, the 1980 military coup and its effect will be discussed in this section. This discussion can also help us to understand changes in cross-dressing performance over two decades. First, the politics of the 1980 coup will be explained and then the cinema of the period and the growing women's movement will be discussed, and finally the cross-dressing films of the period will be introduced.

The army intervened in politics on 12 September 1980 when General Kenan Evren, the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, led the military against the government of Süleyman Demirel. The army saw the reason for the 1980 military coup as being domestic disorder. The summer of 1980 was a chaotic time in Turkey. Political violence between left and right increased in the big cities and spread through rural areas. The work of parliament almost came to a standstill. Many writers and journalists were assassinated. As a result, in the early hours of 12 September 1980, the armed forces seized control of the country.

All political activities were banned and leaders were arrested. The activities of labour unions, the press, universities and voluntary institutions were restricted with the explicit aim of depoliticizing the polity. The Turkish parliament was closed by the army. All diplomatic immunities were invalidated. The Constitution was temporarily suspended (Arcayürek 1986; Boratav 2000; Kongar 2000). Fundamental rights and liberties were ignored and many people were arrested without judgment and tortured.[25] *'YÖK'* (the Council of Higher Education) was established in order to take control of the universities and the academic world. The process of de-politicization undermined the traditional left and right. The 'emptiness' of political life led to an increase in identity politics such as ethnicity, religion, and gender (Arcayürek 1986; Boratav 2000; Kongar 2000).

Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri bu saba ha karşı yayınladığı bir bildiriyle ülke yönetimine el koyduğunu açıklamıştır. Genelkurmay ve Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Başkanı Kenan Evren imzasıyla yayınlanan bildiride şöyle denilmektedir:

«Yüce Türk milleti. Büyük Atatürk'ün bize emanet ettiği, ülkesi ve milleti ile bölünmez olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devleti son yıllarda izlediğiniz gibi iç ve dış düşmanların tahriki ile varlığına rejimine ve bağımsızlığına yönelik fikri ve fiziki haince saldırılar içindedir. Devlet başlıca organlarıyla işlemez duruma getirilmiş, anayasal kuruluşlar tezat veya suskunluğa bürünmüş, siyasi partiler kısır çekişmeler ve uzlaşmaz tutumlarıyla devleti kurtaracak birlik ve beraberliği sağlayamamışlar ve lüzumlu tedbirleri almamışlardır. Böylece yıkıcı ve bölücü mihraklar faaliyetlerini alabildiğine artırmışlar ve vatandaşların can ve mal güvenliği tehlikeye düşürülmüştür. Atatürkçülük yerine irtica ve diğer sapık ideolojik fikirler üretilerek sistemli bir şekilde ve haince ilkokullardan üniversitelere kadar eğitim kuruluşları, idare sistemi, yargı organları, iç güvenlik teşkilatı, işçi kuruluşları, siyasi partiler ve nihayet yurdumuzun en masum köşelerindeki yurttaşlarımız dahi saldırı ve baskı altında tutularak bölünme ve iç harbin eşiğine getirilmişlerdir. Kısaca devlet güçsüz bırakılmış, ve acze düşürülmüştür.

Aziz Türk milleti, işte bu ortam içinde Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri İç Hizmet Kanununun verdiği Türkiye Cumhuriyetini kollama ve koruma görevini yüce Türk milleti adına emir ve komuta zinciri içinde, ve emirle yerine getirme kararını almış ve ülke yönetimine bütünüyle el koymuştur. Girişilen harekâtın amacı, ülke bütünlüğünü koruma, milli birlik ve beraberliği sağlama, muhtemel bir iç savaşı ve kardeş kavgasını önlemek devlet otoritesini ve varlığını yeniden tesis etmek ve demokratik düzenin işlemesine mani olan sebepleri ortadan kaldırmaktır.

Parlamento ve hükümet feshedilmiştir.
Parlamento üyelerinin dokunulmazlığı kaldırılmıştır.
Bütün yurtta Sıkıyönetim ilan edilmiştir.
Yurt dışına çıkışlar yasaklanmıştır.
Vatandaşların can ve mal güvenliğini süratle sağlamak bakımından saat 5'ten itibaren ikinci bir emre kadar sokağa çıkma yasağı konulmuştur.

Bu kollama ve koruma harekâtı hakkında teferruatlı açıklama bugün saat 13'teki Türkiye Radyoları ve Televizyonu'nun haber bülteninde tarafımdan yapılacaktır. Vatandaşların sükunet içinde radyo ve televizyonları başında yayınlanacak bildirileri izlemelerini ve bunlara tam uymalarını ve bağrından çıkan Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerine güvenmelerini beklerim.»

KENAN EVREN
Orgeneral, Genelkurmay ve
Milli Güvenlik Konseyi
Başkanı

Figure 1.12: 1980 Military coup press release, broadcast on Radio TRT; the reasons for the coup are explained as public disorder, the insecurity of citizens, and the fact that parliament and institutions are at a standstill. The implications of the military coup are explained; curfews after 5.00 p.m., traveling abroad is banned, martial law is announced, parliament and government are repealed.

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[25] Under the military regime, more than 650,000 people were detained; police files were opened on about 1,680,000 people; there were 210,000 political trials in which 7,000 people faced the death penalty; 50 of 517 death penalties were carried out; 300 people died in prisons for allegedly unspecified reasons; 171 people died from torture, 388,000 people were deprived of their right to a passport; 30,000 people were fired from the civil service, 14,000 people lost their citizenship; 39 tonnes of published material were destroyed and 23,677 associations were closed down (Öngider 2005; Mavioğlu 2004).

After the 1980 military coup, neo-liberal politics took hold by means of Turgut Özal's and the Motherland Party`s (ANAP) politics. ANAP gained a major victory in the election of November 1983 which marked Turkey's return to parliamentary democracy, contrary to the wishes of the military elites, and Turgut Özal became a critical figure in Turkey's transition to a neo-liberal development model in the 1980s. The political party which he helped to create was based on a hybrid ideology combining elements of liberalism, conservatism with strong Islamist connotations, nationalism and welfarism (Acar 2002). By means of Özal's neo-liberal politics, the middle class began to disappear. The service sector became more important than industry (Acar 2002). A consumption culture and individualism became widespread. Squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) changed the face of the city and became a topic for academic discussion. The IMF and the World Bank became major agencies in the Turkish economy: thus, the path to a foreign-dependent economy was opened. Privatization was used to prevent state intervention in the economy. Culture became an industry.

When the 1960 and 1980 military coups are compared, it can be easily seen that the 1960 coup was progressivist and based on a social state whereas the 1980 coup was reactionist and based on a liberal state. After the 1960 coup, a political generation began to grow; on the other hand, the generation of the 1980 coup was apolitical. The 1980 coup aimed at a centralist governance (Arcayürek 1986; Boratav 2000; Kongar 2000). These changes also influenced the cultural sphere and the cinema industry. That is why discussing the cultural changes of the 1980s is important for understanding the cross-dressing films of the period.

The cultural environment of the 1980s can be separated into two parts. The early 1980s were under military control with oppression. The second part of the 1980s was marked by neo-liberalism which gave people a false sense of freedom along with the freedom of consumption. The 1980s was a time of contradictions. According to Nurdan Gürbilek (1992), the 1980s was the era when those who were repressed returned. However, Turkey witnessed the fact that the things which returned were not the same as the things which had been repressed before. In order to understand this change, the term 'discontinuity' can be used and Foucault`s writing can enhance this discussion. For Foucault (1972: 217), discontinuity meant that "in a transition from one historical era to another, things are no longer perceived, described, expressed, characterised, classified, and known in the same way". The new things, which had been repressed by the 1960 coup and returned in the

1980s, involved anger at the modernisation that had repressed them and an insistent desire for power. Therefore, the new arabesque culture became a popular culture of the era. According to Meral Özbek (2012), arabesque music began in the 1970s as music for people who had left their traditional life in rural areas but never found their place as new dwellers in the cities. In other words, arabesque music was made by and for inhabitants who were either/both traditional nor/and modern: who were in between. This first wave of arabesque was proud and satiated. However, the second wave of arabesque in the 1980s began to call modernisation to account for its repression and demanded that their desires be satisfied (Gürbilek 1992; 2001; Özbek 2012).

The second half of the 1980s was a time when the "meta/grand/master narratives"[26] (Lyotard 1979) which had been believed to be the sources of Turkish national identity collapsed. Kemalism and its modernising and westernising ideas as meta-narratives which had been used to legitimize who would be excluded and who would be included gave way to pluralities and marginalities. Not only Kemalism and its meta-narratives but also Marxism and the Turkish revolutionist movement settled in fragmented narratives through eclecticism as a nostalgic image. They took their part in the new pop history. Desires which were different from each other came together and Turkish citizens witnessed the migration of ideas as nomadic. Collapse, non-continuation, temporariness and chaos are words to be used to describe the 1980s cultural environment. Briefly, it can be said that the contemporary discussion of postmodernism[27] can be seen easily in Turkish cultural life of the 1980s.

The other distinctive feature of the culture of the period was the politics of naming and categorization. According to Gürbilek (1992), the culture of the 1980s was based on the labelling of parole, gestures, desires and anxieties. It can therefore be claimed that the

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[26] Grand narrative or 'meta-narrative' is a term which was introduced by Jean-François Lyotard in his classic 1979 work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, in which he critiqued ideological forms of knowledge. Meta-narrative is a narrative about narratives' history and experiences which gives authority and meaning to a system of knowledge.

[27] For a detailed discussion of narratives, language games and postmodern knowledge, see Jean-François Lyotard (1979), *The Postmodern Condition*; on Marxism and postmodernism see Frederic Jameson (1984), *Postmodernism: Or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* and Jean Baudrillard (1975), *Mirror of Production*; on critical theory and modernity as an unfinished project, see Jurgen Habermas (1989), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*; on feminism and postmodernism, see Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson (1988), *Social Critic without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism* and Barbara Creed (1987), *From here to Modernity: Feminism and Postmodernism*. On postmodernism and popular culture, see Michel de Certeau (1984), *The Practice of Everyday life*; for a detailed discussion of hybridization see Zygmunt Bauman (1987), *On Modernity, Postmodernity and Intellectuals;* on postmodernism and post-colonialism see Gayati Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha, *Cultural Critique*. On cultural essentialism, postmodernism and Islam see Azizi Al-Azmeh (1993), *Islam and Modernities*.

1980s both repressed and provoked parole[28] (Gürbilek 1992). For example, on the one hand, homosexuality was labelled an illness in the 1980s; on the other hand, its label made it possible to talk about it (Gürbilek 1992). After the first few years of the 1980s, there was a move to examine, classify and encourage people to confess their intimate personal life, all in the desire to learn the 'truth' about others. Weekly magazines which contained the confessions of unknown people were a popular genre of the period (Gürbilek 1992). These cultural changes not only influenced but also shaped the cinema of the period.

The depoliticising effects of the 1980s, arabesque culture and the politics of naming influenced cinema, and a run of sex films was followed by a run of arabesque films. In 1981, 33 films out of 72 were arabesque (45.8%) (Esen 2000: 146). Furthermore, the social realistic films of the 1960s gave way to psychological individualistic films which included identity crisis in relation to the naming and categorizing politics of the period. With these changing narratives, a new formulation for film language had to be found. Long shots, less dialogue, less music and more silence were the popular conventions of the period's cinema (Dorsay 1996; Esen 2000). On the other hand, a distinctive feature of the cinema of the 1980s was women's films. According to Eylem Atakav,

> Turkish cinema was profoundly affected by the coup and its aftermath. Filmmakers could not present overtly political material […] Prominent among the film trends of the 1980s were films dealing with the coup's psychological effects on individuals (especially intellectuals) and women's films (in parallel with the rise of feminism in Turkey) with their depiction of female characters engaged in a search for identity and independence. (2013: 48)

In order to understand the background to women's films in Turkish cinema, feminism and academic discussion about gendered identity should be discussed next. Under the de-politicization effects of the 1980s coup, politics had to be articulated within a new paradigm. Although second-wave feminism had flourished around the world since the 1960s, for Turkey, second-wave feminism began in the 1980s (Arat 1994; 1997; 2004; Cindoğlu-Esim 1999; Tekeli 1990). Feminist rhetoric found fertile ground in the 1980s (Tekeli 1986). Furthermore, for Yeşim Arat,

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[28] A very similar argument was claimed by Foucault about sexuality in the Victorian era in *History of Sexuality* (1984).

> The potential threat of feminists, their radical anti-state deeply political nature could be dismissed by the state not because their numbers were small, but also because they were understood to be fighting for something the republican founding fathers had legitimized through the recognition of suffrage and the Civil Code in early 1930s, namely women's rights. They could survive in the political context of the decade. (1994: 244)

The post-coup period witnessed the emergence of organizations which defined themselves as feminist for the first time.

This second-wave feminism is based on a critique of Kemalist *state-feminism*. "Feminists discussed the meaning of Republican reforms for women and basically argued that these reforms did not aim at women's liberation for they essentially defined women as breeder and educator of the new generations: enlightened mothers of the nation" (Tekeli 1988: 22). In Kandiyoti`s (1987) words, women in Turkey were emancipated but unliberated and now, as in the west, they sought both emancipation and liberation independent of the state. "Educated, mostly professional, middle class women organized consciousness raising groups, petition campaigns, protest walks to highlight women's problems, wrote papers and published two feminist journals, instituted a women's library and a foundation against the beating of women" (Arat 1994: 241). A younger and more radical feminist group began publishing the journal *Feminist* in 1987. Another group identified with socialist feminism published the journal *Kaktüs* during the same period. About 100 women who called themselves feminist were involved in organizing activities. From the mid-1980s, colourful campaigns were launched such as the 'Purple Needle' campaign against sexual harassment in the street and in workplaces, and a 'Women's Circle' based on gathering women was founded in 1984 as a company instead of an association in order to escape the surveillance of the state, which was very strict at that time. For these new feminist movements, class was not the social basis. Issues of identity and identity discussion gained importance. The scope of the movement extended into individual experiences and everyday life. The movement became less hierarchical and less centralized, and became an alternative to conventional channels of political participation.

In scholarly works, discussion of feminism in the 1980s began with the writings of feminist scholars such as Şirin Tekeli, Deniz Kandiyoti, Nükhet Sirman and Yeşim Arat. For example, Şirin Tekeli's book *Women in the 1980s: Turkey from the Women`s Perspective* (*Kadın Bakış*

Açısından 1980`ler Türkiye` sinde Kadınlar) first appeared in 1990, providing space for a number of leftist women scholars to discuss women's issues in modern Turkey. At the same time, popular feminism took its place in the Turkish political arena by means of the writings of Duygu Asena, who edited the popular feminist magazine *Kadınca* ('Womanly'), which had nationwide distribution and a great impact on the dissemination of feminist issues at the popular level in the period 1979-1995. Scholars such as Ramazan Gülendam and Ayşe Gelgeç Gürpınar claimed that feminism could be discussed by means of the 1980 coup. "They believe that if the leftist movement had not been hit so severely by the coup, women would not have been able to question the hegemony of the male leaders" (Gülendam & Gürpınar, cited in Atakav 2013: 26). Fatmagül Berktay (1990) discussed women's position in left-wing organizations before the 1980 coup. According to Berktay (1990), women could speak out not only to the traditional patriarchy but also to the patriarchal left in Turkey only after the 1980 coup. In Turkey, first-wave feminism occurred in the early twentieth century around civic and political rights in the Kemalist ideology, and second-wave feminism took place after the 1980 coup (instead of in the 1960s) by bringing up issues such as patriarchy, violence against women and the use of sexuality in the media, and the motto of second-wave feminism was 'the personal is political'. This feminist movement and academic discussion about gendered identity in 1980s Turkey requires a different reading of cross-dressing films from that of the previous period. For example, when discussing the modernisation anxieties of 1980s cross-dressing films, it is worth remembering the feminist critique of modernisation.

A huge decline in cross-dressing film production can be observed in the 1980s. There are many reasons for this decline. First, the depoliticizing effect of the 1980 coup influenced not only cinema but also the production of all art forms in Turkey. Also, the agenda of the feminist movement in Turkey affected cinema. The increase in the number of women's films were related to the de-politicisation as film directors were trying to avoid the overtly political and women's issues or gender issues were not perceived as politically significant. This is also, why the feminist movement managed to emerge as a political movement within a period of de-politicisation. Gender issues began to be discussed in cinema in different ways by means of the feminist movement, but not in cross-dressing films. Even so, it can be claimed that 1980s cross-dressing films were influenced by the politics of naming and

classification. This can be shown in relation to the question why Şaban – a well-known film character in Turkish cinema – was chosen as a cross-dressing character in the film *Şabaniye*. In this film, Şaban-iye as a cross-dressed character challenges Şaban's labels as a foolish but wise, clumsy but virtuous character. The other dominant topics in Turkish cinema of the period, migration and identity politics, were also topics of cross-dressing films. I shall now discuss these films in greater depth.

1.3.1: Cross-dressing films in the 1980s

Coming to the 1980s, *Deliler Almanya'da* (1980) was the first cross-dressing film of the period. Directed by Yavuz Figenli, it depicts the trouble between two musicians who go on tour to Germany, Keko (Yunus Bülbül) and Zeko (Yusuf Sezgin), and a group of insane people who think that they are members of the Mafia. Cross-dressing gives an opportunity for its characters to be mobile between rationality and insanity in this film. However, the description of west and east in this film is completely different from that in the 1960s cross-dressing films. Germany is described in the film as a place of insanity where the exploitation of eastern naiveté takes place, whereas in the 1960s the west was described as a place of modernism and reason. As explained above, the culture of the period can be described as an era when the repressed returned. The film depicts the adventures of two characters -Keko and Zeko- in Gemany. Keko and Zeko as names have complex and deep connotations in Turkish culture. Keko was used for people who live in the east part of Turkey – especially Kurdish people – in order to humiliate them and emphasize how eastern people are vulgar, far from being modern and western, savage and primitive. Zeko is the abbreviation of the name Zeki, which means intelligent. Now, it is transformed into the name Zeko in order to humiliate the reason of the age of modernism. The names in the film give the characters an opportunity to be heroes for people who were excluded by the modernization process   The traditional east (Keko and Zeko) is going to Europe (Germany) and mapping the place, which therefore re-produces the place as the west's knowledge of the east. Cross-dressing gives a chance to escape being labelled as easterners. Blonde hair, modern women's costumes and their modern behaviour in the public sphere make them western (as the film poster in Figure 1.13 shows) and no-one understands their roots. They are visible – as western – but not

recognisable – as eastern. It can be claimed that by means of cross-dressing mobility, they produce their own knowledge about the west, which had been presented as an imaginary land by the modernization process. In relation to the politics of the period, those who had been repressed by the grand narratives of Kemalist modernisation now return, and by means of the effects of cross-dressing produce their own knowledge. It is thus not surprising that arabesque music is the soundtrack of the film, as the sound of the repressed.
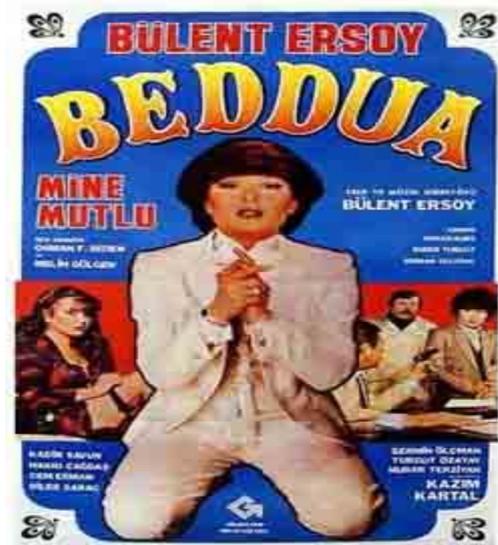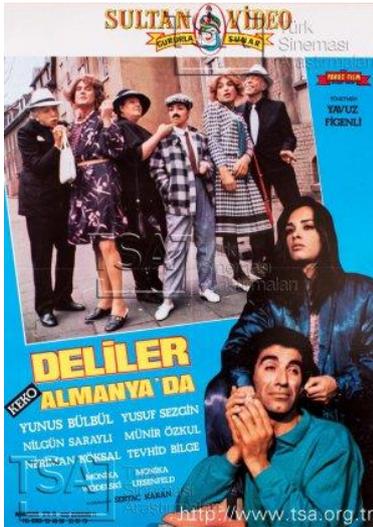
Figure 1.13: *Deliler Almanya`da* **film poster - 1980**   **Figure 1.14:** *Beddua* **film poster - 1980**

The other important film of the period is *Beddua* (1980) (directed by Melih Gülgen). However, its importance is based on a different gender confusion. The star of the film is Bülent Ersoy,[29] (*see* Figure 1:14) a well-known transgender singer in Turkey. Before the film, she underwent an operation, so she was officially a woman and this was her first film with her new identity. However, she played a male character in the film, although the protagonist is a woman at the end of the film. This film might not be accepted as a cross-dressing film; however, it gives a clue about the new direction of the period in discussing gender issues. Transgender issues came out and began to be discussed and to appear in popular movies. Furthermore, the rise of underground movies in addition to Yeşilçam cinema can be a reason

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[29] Bulent Ersoy has a very significant place in Turkish cultural and political life. She is one of those who were victims of the 1980 military coup. In 1980, after the military coup, in a concert at the Izmir International Fair, she showed her new breast to the audience and this resulted in her being arrested. Being transgender in an oppressive military regime was very hard for her. She had to undergo a very difficult legal case and physical examinations in order to be recognised as a woman. Her defence in the court is very important for understanding her political position. She claimed that she was a loyal citizen not an anarchist and that she had no intention to contravene the heterosexual order. During the military regime, she had to work in Germany because her performances were banned by the military regime. Nevertheless, she built up her identity as Muslim, upper class and nationalist. And she never supported any LGBT movement.

for the decline in cross-dressing films mentioned previously. However, one film which belongs to this period reached the peak: *Şabaniye* (1984). It is probably true that there is no-one in Turkey who has not seen this film. Therefore, in this study *Şabaniye* is used from the 1980s.

Figure 1.15: *Şabaniye* film poster - 1984

Şabaniye was directed by Kartal Tibet in 1984 after the 1980 military coup. Şaban (Kemal Sunal), who lives with his mother (Adile Naşit), escapes a blood feud and moves to the city. Moving into the big city as a narrative motif parallels the urbanization process of the period. Şaban and his mother work in a music hall. One day, their enemy family traces them. In order to hide, Şaban and his mother decide to make Şaban into a woman, because a blood feud takes place between male members of families. Şehmuz (Erdal Özyağcılar), the son of the enemy family, falls in love with the 'new woman', Şabaniye. Şabaniye herself falls in love with Nazlı (Çiğdem Tunç), the daughter of the enemy family. Şaban introduces himself as a man whose name is Bayram to her. Therefore, Şaban has to play three different characters in the film, Şaban as himself, Şabaniye as a woman singer in the music hall, and Bayram as a brave and talented man in order to win Nazlı. Şabaniye becomes a famous singer and a rich woman. The rich, old owner of the music hall falls in love with Şabaniye and wants to give everything he owns to Şaban if s/he accepts his proposal. At the same time, Şaban's mother falls in love with the owner of the music hall.

Şaban is a famous character in Turkish cinema history created by Kemal Sunal and now in this film he becomes a woman and is named `Şabaniye`. According to Savaş Arslan (2003),

"Şaban's films are different in that they rely primarily on the foolish but wise, clumsy but virtuous Şaban character who stays honest and true to his lower-class and often rural background (…) Şaban's character provides a nostalgic connection to what has been lost in the process of modernization. Frequently Şaban fights against greedy businessmen, landlords or merchants who want to change the environment of the small country small town or lower-class neighbourhoods". According to Engin Ayça (2001), Kemal Sunal continued the culture of fairy tales.

Şabaniye as a cross-dressing film encourages us to ask the same question: if a subject changes its position on the map of power relations by using cross-dressing, how are other forms of identity, forms of oppression and relationships between discourses affected and then relocated by this change? Şaban not only changes his gendered position, he also changes his class and jumps to the upper class by means of his cross-dressing gender performance. This change gains another meaning according to neo-liberal politics of period. Although Şaban is 'foolish but wise, clumsy but virtuous' and proud of his lower-class origins like the first-wave arabesque of the 1970s, Şabaniye wears not only women's clothes but also the tension of the period, and she desires back what modernization took from her.

1.4: The 2000s: The Period of Islamic Conservativism

The 2000s is the other distinct political era in Turkish history and an era in which cross-dressing characters appeared in Turkish cinema again for the first time since the 1980s. The final part of this chapter is therefore devoted to a discussion of the 2000s, when Islamic conservatism took the place of the modernist secularism of Kemalist ideology. According to Begüm Burak (2011: 144), "From the mid-1990s up to the early 2000s, the Turkish Army placed far greater emphasis on its role as guardian of the basic principles of the Turkish state". "On 3 November 2002, Turkey's fifteenth general parliamentary election was won by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) … an avowedly Islamic-oriented party that had evolved from several previously extant Islamic parties. Since that election, few would dispute that the character of religion/state relations in Turkey had changed" (Warhola-Bezci 2010: 432). The AKP become the first one-party government in seventeen years, after a series of coalition governments.

Further, the president had been elected by the parliament until 2007 when a popular referendum – sponsored by the ruling AKP – changed the procedure to direct popular election during the 2007 presidential election. The AKP's candidate, Abdullah Gül, and his head-scarf-wearing wife, raised in bold relief the matter of what it means to have a self-avowedly Islamic-oriented political party ruling over an avowedly, constitutionally mandated secular state. The Secular-Nationalist RPP (Republican People's Party, or CHP) appealed to the Constitutional Court on 27 April 2007 to cancel the presidential elections in the parliament; moreover, on the same day the military issued a press release warning that the Chief of Staff was "watching the question of secularism with deep concern. This *e-muhtıra* (e-memorandum) implied two concerns. It showed that the military would, regardless of the EU accession process, intervene in civil politics when secularism was threatened. Nevertheless, for the first time in Turkish politics an elected government, the AKP, stood against the military's threat of intervention in civil politics. (Warhola-Bezci 2010: 432)

The AKP used harmonization reforms for EU membership as a strategy to reduce the military's sphere of political influence. The military made its last attempt for power on 27 April 2007. The memorandum was announced on the internet, which is why it is called an *e-memorandum*, which was a very different way to exercise military power. In this ultimatum, a military force warned and secretly threatened the government against an Islamic shift in Turkish politics. The AKP government behaved very differently from other governments, which had been faced with military force of this kind. It reacted very aggressively and gave a counter-threat, saying that military force is only one part of government and that the military cannot behave separately as it had in previous military coups. After this memorandum, the relationship between the military and the state changed completely. This marked the end of the military's power as the guardian of Kemalist ideology and secularism in Turkey. It can be said that the 1960 coup was an extension of the Kemalist secular ideology, the 1980 coup was neo-liberal, and the 2007 ultimatum opened the door for Islamic conservatism, which also influenced gendered identity discussions in Turkey. Although the 1960 and 1980 military coups both had specific dates, the 2007 ultimatum spread right across the 2000s. It started with the election of the AKP and its politics against Kemalist military service. That is why I prefer not to look at the date of the ultimatum but at the whole era as a complete political shift in Turkish politics.

In order to understand the relationship between gender discourse and other discourses of a period which created the system of knowledge of the period, the gender movements and tendencies of the period have to be discussed first. In Turkey, first-wave feminism occurred in the early twentieth century, second-wave feminism took place after the 1980 coup, and since the 1990s, new discussions and tendencies have been taking place in Turkish gender studies. Three main tendencies can be observed in the Turkish women's movement: the Kurdish women's movement itself, the Islamic women's movement and the LGBT movement. Many similarities can be found between these tendencies and the black and lesbian feminism of the west.[30] The Kurdish women's movement raised criticism against Turkish mainstream feminism for being ethnocentric and excluding 'other' identities (Caha, 2011). At the same time, the Kurdish feminist movement challenged traditional patriarchal Kurdish nationalism (Diner-Toktaş 2010). Since 1984, the PKK (the Kurdish Workers' Party) and the Turkish Army had been at war. Therefore, one of the topics on the Kurdish feminist agenda was the trauma of women because of the war. Contrary to the Turkish feminist movement, it can be said that Kurdish feminism involves women who come from the peripheral backgrounds of a lower social and economic class and are uneducated.

Another challenge to mainstream feminism in Turkey has come from political Islam. Islamists seem to have adopted identity politics since the 1990s. New Islamist intellectuals have emerged along with a pro-Islamic bourgeoisie, and Kemalist ideology and the path of Turkish modernization have been criticized because of their secular and somewhat authoritarian nature. Islamic feminism tries to interpret the Qur'an with a feminist eye in order to discuss the status of women in Islam. However, Islamic feminism can be critiqued for being stuck in a discussion about the veiling of women which has been conducted by men.[31]

Turning to cinema, it is necessary to talk about the new Turkish cinema of the 2000s (Aslan 2009; Atam 2011; Güçlü 2013; Suner 2005). In the mid-1990s, Turkey experienced two different revivals in the cinema industry: commercial films with Hollywood style and box-

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[30] Similarities between black feminism and Kurdish feminism can be gathered under three headings: representation problems in institutional practices such as academia and the labour movement; sources of knowledge such as history and culture, and the subjugated and ignored experiences of Kurdish women such as war trauma or subordination trauma.

[31] For example, Mustafa Akyol (2007), *Turkey`s Veiled Democracy*, Ali Carkoğlu (2009), *Women's Choice of Head Cover in Turkey*, Metin Toprak (2009), *The Headscarf Controversy in Turkey,* Ömer Caha (2011), *The Islamic Women's Movement*, Bayram Salih (2009), *Reporting the Hijab in Turkey: Shifts in the Pro- and Anti-ban Discourse*, and Banu Gökariksel (2010), *Between Fashion and Market*.

office success, and art films with minimalist style and international success. In addition, one of the most important new aspects of the new cinema was an increase in the level of 'testosterone' (Güçlü 2013: 60). Some scholars have described this period as 'macho cinema' (Dönmez-Colin 2004) or named examples of the new cinema as 'male films' (Ulusay 2004) and 'weepy male films' (Akbal Sualp 2009). During this period, auteurs became stars to their niche spectators. Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Reha Erdem, Fatih Akın and Yeşim Ustaoğlu are considered to be the significant directors of the period. As Asuman Suner (2005) pointed out, in this new cinema, identity, memory and a sense of belonging were the new aspects of narration. The cinema of the 1960s had depicted the city in relation to modernization, whereas the cinema of the 1980s had depicted migration from rural areas to the city and the new face of the city in relation to neo-liberalism. According to Suner (2005), 2000s cinema depicted a rural life which remained for the new city dweller as a promise of happiness. For Suner (2005), the idea of the 'ghost house' is the centre of the narrative of the new Turkish cinema: a house which contains nostalgia and an idealization of what has been lost. Therefore, journeys, and searching are the dominant and important themes of the new Turkish cinema. On the other hand, there is a conservative inclination in the cinema parallel to the politics of Turkey. Television series and films which depict the idea of new Ottomanism have been very popular not only in Turkey's domestic market but also in other Middle Eastern countries.

Furthermore, from the mid-1990s, LGBT people became more visible in cinema. In particular, Turkish directors who lived abroad, such as Ferzan Özpetek, Kutluğ Ataman and Fatih Akın, made the discussion of such issues possible. Even so, in this period, sexuality was perceived in an essentialist way. Kutluğ Ataman can be considered as distinctive. He is proud of being the only openly gay film-maker in Turkish cinema. For this reason, the auteur's role in film can be discussed for LGBT and cross-dressing films by means of Ataman in Turkey by making reference to Richard Dyer`s argument that "It matters who specifically made a film, whose performance a film is. The lesbian/gay film makers had access to lesbian/gay sign systems that would have been like foreign languages to straight film makers" (Dyer 1991: 188).

Turkey went through a very interesting and previously unexperienced political shift which affected all aspects of cultural and daily life. The new AKP government demanded and expected a new type of citizenship which was completely different from the Kemalist ideal.

The 2000s can be accepted as a time of transformation between these two different types of citizen. Cross-dressing films appeared again in this entirely new political environment of the 2000s.

1.4.1 : Cross-dressing films in the 2000s

Cross-dressing characters appeared in 2001 for the first time since *Şabaniye* (1984) with *Komiser Şekspir* (2001) (directed by Sinan Çetin) as a form of journey from a Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) to an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) (Althusser 1970). A traditional and conservative father (Kadir İnanır), who is a police superintendent, masquerades in the police station as a malevolent queen for his daughter, who is dying: her last wish is to be a princess in a play.[32] The superintendent uses the police station (RSA) as a stage (ISA) and its occupants as actors.[33] The cross-dressing character explodes into an ideological state institution by taking occupants who are labelled as others into his service and creating a critique and comedy of the system. The superintendent's father is a bad-tempered and inconsiderate old man who cannot be spoken to. So the superintendent's best friend is a sculpture of Atatürk, and he constantly confides in this sculpture.[34] In one scene, he cries and calls out: "How lonely we are, my ancestor. My Mustafa, my father where are you?" This scene can be read based on the conservative tendency of Turkey in the 2000s. The superintendent's image in his woman's clothes is far from both the ideal militaristic masculinity of Kemalist modernization/westernization and Islamic conservatism/easternization. However, he needs a father because his metaphorical idealization is destroyed. His power domain – the police station – is a stage, and his body, where the masculine power can be seen, is a woman's. The destruction of his metaphorical masculine

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[32] Kadir İnanır, the main actor in the film, is a well-known star in Turkey famous for his macho character. Therefore, the film was launched using the image of Kadir İnanır in women's clothes.

[33] According to Althusser, RSAs are the apparatuses used to oppress the working class using violent and coercive means, such as government, police, courts, the army and so on, controlled by the ruling class. ISAs are used in order to transform ideology as an unseen universal truth by using cultural hegemonic forces in order to oppress the working class such as "the religious ISA (the system of the different public and private 'Schools'), the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA (the political system, including the different Parties),the trade union ISA, the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.), the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.)" (Althusser 1970).

[34] Sculptures of Ataturk can be considered as the tower of panoptic architecture as a surveillance tool of modernization. Sculptures of Ataturk and sculptures of the war of independence can be seen in every government institution in order to create not only an historical feeling but also a surveillance tool. Furthermore, these sculptures not only keep alive but also support national identity by using a dialogue between past and present. This is because the sculptures capture and dislocate a particular moment in time, then re-locate it into the present

idealization can be considered as the destruction of Kemalist modernization. In this destruction process, the father is both a lacuna as an imaginary and a surplus because a real and cross-dressing character travels between them, because he is a father as well. He represents both lack and surplus as a cross-dressing father. In the film, the cross-dressing character changes the meaning and function of the state apparatus according to the shift in Turkish politics.
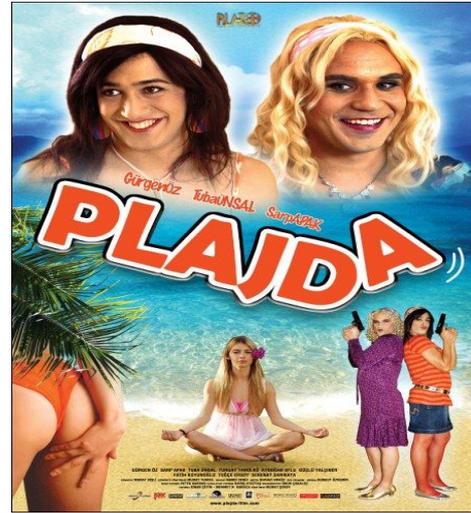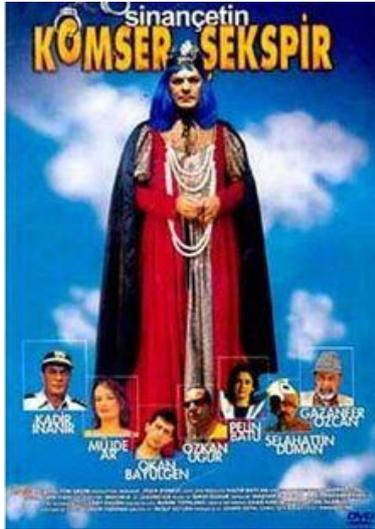

Figure 1.16: *Komiser Şekspir* **fılm poster - 2008**   **Figure 1.17:** *Plajda* **film poster - 2001**

Plajda (2008) (directed by Murat Şeker) is the other popular cross-dressing film of the period. A pair of actors who play a lion and a robot in a children's play (Ali, played by Sarp Apak, is handsome and a womanizer; on the other hand, Can, played by Gürgen Öz, is a comic and responsible member of the group) who accidently witness a mob killing and are obliged by poverty and self-preservation to disguise themselves as women in order to get jobs in a television serial. The narrative is almost the same as *Some Like it Hot* and its Turkish version, *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* discussed above. A key question underlies these repetitions.

 I chose two films of the 2000s to discuss in depth in this study: *Şeytanın Pabucu* (*2008*) and *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba* (2007). *Hababam Sınıfı* is a well-known cinema series in Turkey which was written by Rıfat Ilgaz as a novel. The first film of the series was directed by Ertem Eğilmez in 1974. After the success of the first film, nine further films have so far been made. Furthermore, the novel version of *Hababam Sınıfı* has been transformed into a stage play several times. This film was chosen because of its value for Turkish culture. Many generations grew up with the characters of *Hababam Sınıfı* and it is highly likely that there is

no-one in Turkey who has not watched this series. *Şeyatnın Pabucu* was chosen because of its star, a well-known gay singer in Turkey: Fatih Ürek. He is famous for his make-up, his exaggerated costume and his belly dance. This reputation makes the film more productive for discussing gender performance. These two films will now be introduced.

Figure 1.18: *Şeytanın Pabucu* **film poster**

Figure 1.19. Nehir Erdoğan in *Hababam Sınıfı*

Şeytanın Pabucu (2008) was directed by Turgut Yasalar and Hilal Bakkaloğlu. Burhan (Fatih Ürek) is an alcoholic swindler who is in debt to the street mafia and lives with his older sister. After a dream, he decides to escape, and he and his sister go on '*Hac*' (pilgrimage). His sister disappears suddenly and he decides to pretend to be her in order to hide from his creditors. At the same time, five other swindlers rent his basement. They pretend to be musicians; however, they dig in the basement in order to reach a bank vault. While they are digging, they play records in order to avoid being heard and caught. Burhan falls in love with his neighbour, Aysun Kayacı. The grandfather of one swindler falls in love with the cross-dressed Burhan. Another of the swindlers falls in love with the neighbour as well. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, the cross-dressing character gains mobility between being religious and an atheist. In this cross-dressing film, the cross-dressing character changes not only his gendered position but also his religious status. He pretends not only to be a woman but also a religious, conservative moralist. In *Şabaniye*, Şaban changed his class in relation to the period's neo-liberal politics; in *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan changes his religion according to the period's Islamic conservative line. Both of these situations coincide with the politics of the periods.

Hababam Sınıfı depicts the adventures of a group of male students at a boarding school. Each film in the series is based on a different topic. *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba* was directed by Kartal Tibet in 2006, the first time with new actors. In this film, a woman named Arzu (played by Nehir Erdoğan, (*see* Figure 1.19) from outside the school, falls in love with the one of the students (played by Mehmet Ali Alobora) and masquerades as a male student and moves into the male dormitory to control him and his private life without his knowledge. In the film, the cross-dressing character gains mobility between adult and childhood/young life. By being at school, children are excluded from society; they cannot be seen in the public sphere. "Once he had passed the age of five or seven, the child was immediately absorbed into the world of adults" (Aries 1962: 331). Referring to the work of Louis Althusser, "no other ideological state apparatus has the obligatory audiences of the totality of the children of the social capitalist formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven" (Althusser 2008: 30). By means of education, childhood and adult life are separated until students are "ejected into production" (Althusser 2008). "This can be considered as a 'temporary restricted marginalization', a means intended to reach normality, that is de-marginalization, by way of temporal isolation and marginalization" (Dekker-Lechner 2008: 40). Arzu as a female can join adult life which takes place outside the school, and as a cross-dressing character she can stay in the dormitory whenever she wants. Her cross-dressing journey involves transitions between adult and child/young lives.

School is a place where all kinds of relationship between who knows and who does not know/ knowledge and ignorance take place. In other words, school always involves a hierarchy which is produced by knowledge. Therefore, school and its power have always been accepted as a tool of ideology. In a book entitled *Erdoğan Ne Diyor?* ('What is Erdoğan saying?') (2014), which collected Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speeches since 2001, the two most repeated sentences of Erdoğan`s politics were "we know" and "we know well". It can be claimed that the relationship between the citizens and the prime minister of Turkey is very similar to the teacher/student relationship. Therefore, after a gap of thirty years, it is not surprising that it was decided to release a *Hababam Sınıfı* film again.

In summary, in all these selected films, cross-dressing performers can escape from the system and at the same time express themselves within the system. After introducing the films, telling their stories and explaining their position in their genre, we can now discuss

these five films in greater depth in order to clarify the relationship between Turkish politics and cross-dressing films and understand the relationship between the discourses by asking the what cross-dressing does in the films in the next chapters

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed turning points in Turkey's political and cultural life according to when cross-dressing films appeared. First, I have suggested that Turkey's modernisation is a kind of cross-dressing performance between modern/traditional and west/east and underlies all the traumatic events which have affected Turkey. From the beginning of Turkish modernisation to the AKP government, the military was the guardian of the Kemalist modernisation programme and one of the main actors in Turkish political life. The military therefore interfered in political life when they thought that Kemalist modernisation was being threatened. Each intervention had a different purpose and these purposes have been discussed in detail in this chapter. However, the common outcome of these interventions is that they changed not only the political, economic and cultural climate but also the routines, continuity and stability of the nation. Second, I have introduced the cross-dressing films of each period and discussed them in relation to these turning points in the political, cultural and economic climate.

After this broad overview of Turkish politics, culture and cinema according to when and how cross-dressing films and characters have appeared, two basic questions have been raised which will be discussed in two separate chapters. First, what does cross-dressing do in the films in order to provide a popular narrative of the time of military coups as a national trauma? Second, how does cross-dressing do that? The first question will involve choreographing theory. In the next chapter, I shall discuss three effects of cross-dressing in films in their particular political and cultural environment. The second chapter seeks to expand the discussion and the analysis of the films by using the idea of fractures in ontological security – gender, identity, body, language, time and space, which are the supporters of elements of ontological security, and continuity, contingency and routine – which are destroyed by cross-dressing performance. In other words, the discussion will explore how cross-dressing performance makes the intersections between forms or systems

of oppression and discourses visible. I shall address this question by using Turkish cinema as a case study, examining whether the subject changes its position on the map of power relations by using cross-dressing, and how other forms of identity, forms of oppression and relationships between discourses are affected and then relocated by this change. In other words, how a subject becomes *a tourist in the geographies of power* by means of cross-dressing will be discussed.. Films themselves will be used in order to discuss cross-dressing.

Chapter 2: Choreographing Theory

Introduction

According to the American Heritage Dictionary, "cross-dressing is the act of wearing clothes and accessories which are commonly associated with the opposite sex." Garber claimed in her influential book *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (1992) that cross-dressing poses a systemic challenge to the stability of conventional gender binaries, and named cross-dressing as the third gender term. According to Garber, "Transvestism is a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just in the category crisis of male and female, but the crisis of category itself" (1992:9). Apart from wearing the 'other' sex's clothes, Garber explained that cross-dressing "is clearly related to its status as a sign of contractedness of gender categories" (1992: 9). "Cross-dressing is about gender confusion. Cross-dressing is about the phallus as constitutively veiled. Cross-dressing is about the power of women. Cross-dressing is about the emergence of gay identity …" (Garber 1992: 390). Although she carefully pointed out the potential and the power of cross-dressing performance as a blurred gender from Shakespeare to Elvis, from Michael Jackson to Lawrence of Arabia, she can be criticised for ignoring the political and cultural forces which shape cross-dressing.

According to Victoria Flanagan (2008: 13), who explored children's literature and cross-dressing performance in her book *Into the Closet*, "the cross-dressed body confounds the supposedly natural order between gender and natal sex, inviting questions about masculinity and femininity that necessarily destabilise these categories and reveal their constructed nature". According to Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough (1993: 24), "Dress traditionally has been a ubiquitous symbol of sexual differences, emphasizing social conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Cross-dressing, therefore, represents a symbolic incursion into territory that crosses gender boundaries." It can be claimed that the first attempt to discuss cross-dressing performance in Hollywood cinema was made by Rebecca Bell-Metereau in *Hollywood Androgyny* (1985). Although she pointed out the relationship between authority and freedom and cross-dressing by saying "almost all cross-dressing films involve the relationship between authority and freedom – the extent to which the male is free to explore his female nature and the extent to which female characters are capable of

establishing their own authority" (1985:3), her analysis was partly stuck in the binary logic of gender by saying that "Cross-dressing may vary widely in function from film to film, but it invariably draws attention to the concept of masculinity and femininity" (1985: 1). Annette Kuhn combined feminist film theory, psychoanalysis, and cross-dressing in an analysis of the film Some Like it Hot in her book *The Power of the Image* (1985). Her main approach was based on 'sexual differences' and she used cross-dressing performance in order to understand the ways in which sexual difference is constructed in films. Carole-Anne Tyler discusses drag/cross-dressing in her essay 'Boys Will be Girls' (1991) and argued that drag/cross-dressing can be misogynistic if we do not accept natural femininity. In his book *Transgender on Screen* (2006), John Philips discussed cross-dressing performance in films in three main genres: film comedy, thrillers, and internet porn. He also used a Lacanian psychoanalytical approach in order to discuss cross-dressing. It can be seen that he preferred not to discuss the relationship between political and cultural effects and cross-dressing performance in his study. On the other hand, Yvonne Tasker made a connection between gender and class in terms of cross-dressing in *Working Girls: Gender and Sexuality in Popular Cinema* (1998). It can be claimed that this connection is an extension of the discussion about cross-dressing to the level of intersectionality. [35]

I have provided this literature review in the form of a list of 'other' ideas but have ignored the details of these ideas and studies because I wanted to direct my attention to one specific point which is the main structural problem of these studies. All of these arguments can be true if we accept that there is one sex and there is another sex which can be called the 'opposite sex' and that both are stable, fixed and unchanging. In other words, cross-dressing

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[35] There is considerable discussion that explore represantations of cross-dressing in other cultures. See, Charlotte Suthrell (2004) `*Upzipping Gender: Sex, Cross-dressing and Culture* ` (for Indian cross-dressing), Breck Gorden (2012), `*Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety in Early France*`, J. Goldstein (2007) *Drama Kings: Players and Publics in the re-creation of Peking Oprea*, Tomoko Taguchi(2016), `*Oficcaly Cross-dressing: Nationalism and gender in Modren Japon*. Some important studies have pointed out the realtionship between national cinema and cross-dressing gender performance . For more detailed information to cross-dressing in other contexts of national cinema, see : Laura Horak (2016*), `Girls Will Be Boys : Cross-Dressed Women, Lesbians, and American Cinema, 1908-1934`*, Roshanak Kheshti (2009), `*Cross-Dressing and Gender (Tres)Passing: The Transgender Move as a Site of Agential Potential in the New Iranian Cinema*, SK Tan (2000), `*The cross-gender performances of Yam Kim-Fei, or the queer factor in postwar Hong Kong Cantonese opera/opera films*`, Darren Waldron, ` *New Clothes for Temporary Transvestites? Sexuality, Cross-dressing and Passing in the Contemporary French Film Comedy.* Sebastian Jagielski (2017*), `Queer fantasies: the camp prince, the diva, and Polish cinema in the interwar period*`, Tania Modleski (1997), ` *A woman's gotta do...what a man's gotta do? Cross-dressing in the Western*`.

can be accepted as both the outcome of gender categories and at the same time the deconstruction effect of these categories.

In this thesis, I argue that cross-dressing is a performance which disrupts structures wherever it is located. I call this disruptive action 'fracturing'. Cross-dressing performance in films fractures not only gendered identities but also the apparatuses of power such as time, space and language which provide a sense of trueness and absoluteness about power relations. Cross-dressing fractures ontological security, which is our sense of confidence and trust about things, persons, time, space and the world as they appear to be. My analysis of films has been focused on finding out what kinds of opportunity cross-dressing provides to its performer/character as this allowed me to examine the ways in which cross-dressing characters in films fracture ontological security. This discussion is important for this thesis because I use the outcomes of this discussion to answer the question of why cross-dressing films were popular in two specific times of military coup and one memorandum in the chapters which follow. After analysing the selected films scene by scene, I discovered three effects of cross-dressing gender performance on its subject/performer which fracture ontological security. In this chapter, I shall discuss these three principal effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject. First, cross-dressing provides an ability to be mobile on the map of not only gendered identities but also all relations between subjects and power. Cross-dressing characters in the Turkish films change not only their gendered identity but also n/either their other form of identity n/or their different connection points with power relations. The mobility of a cross-dressing character disrupts the stability of identities, time, space and language which are the connection points of the subject with power relations. For example, Şaban in *Şabaniye* not only becomes a woman but also changes his class identity; Burhan in *Şeytanın Pabucu* not only changes his gendered appearance but also becomes religious: and Cevriye in *Fosforlu Cevriye* not only becomes a man but also gains mobility between spaces which are structured by power relations. Her mobility changes the use of space and therefore she disturbs her connection points with power. Second, cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying a desire to be visible while at the same time escaping panoptic social mechanisms. Cross-dressing characters in films can escape surveillance because they cannot be recognised. They are visible with their new gendered identity as cross-dressers but not recognisable as self. Şaban in *Şabaniye* is visible as Şabaniye so the

son of the enemy family falls in love with her, but not recognisable as Şaban so he can escape the surveillance of the enemy family even though they are always together; Nesrin in *Gece Kuşu* is visible as a man so she can experience life at night but she cannot be recognised as a woman so no-one abuses her; and Arzu in *Hababam Sınıfı* can stay in a male dormitory because she is still visible but not recognisable as Arzu and can escape the surveillance of school control. Third, cross-dressing is a means of escaping the fear of being other and at the same time experiencing otherness. All cross-dressing characters in Turkish films take pleasure in being other, penetrating other's time and space, looking with other's eyes, because they know that they are not completely transformed into other.

In order to discuss these three actions which fracture ontological security, I use the terms and notions of `becoming` (Deleuze), 'carnivalesque' and 'the grotesque body' (Bakhtin), 'performativity' (Butler) and 'undecidability' (Derrida) which each serve to explain my understanding of cross-dressing performance in the narratives. By doing this, not only will the definition of cross-dressing for the purposes of this study be elaborated but also the reason for fractures will be discussed. In order to discuss cross-dressing, I shall use different terms from not only different areas of study but also different cultures. I therefore chose the term *Choreographing Theory* as the title for this chapter because my intention is to use not only these terms but also the relationship between them. In other words, I am not interested in the single performance of these terms as stable entities, but rather in locating and designing them in relation to each other's performance. In this chapter, I shall try to choreograph these terms in order to make a useful theoretical framework which can be used for the effective analysis of Turkish cinema in times of military coup. However, in this choreography, the term 'becoming' will be at the centre. I shall therefore begin the discussion with Deleuze and his concept of `becoming`. After this, I shall examine the notion of the grotesque body. Finally, at the end of the chapter, I shall discuss the idea of the carnivalesque in relation to the `experiencing otherness without being other` effect of cross-dressing.

2.1: Becoming and mobility

This study is based on the idea that cross-dressing performance disrupts the institutions of power and their relations by fracturing them under the effects of cross-dressing gender performance in narratives, hence cross-dressing films are popular narratives in times of national trauma in Turkey. In this section, one of the effects of cross-dressing as a reason for the disruptive force is discussed. Cross-dressing gives an ability to be mobile on the map of not only gendered identities but also all relations between subjects and power which are embedded in time, space, language. Cross-dressing characters in Turkish films are mobile both between different forms of identity – class, ethnicity, religion and so on – and the institutions of power – time, space, language and so on. This mobility of cross-dressing gains new meanings when we put it in the Turkish context. The captivity implications of military coups restricted the mobility of citizens in time and space. Curfews, restrictions on travel between cities and a ban on traveling abroad were imposed by a military regime in the coups of both 1960 and 1980.

Figure 2.1: The front page of the *Hürriyet* newspaper (12 September 1980) announcing the military coup and implications. It was announced that the curfew started at 5:00 p.m. and that traveling abroad was banned.

Figure 2.2: News item in the *Hürriyet about t*he new curfew regulation announced in 1960 after the military coup. Under the new regulation, the curfew started at 10:00 p.m.

Cross-dressing films in this period gave an opportunity to be mobile against the particular practice of the military regime for controlling subjects. Furthermore, military coups restricted the mobility of citizens by re-organising the use of time, space and language. A cross-dressing character is mobile in the use of time, space and language. This mobility which cross-dressing performance accords to its subject can be accepted as one of the sources of this act of fracturing. It also fractures the implications of military coups. I shall discuss the idea of 'becoming' in relation to cross-dressing in order to discover the core of the mobility which is provided to the subject by the act of cross-dressing by arguing that cross-dressing is the visible face of the processes of becoming. In order to suggest that cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema is an example of becoming, I shall first examine not only the idea of becoming but also some other terms around the idea of becoming, such as rhizome zigzag, and then I shall identify the connection points between becoming and cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema.

2.1.1: Cross-dressing as a Becoming

The idea of becoming, which has its ideational background in the writings of Heraclitus, Nietzsche and Bergson, is the one of main concerns of Deleuzian philosophy. According to Todd May, "if we look over the scope of Deleuze`s work, we see that the concept of becoming is not only a central Deleuzian concept – one that has been part of his corpus since his book on Nietzsche – it can also be seen, from the right angle, to contain in germ the entirety of his philosophical perspective" (2003: 139). 'Becoming' as an authentic term found its place in Deleuzian philosophy in his book *Kafka and Minor Literature* (1969) as a figure of the collective organisation of the borderless subject.

The notion of becoming provides a way of discussing the relationship between being, power and the body. In order to understand what becoming is, it is necessary to compare the idea of 'becoming' with 'being'. Whereas there is a stable, unchanging, unified, eternal and monism of being, becoming involves flux, process, multiplicity and change. In contrast to the enclosed system of being, becoming is dislocated, displaced and untimely. It can therefore be said that becoming forces the subject to experience a journey of possibilities beyond the limits and boundaries which separate human from animal, man from woman, child from adult, self from other. In other words, becoming is a process which takes place between combinations of self and other and therefore disrupts subjects and objects because it disrupts stable terms. So every becoming should begin with deterritorialization of self as a stable form of being. This deterritorialization is the movement of stable identity from an organization which has been structured by power to an anarchy which has no structure. The interest of being and of becoming is also different. Being focuses on a beginning and end point whereas becoming focuses on the in-between and on moving along a road which has no end point. Basically and briefly, becoming implies identity which is always in motion in-between.

Because of the mobility and relationality, which is involved in becoming, the notion of becoming refers to being in between but not in the middle. 'Middle' is the specific point between at least two points and determines the direction of movement. In fact, becoming is the way of erasing these two points which imply a beginning and end point. Becoming is not only moving along a road, but is also itself a road which is "no-man`s land" (Deleuze &

Guattari 1987: 293) where there cannot be found any more points, which refers to stable beings and meanings and therefore what can be called the in-between of everything. So, according to Leonard Lawlor (2008), the movement of becoming can be accepted as a 'zigzag`. One becomes another but this becoming changes the meaning of being another and therefore another becomes different from itself in relation to one`s becoming. The movement of becoming is therefore a zigzag not a circle. Nothing can return to itself after this journey. Hence, Deleuze wrote, "all becoming is double" (1987: 105-109). A becomes B but at the same time B becomes C. Eventually there is no A, B or C. The doubling begins with a renouncing of the subject position. In *Dialogues*, Deleuze (1977: 6-7) pointed out that "becoming is not one term which becomes the other, but encounters the other, a single becoming which is not common to the two, since they have nothing to do with one another, but which is between, which has its own direction … not even something which would be in the other, even if it had to be exchanged, be mingled, but something which is between the two, outside the two and which flows in another direction". Lawlor (2008: 180) pointed out "the necessary condition for becoming: desubjectification". "For Deleuze and Guattari, becomings are never processes of beginning again" (Lawlor 2008: 171). Becoming produces decentred nomads which are located in between in what can be called 'no man`s land' against centred power by using this special zigzag form of movement of itself.

This movement of becoming takes place in a `rhizome`, which is the other productive notion of Deleuzian philosophy set out in *A Thousand Plateaus*. Deleuze and Guattari used this botanical term in order to critique the tree metaphor used within the western philosophic tradition of linear, progressive, ordered systems. However, they did not want to use rhizome as a binary opposite to the western philosophical tradition since to do so would be a way of reproducing the model of binary thinking. In fact, they tried to destroy the western philosophical tradition and re-organize our way of thinking by using the term rhizome, in which one thing involves many possible meanings. Rhizome is a kind of anti-method which allows us to think many possibilities which cannot be represented.

No other explanations apart from that of Deleuze and Guattari is sufficient to discuss this term. Furthermore, each reader adds her/his own understanding of Deleuzian philosophy which are usually very different from each other. I would therefore like to use this long direct quotation from them about rhizome. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 21);

Let us summarize the principal characteristics of a rhizome: the rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature; it brings into play very different regimes of signs, and even non-sign states. (…) Unlike a structure, which is defined by a set of points and positions, the rhizome is made only of lines; lines of segmentarity and stratification as its dimensions, and the line of flight or deterritorialization as the maximum dimension after which the multiplicity undergoes metamorphosis, changes in nature. These lines, or ligaments, should not be confused with lineages of the arborescent type, which are merely localizable linkages between points and positions ... Unlike the graphic arts, drawing or photography, unlike tracings, the rhizome pertains to a map that must be produced, constructed, a map that is always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entranceways and exits and its own lines of flight. (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 21)

Each becoming touches each other's becoming and changes not only the positions of the beginning and end points but also changes the meaning of becoming itself in a rhizome. Unlike a vertical and linear connections, a "rhizome is a network of multiple branching roots and shoots with no central axis, no unified point of origin and no given direction of growth – a proliferating somewhat chaotic and diversified system of growths" (Grosz 1994:199). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 21), "the rhizome operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots … The rhizome is acentered, non-hierarchical, non-signifying system". For Deleuze, rhizomes produce "assemblages," aggregates of diverse forces related to one another. An assemblage is "a multiplicity … made up many heterogeneous terms" (Deleuze 1987: 69, cited in Bazzano 2014: 255). The rhizome is not a space where we can reach; it is a way of becoming. According to Awad Ibrahim (2014), "the goal of the rhizome is '[t]o reach, not the point where one no longer says I, but the point where it is no longer of any importance whether one says I'. The rhizome, then, is a metaphor that is invoked and provoked for three reasons: (1) to question the verticality of power relation as it is currently existing in the organism, (2) to remind us and indicate our rootedness into the organism, from which we need to liberate ourselves and (3) to indicate the multiple possibilities that we need to envision, work towards and become aware of their existence. To envision these possibilities, we need a plane of consistency." In order to summarize the rhizome, according to Elizabeth Grozs (1994), we can use these terms: multiple connections with macro and micro decentred linkages, heterogeneity, ruptures and discontinuities. Ultimately, it can be claimed that becoming is the main source of the rhizome and the rhizome is the way of connection of one becoming to another`s becoming.

In other words, the rhizome is the space where possibilities which are produced by becoming take place. However, how can we use these arguments to discuss and understand the effects of cross-dressing performance in Turkish cinema? And why are becoming, rhizome zigzag and deterritorialization important for understanding cross-dressing?

Mobility of becoming can be a protractive tool for discussing cross-dressing in Turkish cinema which can be located in the relationship between body, power and being as well. Cross-dressing can be accepted as a process where the stable, fixed, univocal gendered identity begins its journey in a rhizome. During a cross-dressing act, one gender does not become the opposite gender, but encounters it. It is a journey and one cannot transform into the other completely. This action changes the meaning and structure of the beginning and end points. In other words, a man who wear a woman's clothes and pretends to be a woman can only change the idea of *being a woman* and make visible becoming a woman.[36] On the other hand, the same man also changes the meaning and structure of *being a man.* In this way being a man gets closer to becoming other. There are two points here; first, eventually there is no more being woman and being man because the action of cross-dressing changes the meaning and structure of the beginning and end points; and second, cross-dressing is not in the middle of being woman and being man but can be at any point in between. Therefore, the positions of each cross-dressing are different from each other's. So a "thousand tiny sexes" (Grozs 1994) can be freed from these two gendered stable identities by using an act of cross-dressing, which might be discussed as an example of becoming which is an open door to possible lives. Cross-dressing cannot therefore be discussed as a final product or form, but in this thesis it will be accepted as a journey and a process in which imitation and pretending cannot exist because becoming challenges the idea of an inner self. For Deleuze and Guattari, "becoming is never a process of imitating, yet the one who becomes finds himself before another who ends up being in oneself. With the other in

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[36] Becoming a woman is a "reflexive experience of femininity as a signifier of difference, in relation to man as the molar identity against which identity itself is measured" (Sutton & Martin-Hones 2008: 142). Some feminists criticise Deleuze and Guattari because of the idea of becoming a woman. For example, Rosi Braidotti criticised the idea of becoming a woman in her book *Patterns of Dissonance* (1991). According to her, the discussion about becoming a woman recommends women to give up their femininity which only they have in order to be oppose patriarchy. Alice Jardine discussed Deleuze and Guattari's idea of becoming a woman in her study *Gynesis* (1985). Jardine focused on the questions which were raised by Deleuze about what the main actors of feminism are, such as identity, patriarchy, subjectivity and gender, by asking where feminism would be located without them. In *The Sex Which Is Not One* (1985), Irigaray accused Deleuze of ignoring his male identity when he came up with the idea of becoming a woman and pointed out that we again come face-to-face with a male understanding about becoming a woman. Both Irigaray and Jardine shared the same fear that becoming a woman is only accomplished by the disappearance of women. Furthermore, Dorothea Olkowski in *Deleuze and the Ruin of Representation* and Elizabeth Grozs both found many feminist arguments in the work of Deleuze and Guattari.

me, however, I am not substituting myself for another; the structure of becoming is not reciprocal. It is a zigzag in which I become other so that the other may become something else, but this becoming something else is possible only if a work (œuvre) is produced" (Lawlor 2008: 170). In *Dialogues* (1977: 2), Deleuze wrote that "to become is never to imitate nor to do like nor to conform to a model, whether it's of justice or of truth. There is no terminus from which you set out, none which you arrive at or at which you ought to arrive. Nor are the two terms exchanged. For as someone becomes, what he is becoming changes as much as he does himself". So while discussing cross-dressing in this thesis, it should be remembered that there is a deterritorialization of gendered identity in the rhizome and this deterritorialization affects many other forms and other becomings which take place in the rhizome.

On the other hand, the rhizome, as discussed above, is where the open-ended linkages create possibilities of life and is the place of destabilization of social order politics and ontologies in relation to each other's becoming process. In other words, each movement on the rhizome creates new possibilities. When the cross-dressing deterritorializes gendered identity in the rhizome, this movement affects other forms of identity`s structure. So, when we discuss cross-dressing, we should accept that it is not an issue which relates only to gendered identity. It affects and is affected not only on/by gendered position in power relations but also other on/by forms of relation between subject and power. For example, Şaban in *Şabaniye* not only becomes a woman but also jumps to the upper class. The deterritorialization of his gendered identity allows the creation of a new rhizomatic formation so he not only changes his gendered identity but also his class identity. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan not only becomes a woman but also becomes a *hacı (*pilgrim) even though he is an alcoholic. These two characters become tourists on the map of power relations by means of cross-dressing. Cross-dressing as a becoming allows questioning the existing power relations in the subject and reminds us that multiple possibilities are hiding in this power relationship. It therefore liberates its subject by providing mobility on this map of power relations. Cross-dressing characters who start their journey by transforming their stable, fixed univocal gendered identity into dislocated, displaced and untimely becoming can travel on this map. I shall give more examples of this situation and discuss it in greater depth in the case study chapters where the films and the cross-dressing performances in them will be

discussed. Here, however, briefly, if the subject changes its position on the rhizome by using the mobility of becoming, this change affects other forms of identity because of the multiple linkages and connections between them on the rhizome. This change also affects the usage of institutions of power such as time, space, language because identities are structured by them. In other words, the becoming which is practised by the cross-dressing subject fractures the idea of stable identity.

On the other hand, against the mobility and anarchy which is produced by this mobility of becoming, power has its own weapon which can be called culture which is used for the reterritorialization of the subject. This weapon also uses time, space, memory, history, language, and identity in order to destabilize becomings. Deleuze and Guattari explained this by the metaphor of the GPS (Global Positioning System). They suggested that culture and the elements of power help one to locate oneself again after the multiplicity of becoming and restless changes of identity. On the other hand, becoming challenges this GPS of culture and power. For example, becoming frees space because it takes place on a threshold which was termed the 'zone of proximity' by Deleuze and Guattari. For example, cross-dressing can be in three different spaces at the same time. They have their own time and their own story. These different spaces and times sometimes run parallel and sometimes they cross one another. These fractures highlight and make visible our fictional relationship with time and space, which cannot be discussed without a power relation. Cross-dressing characters destroy the continuity which is required for being but which is the enemy of becoming. Becoming destroys the linear perception of space-time. Furthermore destroying the perception of time and space destroys the control of power over the subject. By means of destroying the perception of linear time and space, the subject gains flexibility. Cross-dressing disrupts the dominant value of presence, the here and now. Furthermore, becoming has no history because, according to Deleuze (1987), human beings have no essence but history. History makes us human. History is the way of producing a stable world and fixed identities. As Deleuze (1987) noted, "becoming isn't a part of history; history amounts only [to] the set of preconditions, however recent, that one leaves behind in order to 'become', that is, to create something new". Identity is the story about ourselves which we tell others, and memory is the main element of that history. Cross-dressing characters in films must find their own way to create a new memory of their new gendered identities, so

in cross-dressing films there are several scenes detailing how cross-dressing characters create new memories for their new gendered identities, because becoming escapes from the present and moves in the past and the future at the same time. These new memories can be accepted as sources of new identities. The ways in which cross-dressing characters invent memories include knowledge about the perception of social order, social interactions and the value system. Creating memory transforms a cross-dressing character into an active agent in the discourse, which is why these strategies give us a great opportunity to discuss the system of knowledge of a specific period. By creating memory, cross-dressing characters fracture history on both the individual and the social levels. When we consider cross-dressing movement in the frame of the rhizome, there is always a conflict between culture/weapons of power and cross-dressing performance – the visible face of becoming-. As is obvious, I refer to the outcomes of this conflict as fractures. I contend that cross-dressing performance fractures time, space, memory, history, language and so on which are the main sources of power. In these fractures 'all forms come undone`. The mobility of cross-dressing on the rhizome provided by the idea of becoming is the one of the main sources of fractures.

2.2: Visible but not Recognisable

In examining examples of cross-dressing films from Turkish cinema, I argue that the cross-dressing character is forced by the narrative to change his/her gendered position on the map of power relation and to cross-dress in order to escape the surveillance of an enemy person, group or institution. The narratives of cross-dressing films usually create a need for the character to change his/her appearance. Thus, the cross-dressing characters are responding to particular circumstances. A kind of panoptic society is created for the characters which forces them to cross-dress. The characters always know that they are being observed but are never sure when they encounter their observer. However, although they escape from the surveillance, they are not hiding and they do not disappear. On the contrary, they are still visible, and they are protecting their presence. Although they are still visible, they are with their enemy even more than at the beginning of the films; cross-dressing characters are not recognised by their observers precisely because of their cross-dressing gender performance.

This situation constitutes the second effect of cross-dressing performance on its body: that cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying the desire to be visible as cross-dressed and at the same time escaping from the panoptic social mechanisms, because cross-dressed characters are unrecognisable as the self. I suggest that cross-dressing characters can escape the all-seeing social mechanism because although they are still visible, which can be accepted as the source of self, they cannot be recognisable, because their bodies are in the frame of undecidability and because cross-dressing makes the body and its performance artificial. This circumstance gains a different meaning in the Turkish context. As discussed throughout the previous chapter, cross-dressing films have been popular narratives at times of military coup in Turkey. Curfews, control over everything, even people's history and language and even banning words which are related to oppositional ideas, and rigid controls of daily routines as part of the implementation of a military coup all contribute to the same panoptic, all-seeing environment for the citizens. Fictional characters can escape this panoptic control of narrative only if they change their subject position on the map of power relations, which is also the desire of all citizens who live under a military take-over. I suggest that *being visible but not recognisable* is a crucial effect of cross-dressing in relation to military coups.

In order to understand the force behind this argument, I shall use the concept of the grotesque body. I have chosen to use the grotesque because this concept discusses the body and its position in relation to power. The grotesque body is both *being with other* and *being in other*. The differentiation between visibility and recognisability can be discussed as a tension between *being with other*, which is the main source of visibility because it shows the relationship between being and other which involves representations and hence produces visibility for cross-dressing and *being in other*, which is the main source of unrecognizability because it destroys both being and other and therefore involves unrecognizability for self. So the question of why and how cross-dressing characters can escape surveillance without losing their visibility can be discussed by reference to the grotesque body. Furthermore, the grotesque body can be discussed under the umbrella of the idea of becoming. I shall therefore discuss the grotesque body in relation to cross-dressing in order to explain the visible but not recognisable aspect of cross-dressing.

2.2.1: Cross-dressing as a Grotesque Performance

Trying to define 'grotesque', which inevitably involves problems of generalising, is dangerous. Scrutinising the term according to history will help us to understand the core of its meaning. Giving the historical background of the term does not mean following the chronological linear route of the term but trying to understand what kinds of need and what factors have been satisfied by grotesque and how grotesque has been influenced by them.

The roots of the term lies in ancient Roman frescos in which the human body, plants and animal bodies were mixed in order to create images of new bodies on the walls of an imperial palace. The word has been used since the eighteenth century to mean something which is strange, hideous and fantastical and Wolfgang Kayser's *Grotesque in Arts and Literature* (1857) is accepted as the first formal study of the grotesque. Although there have been some isolated and notable attempts to discuss the grotesque, Kayser`s study was the first in which the grotesque became the subject of aesthetic analysis. Kayser focused on two features of the grotesque: (1) "confusion of the heterogeneous" and (2) "the transgression against the laws of nature and proportion" (Thomson 1972: 12). According to Bakhtin, Kayser destroyed the link between the grotesque and folk humour and the carnival spirit because he focused on the horrifying aspect of the grotesque, and he criticised Kayser for ignoring two thousand years of development of the term and for distorting its interpretation. John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1904) has been accepted as a valuable study of the grotesque: he studied the architecture of Venice and focused on the ability of the grotesque to showing binary terms together: nobility and dishonour, god and the devil, sin and good deeds can be found together in grotesque images which he suggested can be accepted as the representation of the moral transformation of society. Furthermore, Ruskin emphasized the role of *playfulness*, which involved the "combination of the ludicrous and terrible" (Thomson 1972: 15) as an element of grotesque. Heinrich Schneegans's *Grotesque Satire* (1894) is the other well-documented study. Bakhtin expressed his own ideas about the grotesque by discussing Schneegans's arguments about it. Schneegans (1894: 53) pointed out the "contrast between form and content, mixture of heterogeneous elements, the explosive force of the paradoxical, which is both ridiculous and terrifying" (quoted in Thomson 1972). According to Bakhtin (1984), he ignored the deep ambivalence of the grotesque. Hegel (1929) argued that the grotesque is the product of a particular

contradiction between essence and appearance; it is the result of a battle between meaning and shape. According to Hegel, the three traits of the grotesque are the fusion of different natural spheres, immeasurable and exaggerated dimensions, and the multiplication of different members and organs of the human body. Samuel Beckett, Victor Hugo, Gunter Grass and Frederick Durrenmatt all tried to extend the notion of the grotesque. From all these discussion, several elements of the grotesque become prominent: disharmony, conflict, simultaneously comic and terrifying, extravagance and exaggeration, abnormality, playfulness, alienation and bivalence. In this current study, I follow Bakhtin's ideas about grotesque realism and the grotesque body. [37][38]

For Bakhtin, the grotesque body represented a powerful force. It is a body which is always in process. Russo (1994: 63) described the grotesque body as one which is "open, protruding and extended, the body of becoming, process and change". A grotesque body transgresses the boundaries between bodies. Extenuated or escalated, the distortional and shapeless body of a grotesque challenges the stable and unchangeable body. It is exaggerated and immeasurable: "Grotesque played with a double image which belongs to both the upper and the lower sphere … There is a swing in grotesque" (Morris 1996: 215). In this sense, a grotesque body is a degradation of what is accepted as a normal body. The grotesque body is an uncanny body which swings between life and death, subject and object, one and many by eluding borders. According to Bakhtin (1984: 26), "the grotesque body is not separated

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[37] The grotesque has a long history in aesthetics. The first essays dealing with the subject were written during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Some important examples are John Addington Symonds, 'Caricature, the Fantastic, the Grotesque', in *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*; G.F.W. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Fine Art*; Victor Hugo, Preface to *Cromwell*, (ed. Edmond Wahl); John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*; Colin Trodd, Paul Barlow and David Amigoni (eds), *Victorian Culture and the Idea of the Grotesque*; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*; Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature*; Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*; Ewa Kuryluk, *Salome and Judas in the Cave of Sex*; Philip Thomson, *The Grotesque*; Wilson Yates, 'An Introduction to the Grotesque: Theoretical and Theological Considerations', in James Luther Adams and Wilson Yates (eds), *The Grotesque in Art and Literature: Theological Reflections*Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Monster Culture (Seven Theses)', in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*; Rosemarie Garland Thomson, 'Introduction: From Wonder to Error-A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity', in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*Thomas Wright, *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*Arthur Clayborough, *The Grotesque in English Literature*; Wright, *A History of Caricature*. A very detailed reference list can be found in Sara Cohen Shabot, 2013, pp:64-66

[38] In the Turkish context, narratives of *Hacivat* and *Karagoz*, who are the famous characters of Turkish traditional shadow theatre, can be discussed under the idea of the grotesque body. They involve the disorientation of the body by using animal and human body parts together, the exaggeration of body forms by using drinking, eating and the dirty body in an abjective way, destroying body hierarchy by using the anus as a mouth or the head as a foot. For greater detail, see Ilyaz Bingul, *Grotesk Karagöz*; Nil Aycil, *Grotesk Anlatım Üslubu ve Karagöz*; Sevinç Sokkulu,*Türk Tiyatrosunda Komedyanın Evrimi*, According to Metin And, in the rituals of shamanic culture many forms of the grotesque body and the carnivalesque can be seen which can be discussed under eastern culture: see And, *Oyun ve Bugu*: *Yapi Kredi Yayinlari* (2007) and Seyfi Kabatas *Bütüncül Türk Budunbilimine Doğru*. In Turkish cinema, the element of grotesque has been discussed in terms of genre. Horror movies have been the subject of these discussions.

from the rest of the world. It is not a closed, completed unit; it is unfinished, outgrows itself, and transgresses its own limits. The stress is laid on those parts of the body that are open to the outside world, that is, the parts through which the world enters the body or emerges from it, or through which the body itself goes out to meet the world…" It can be said that the grotesque is like a cross-dressing performance both as an outcome of binary oppositions and at the same time by destroying the boundaries between binary poles by opening its body to outside them. Cross-dressing, like the grotesque body, creates an uncanny body which is not finished.

The grotesque raises a crisis about the hierarchy and categories of the body. According to Bakhtin (1984: 352), in the grotesque, organs become independent from the body and are released from the organisation of the body. Our faces can show our ethnicity or our skin can show our class, our reproductive organs can show our gender, and overall, the social organization of our organs shows us the limits and limitations of our bodies. On the other hand, the grotesque is a process of becoming where the body is freed from its limits. The grotesque destroys the field of body where the organs follow norms, values and meaning according to their functions and in relation to each other as social formations for giving their meanings to whole body, which is the main subject of power. The grotesque is the way of making body both visible – because it is still there – but unrecognisable – because it is freed from its linguistic and multiple codes and limits such as class, race, age and gender, and therefore this body does not belong to me or you or someone else. Bakhtin (1984) suggested that by means of the grotesque, objects and organs exchange their meaning. The grotesque eliminates not only the limits of the body but also the hierarchy between subjects and objects and uses the body as an intersubjective and inter-objective space. In the grotesque, for example, a table leg can be used as a human leg and this creates a new understanding of both a human leg and a table leg because there is no more human or table leg and the meaning of both is always double. This creates an unbounded, uncompleted body in transformation, a body with links to its past and its future in the present, not individual but the people`s body, not private but collective bodies, open-ended, irregular and shame-free bodies. In cross-dressing performance, there is no limit between object and subject, organs and body just like in the grotesque. For example, a ball of wool can be a breast and transform a man's body into a woman's body. A ball can create a pregnant body. A wig

transforms a man into a woman. So the cross-dressed body pushes the limits of itself just as the grotesque does. So cross-dressing can be discussed as an outcome of this semantic shift between organs and objects. The relationship between body, identity and a ball of wool is established by the exaggerated performance. For example, in *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan uses balls of wool to produce breasts and buttocks for himself. However, they do not achieve the desired effect, so he exaggerates his walk to underline his new bottom. His exaggerated performance establishes a relationship between his body, his new gendered identity and the object which he uses to achieve it – in this case balls of wool.

The grotesque is not only about the limits of the body and the relationship between the body and objects but is also about the performance of *this* body. The grotesque is the way of challenging the power relation by using its own weapon, the body, because the term is interested in not what the body is – because it is about the limits of body – but what the body can do. Therefore, grotesque is based on doing, on performance. The main source of the existence of the grotesque body is based on not only becoming, but also doing and showing. The performance of the grotesque body transforms into something which is rendered nothing, artificial, unrecognisable or undone. That is why bodily exposure is the main feature of the grotesque. It can be said that performance takes the place of the organs in the cross-dressed body as well as in films, and that it is not organs but performance which identifies the body. The hierarchy of the body, which is produced by using the cultural and historical organisation of organs, is destroyed by performance. There are no more penises, vaginas, breasts, hair or anything else which makes us woman or man. Instead, doing takes place in order to express body.

I shall now move away from my key focus for a while in order to discuss Judith Butler's argument about performativity, which is another productive notion by which to discuss cross-dressing and its visible but unrecognizable quality. I read Butler's performativity theory and Richard Schechner's performance theory together and reciprocally for understanding the exaggerated   performance of the cross-dressing body, because cross-dressing as a gender orientation involves performativity and as a grotesque body it involves performance. Performance can be considered a way of doing and of showing what the body is doing. Performance requires a long-term education process which began before us and will continue after us in order to be human and to learn the appropriate behaviour for daily life.

"Performance behaviour is not free and easy. Performance behaviour is known and practised by osmosis since early childhood" (Schechner 1985: 118). Performance covers all human life and all actions of human beings as a whole, because all human actions are repeated. These repeated features make actions into performance. No human action can be the first. The body as a performer resists the space which is surrounding it and by doing so it makes itself the doer. Performance takes place between the body and the space. (Schechner 1985) Therefore all human actions as a performance exist in the space between individuals and can be visible in the relationship between individuals. They have interchanging values. Individuals value their performance according to someone else`s reaction. They relay information about us, about our gender, religion, pleasure, desire. In this sense, performances show continuity and it is this continuity which makes people 'normal'. Performance is the restoration of human action (Turner 1988: 7). Performance certificates, preserves, regulates and straightens human action.

Gender is performance. In other worlds, we perform our gender. As Butler argues: "… What we take to be an 'internal' feature of ourselves is one that we anticipate and produce through certain bodily acts, at an extreme, a hallucinatory effect of naturalized gestures" (Butler 2006: 15). Gender is constructed by repeated acts; it is not being but doing. However all doing also includes showing. Showing structures act as a performance. "Gender with performance is based on external evidence and outward behaviour where gender exists as perception: the very components of perceived gender – gait, stance, gesture, deportment, vocal pitch and intonation, costume, accessories, coiffure – indicate the performative nature of the construct" (Senelick 1992: 9). Therefore, gender as a performance takes place in the gap between individuals. In other words, gender is exchanged between them. Gendered identity is based on doing, showing, seeing and exchanging.

"Performativity is a matter of reiterating or repeating the norms by which one is constituted: it is not a radical fabrication of a gendered self. It is compulsory repetition of prior and subjectification norms, ones which cannot be thrown off at will but which work, animate, constraining the gendered subject and which are also the resources from which resistance, subversion, displacements are to be forged" (Butler, 1997: 17). According to Butler, there was performance before performer. One does not only *do* one's gender; at the same time one makes an agreement with particular sanctions and prescriptions of discourse and in

doing so one contributes to keeping the discourse alive. "Gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again" (Butler 1990: 277). "Because performance behaviour is not free and easy it never wholly belongs to the performer" (Schechner 1985: 118). If we read Butler and Schechner together, we can conclude that not only gender but all forms of identity are performance.

Cross-dressing is the performance where repeated and stylized gender acting can be destroyed. Cross-dressing performance has two lines: biological-given-sex performance and cross-dressing performance. According to Butler (2006), "Cross-dressing is not as real to copy or copy to real, drag is copy to copy." The cross-dresser is both man and woman and neither man nor woman. In cross-dressing activity, body, performance and clothes create a new way of being which is beyond the category of sex and which is in the process of becoming. By means of cross-dressing performance, gender performances become artificial and annihilated. Repeated and stylized gender acting becomes unrecognizable. That is why cross-dressing performance seems to be exaggerated.

Turning back to the grotesque, according to Bakhtin (1984), exaggeration is a fundamental element of grotesque realism and implies the positive and assertive aspect of the term. Exaggeration of the grotesque is based on accepting that the body is not an individualistic entity but rather taking the body in a relation with the collective idea of body which involves not only people but also other living things and the material world in the grotesque. In the grotesque, "an object can transgress not only its quantitative but also its qualitative limits, that it can outgrow itself and be fused with other object" (Bakhtin 1984: 308). The cross-dressed body exaggerates the representation of the sexual orientation of the body in order to highlight the new orientation of new bodies and this sense cross-dressing comes close to the grotesque body. The sexual fragmentation of the body (breasts, buttocks, hair) is highlighted. The elements of human anatomy can be seen to be in conflict and are caricatured. Cross-dressing might be perceived as a significant distortion of the known or recognized regulatory forms of the body. In the film poster for *Şabaniye* (*see* Figure 2.1), the body seems to be in conflict, with an extra thin waist, extra big head, extra short arms. The muscles imply being a man but the dress, hair and make-up imply being a woman. The

sexual orientation of the body is caricatured. The body of Şabaniye expands its limits. The grotesque body of Şabaniye makes the Şaban unrecognisable but he is still visible.


Figure 2.3: The exaggerated body of Şabaniye in the poster of the film

The exaggeration of the grotesque can be seen not only in the exaggerated form of the body but also in the exaggerated performance of the cross-dressed body. The exaggeration of the grotesque can be read as an effort to accommodate the subject to new possible meanings or the meaninglessness of organs which give us our identity. In order to be a cross-dresser, first, the organs which identify the gendered body have to lose their meaning. However, losing meaning is followed by organising new meanings for organs by using their exaggerated performance in order to establish their new relations with the body. No other women swaggers, guffaws, or flirts like a cross-dressed character. When the old man sees Naci and Fikri in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* as cross-dressed characters, he falls in love with Fikriye and says 'I have seen many other women but I have never seen a woman like you. Look at your appearance (*boyuna posuna*), look at your wiles and coquetry. Look at your hilarity. *Hay Maşallah*'. He is unwittingly speaking the literal truth: there really is no other woman like Fikri because Fikri is not a woman, and Fikriye is not a woman either. In order to highlight his new sexual orientation, Fikri-ye exaggerates his performance and his appearance and the old man reacts to a woman of a kind that he has never seen before.

The idea of degradation in the term 'grotesque' is based on the relationship between the upper and lower spheres by combining positive and negative, in other words the relationship between self and other. The direction of movement of the grotesque begins from self, which can be accepted as upper and positive, and moves to other, which can be accepted as lower and negative. The exaggeration and degradation destroy the official certainty of the body: a

body as entirely finished, completed, strictly limited and individual, labelled by language, which speaks for itself, a closed sphere, a single meaning.

The terms imply a body which is in the process of becoming. According to Bakhtin (1984: 317), "The grotesque body, as we often stressed, is a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed; it is continually building and creating another body." Therefore, the necessary conditions for the grotesque are deterritorialization and de-subjectification. The grotesque creates double. A transforms into B and B transforms into C, and eventually there is no more A, B or C. It can be said that the grotesque uses the body as a weapon against the idea of stable beings and definitions and resists the centralized organisation of the body. Cross-dressing lodges itself on a stratum between two gendered poles and uses the opportunities provided by being in-between. It deterritorializes first gendered identity and then other forms of identity in an intersectional way and creates new conjunctions between them. Because cross-dressing is also the deterritorialization and desubjectification of identity, which is the main starting point of the act of crossing, it also has a double meaning as was explained above: man becomes a woman, and the meaning of both becoming woman and man are changed. Cross-dressing creates an open-ended, irregular, unbounded body which is constantly in the process of becoming. Cross-dressing uses the body as a weapon as well as a form of artificial performance.

A new question arises from this discussion about cross-dressing, the grotesque body and damaged performance: what will happen to cross-dressing if we accept that it is a grotesque body? In order to discuss this question, I shall use the term *undecidability* which was coined by Jacques Derrida. Discussing cross-dressing as a grotesque can help us to understand its undecidability and hence its unrecognisable nature.

The grotesque and cross-dressing are the frame of undecidability: "Undecidables are characterized by their virtue of being able to function within certain oppositions that are essential for a certain argumentation, but undermine these oppositions at the same time because of their double meaning" (Derrida 1987: 40). Derrida (1987: 43) described "undecidables as verbal properties that can no longer be included within philosophical (binary) oppositions; they resist and disorganize such oppositions without ever constituting a third term and without ever leaving room for a solution in the form of speculative

dialectics". Undecidable implies things which can never be mediated, mastered or dialecticized. In other words, the locus of undecidability is in between binary poles: such as cross-dressing between woman/man, as a centaur or mermaids between animal/human, as zombies between death/life, as the Terminator between human/machine and so on. "Undecidables graft one meaning onto another; they take up a key role as they bring together and separate possible meanings at the same time. Their meaning cannot be presented as 'this and that' or 'this or that'. It is 'and' and 'or' at the same time" (Derrida 1987: 40). Undecidables are in the process of becoming, hence they are mobile: "a process where opposites merge in a constant undecidable exchange of attributes" (Norris 1987: 35). According to Derrida (1987: 86), things of undecidability "... situate perhaps better than others the places where discourses can no longer dominate, judge, decide: between the positive and the negative, the good and the bad, the true and the false". Derrida called undecidability a virus which threatens the thinking system and takes place as a slippery thing in the uncertain space which is the zone of indetermination between binary poles,. Cross-dressing as a grotesque body can be understood as an undecidable body. Not only self and other but also self and objects produce one body together. Therefore, this body eliminates the hierarchy and limits of the body which give it official and institutional recognisability. The exaggerated performance of this body destroys repeated and stylized gender acting and creates a new way of being which is beyond the categories. Therefore, they cannot be always recognised.

Although the grotesque body and the cross-dressed body are there, they are visible but they cannot be recognisable. They are out of the meaning, materiality and reality which are produced by language. Linguistic reality states that 'this body is female', which also shows the limit of body. The reality and materiality of this statement come from the success of discourses which erase and conceal it and which mediate our knowledge about a body. On the other hand, cross-dressing destroys this reality and materiality of language and enables an escape from the prison of language to some extent. The cross-dressing subject is not a passive entity which is constructed by linguistic determination and limits but is an active agent situated outside linguistic monism and binary opposition. Hence, they are undecidables. However, at this point again a new question must be asked: what does cross-dressing do with this unrecognizability in films?

As discussed at length above, cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying the desire to be visible and at the same time to escape panoptic social mechanisms. The narratives of cross-dressing films usually create a need for a character to change his/her appearance. The characters can escape this all-seeing society of the narrative only if they change their position on the map of power relations. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Fikri and Naci accidentally witness a gangland killing and the killers seek them everywhere: in order to escape surveillance, they change their subject position and dress as women. In *Şabaniye*, Şaban escapes from a blood feud. He is under the surveillance of the enemy family. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan owes money to the mafia and in order to escape them he pretends to be his sister. In *Şoför Nebehat*, the male gaze and heterosexual masculine organization of society is the origin of the surveillance. Panoptic society is the centre of the narrative in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba* because the film`s main location is a male dormitory which can be accepted as an extension of the school's disciplinary regime. The character can escape the panoptic social mechanism without disappearing or hiding because s/he is still there, s/he is visible, living, eating, falling in love and being loved but cannot be recognised, because the body is freed from its linguistic determination and multiple codes. By means of cross-dressing, the performance of identities becomes artificial and then annihilated. Because they are in the process of becoming, their bodies are the frame of undecidability because the system of power cannot label or mark them, cannot categorize them. This escaping from a panoptic social mechanism gains deeper meaning when the politics of the era of the films are considered. As already established, cross-dressing films and military coups have overlapped in Turkey. The implications of military coups are based on surveillance and make the panoptic social mechanism visible; the all-seeing sees all. The authoritarianism of a military regime observes its citizen everywhere, even in their homes. The streets are full of military personnel. Everywhere and at any time a citizen`s ID card can be demanded and controlled.

Figure 2.4 and 2.5: Military coups in action; archive photographs from *Hürriyet*

In the coup of 1980, 650,000 people were taken into custody, 230,000 were tried, fifty were executed, and 229 "died of unnatural causes" while in custody (Günersel 2007). Under these circumstances, cross-dressing films have provided emancipation from panoptic surveillance. The films play out a fantasy scenario in which characters are emancipated in this way.

In addition, cross-dressing characters not only escape their enemies or guardians but also escape the obligations of society such as military service, bank debt, school attendance, exams (Burhan in *Şeytanın Pabucu, Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*), and peer and neighbourhood social pressure (Şaban in *Şabaniye*). However, the type of authority figure which creates the need to escape changes according to each separate time period. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, the situation is not the cross-dressing characters' fault; they are accidently stuck in the middle. In *Şoför Nebehat*, her father dies suddenly and she has to work as a taxi driver. The cross-dressing characters' situations in both films are very similar to the situation of the Ottoman citizens who came face to face with Kemalist modernization and westernization suddenly and in an unexpected way. In *Şabaniye*, the reason of the authority is the inheritance left by the father as a reification of tradition. If the neo-liberal politics of the post-1980 period are

considered, the situation in *Şabaniye* gains another meaning. The post-1980 period can be read as a disengagement from Kemalist (Ataturk as the father of the Turks) tradition and an attempt to open the country to foreign capital. As already discussed, the 1980s culture can be read as a return of those repressed by Kemalist modernization. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, obligation is structured by the cross-dressing character's faults. He is an alcoholic swindler and his authority derives from the mafia. In order to escape surveillance, he not only changes his gender but also his religious position. In other words, he becomes not only *she* but also *hacı*, a pilgrim. This makes sense if the Islamic conservatism of Turkey is taken into consideration. Briefly, against the authoritative figures in films who create the panoptic society, the characters use the period's dominant discourse as a weapon. They are countering the dominant culture.

On the other hand, after escaping surveillance, they re-produce themselves and their new identities as their own surveillance tool. All of these cross-dressing films feature characters who are able to penetrate spaces which are forbidden to them: the women's dormitory, the men's/women's bathroom, the men's/women's dressing room, without others' knowledge. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Naci and Fikri penetrate the women's sleeping quarters, whereas in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Arzu moves into the male dormitory. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan uses the same changing room as Aysun. Knowledge shared with the audience about the true gender of the characters gives power to the cross-dressing character to be an observer. As well as penetrating forbidden spaces, they also become the observer of their enemy. Şaban in *Şabaniye* falls in love with the daughter of the enemy family and the enemy family's son falls in love with Şabaniye, so Şaban and the enemy family spend all their time together. Thus Şaban has access to all the information about them. In *Hababam Sınıfı*, Arzu becomes the observer of her lover by means of a cross-dressing performance and creates a panoptic situation for him. It is worth reminding ourselves that all of these films were made under and/or after a military coup, a time which can be described as militaristic surveillance. Citizens who live under a military hegemony try to create their own civil-based power domain and surveillance system where they can regain the power taken away by the military.
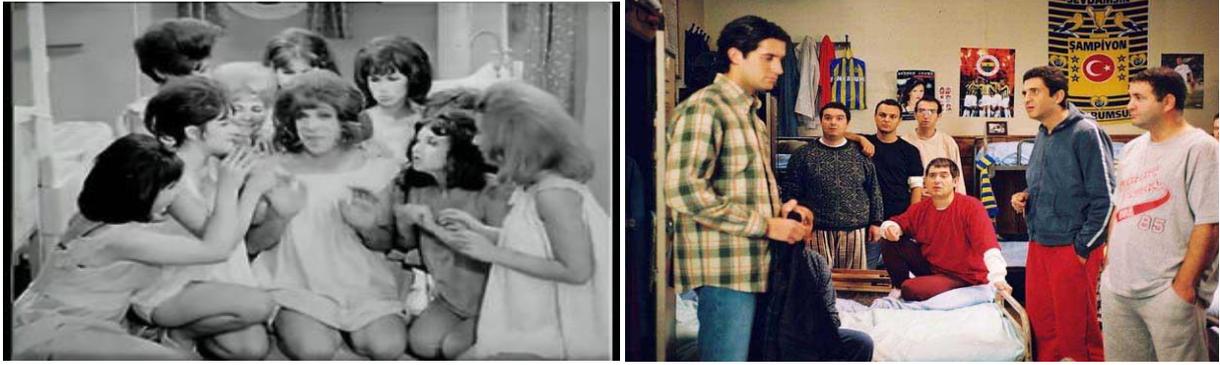
Figure 2.6 (*left*): Fikri-ye in the women's sleeping quarters in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*

Figure 2.7 (*right*): Arzu in the male dormitory in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*

This part of the chapter is based on the recognition of the ability of cross-dressing characters to escape the panoptic social mechanism without losing their visibility. Furthermore, while they are escaping from the panoptical social mechanism, at the same time, they can be free from social obligations and they can produce their own surveillance systems. I have claimed that this power of cross-dressing characters is rooted in their undecidability. They are in the frame of undecidability because cross-dressing performance frees the body from the linguistic and multiple codes which are expressed by performance and organs and therefore destroys performance and the organisation of organs. In order to discuss these two issues together, I have used the analogy with the grotesque body. In the next section, I shall discuss carnivalesque in relation to cross-dressing performance.

2.3: Life in a carnival: Experiencing otherness without being the other

Cross-dressing is the means of enabling the body to become mobile and undecidable just like the grotesque experiences otherness without being other. As I have argued throughout this chapter, cross-dressing provides mobility against the captivity of a military regime and a means of escaping the surveillance inherent in a panoptic military regime: I shall now suggest that a cross-dressed body who experiences otherness without being other creates a carnival against the discriminatory politics of a military regime. In this section, the idea of carnivalesque – in Bakhtinian terms – will be discussed in order to understand how a cross-

dressed body as a grotesque body communicates with other bodies and how this communication enables the carnival in films. When the cross-dressed body experiences otherness without being other, how are other bodies affected? I shall argue that this effect of cross-dressing creates a carnival environment in the films. In order to establish the relationality between bodies and to determine the position of the grotesque body in this relation, carnival will be discussed next.

2.3.1 Cross-dressing and the Carnivalesque

Bakhtin acknowledged the carnivalesque to refer to the varied popular festive life of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. According to Bakhtin (1984), the folk culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance can be divided into three parts: "ritual spectacles: carnivals, comic verbal compositions, various genres of Billingsgate". 'Carnival' is Bakhtin`s term for a bewildering constellation of rituals, games, symbols and various carnal excesses which together constitute an alternative social space of freedom, abundance and equality. Carnival brings together, unifies, weds and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the significant, the wise with the stupid.[39]

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[39] The pleasure of carnival is based on the fulfilment of the gap between the symbolic order of language and pre-linguistic desires. As explained by Augustine Perumalil (2009), Kristeva's "semiotic is closely related to the infantile pre-Oedipal stage referred to in the works of Freud, and Lacan's pre-mirror stage. It is an emotional field, tied to the instincts, which dwells in the fissures and prosody of language rather than in the denotative meanings of words" (56). Furthermore, according to Birgit Schippers (2011), "the semiotic is a realm associated with the musical, the poetic, the rhythmic, and that which lacks structure and meaning. It is closely tied to the 'feminine', and represents the undifferentiated state of the pre-Mirror Stage infant."(64). Carnival and grotesques are a permeable space between the semiotic and symbolic orders. Furthermore, these permeable spaces emancipate the semiotic and symbolic orders from being imprisoned in binary logic. After coming into the symbolic order and language acquisition, the subject begins to symbolize and entitle its pre-linguistic experiences as required structures of language. However, because of the structure of language, there is always a gap between the signification system and pre-linguistic experiences. Neither language nor social order is sufficiently sustaining to permit identity to be articulated that can withstand the existence of another without paranoia. Desires and horror take place in this gap. It might be claimed that desire is a prolongation of the semiotic order into the symbolic order, and horror is a prolongation of symbolic order into the semiotic order. In every connection between the symbolic and semiotic, there are fractures where meaning collapse occurs. Furthermore, carnival, grotesque, may be accepted as the outcomes of this connection between the symbolic and semiotic orders. Cross-dressing can be claimed as a way of expressing this connection. Cross-dressing performance makes these connections visible by means of the fractures of films. However, these fractures of the symbolic order which are produced by resisting part of the semiotic order, such as carnival, cross-dressing, and grotesques, are labelled with power relations in order to inject them into the discourse as a safeguarding system. That is why they involve both collapsing and renewing of systems. All of these terms help us to explain the subjects' way of being mobile by using cross-dressing. Almost all cross-dressing characters in Turkish films can escape from the system and at the same time express themselves within the system. They can perform these two actions simultaneously because of their mobility, which is the tool for re-establishing ontological security in their own way. On the other hand, performing both actions together fractures reality and the order of the system: re-establishing ontological security which is threated by military coups is a renewing of the system; fracturing the reality and order is collapsing the system, like the carnival and grotesque.

According to Bakhtin (1984), carnivals were sharply distinct from the serious official, feudal, political cult forms and ceremonies. They offered a completely different, non-official aspect of the world and a second life. They belong to an entirely different sphere. Carnival belongs to the borderline between art and life, but there is not a stage; there is no distinction between actors and spectacle. Everyone participates in it. During a carnival, there is only one law – the law of freedom. Carnival is organized by laughter, but this is festive laughter, not an individual reaction to some isolated comic event. Carnival laughter is the laughter for all people, and it is deeply ambivalent.

The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance. Liberating energy is an anti-authoritarian force which can be mobilized against the official culture. Carnival enables open-ended, irregular bodies and undermines boundaries. Carnival is a shame-free space. There are no mistakes in a carnival. Carnival refuses to accept fixed, pre-given social roles; it is a de-alienation of social life. The language of carnival is the patois of the market place, the language of a fish-market, what Bakhtin has called 'Billingsgate' language. A new type of communication always creates new forms of speech or new meanings given to old forms. Carnival has always provided an excuse to profane and parody sacred texts. Briefly, the power of carnival to turn things upside down is not only facilitated by bringing it into a dialogic relation with official forms but also "it liberates people not only from external censorship but also from great interior censorship" (Bakhtin 1984: 94).

According to Bakhtin (1984), carnivals declined after the sixteenth century. Displaced from the public sphere to the bourgeois home, carnival ceased to be a site of actual struggle. Castle (1986) suggested that the reason for the decline of carnival could have been the crucial shift to rationalism and bureaucracy in the eighteenth century. The carnivalesque survived but only in marginal genres such as children`s fables. I suggest that cross-dressing films are a new space of the carnival.

On the other hand, Bakhtin`s image of carnival has been criticised as a utopian fantasy. Carl Emerson (1997) stated that the weakest, least consistent and most dangerous category in Bakhtin`s arsenal is the concept of 'carnival'. The degradation implicit in carnival is also an affirmation linked to the regeneration and renewal of authority. Carnival is a part of culture

which is structured by power relations. In other words, the way in which authority is turned upside down during carnival allows its temporary suspension. Simon Dentith (1995) commented that the inversion which carnival allows was clearly not aimed at loosening people's sense of the rightness of the rules which kept the world the right way up, but at reinforcing them because the carnival space was also a space of violence and crime. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White (1986) criticised Bakhtin for his extremely positive evaluation of carnival and for ignoring that it was part of the process of civilization. However, I suggest that carnival, like the cross-dressed body, fractures the official forms of time, space, language and gender. In the carnival between affirmation and the temporary suspension of official authority, the planes of power are fractured.

Grotesque realism and the body are the main elements of carnival. Normally, grotesque is related to the notion of the distortion and deformity of the way in which things are normally used for the purpose of creating irony. Bakhtin developed his own term 'grotesque body' as an inseparable part of carnival. As a hysterical celebration of the corporality of the body which eats, digests, copulates and defecates, grotesque is one of the main elements of carnival. In other words, carnival is the space where the grotesque body is encountered. As stressed above, the main feature of grotesque is its in-between-ness: subject/object, body/world, self/other. The space of this in-between is carnival. As has already been discussed, the rhizome is the space where all becomings encounter each other. Therefore, if we discuss the grotesque as an example of becoming, then we can make an analogy between carnival and the rhizome.

Cross-dressing, like a grotesque body, usually creates a carnival atmosphere in the films when the cross-dressed body encounters other bodies. Ackroyd's comment is relevant here, that "cross-dressing is so deeply rooted in festive celebration and anarchic display that it survived centuries of persecution. It passed from the pagan rites of antiquity into medieval folk ceremonies and seasonal festivities…"(1979: 51) Cross-dressing characters experience otherness without being other and in doing so they reject the pre-given roles. Cross-dressing liberates its performer not only from what is officially forbidden but also from inner taboos. Cross-dressing provides for the performer a shame-free time, a language-free space. One particular scene in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* illustrates this:

Fikri: I'm engaged.

Naci: Who's the lucky girl?

Fikri: I am.

Naci: What?

Fikri: I am. Why not?

Naci: It's not possible. Please repeat: 'I am a man', 'I am a man', 'I am a man'.

Fikri: I am a man, I am a man, I am a man – but being a woman is wonderful. I don`t want to be a man any more. I will never find another man who is so good to me.

In this scene, Fikri experiences being woman without taboo, self-control or prejudice. He not only gains an advantage but also gets pleasure from being other. The experiences of cross-dressing characters affect other characters' points of view as well when a cross-dressed character encounters other characters. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, when the rich old man realises that Fikri is not a woman but a man, he says, 'No problem at all, it's OK for me. No-one is perfect'. The cross-dressing character also frees other bodies from their own inner taboos.

When cross-dressing characters who experience otherness without being other meet other characters who are freed from inner taboos and control, the carnival spirit become visible in the films. In cross-dressing films, usually at least one scene can be found in which the turning of things upside down is facilitated by bringing it into a dialogic relation with official forms. These carnivalized scenes take on the carnival spirit and reproduce their own structures, practices, parodies and inversions. These scenes enable open-ended, irregular bodies by creating the suspension of all hierarchical precedence. Anti-authoritarian forces can be mobilized against the official culture in these scenes. These scenes are sharply distinct from the serious official, feudal, political cult forms and ceremonies which take place in other scenes. In these anarchic scenes, cross-dressing performers experience otherness without

taking the risk of being other. Furthermore, these scenes are meeting places for official and non-official bodies which are also provided by carnival. I call these scenes 'gathering scenes' because in them, all the various sides which belong to completely different spheres of conflict in the narrative gather and create chaos and temporary suspension.

For example, at the end of *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, one of these gathering scenes can be found. In this scene, police officers, killers, lovers and cross-dressed characters all meet in the bolo room where they eat, drink, dance and get drunk. Police officers dance with the killers, one male cross-dressed character kisses his lover (although the audience sees a lesbian kiss on the screen), and at the same time, another male cross-dressed character tries to escape both the killers and the old man who has fallen in love with him. The members of the audience watch the chaos of carnival where a special type of communication which might be impossible in everyday life takes place and they can join in the laughter of carnival. Everyone who takes part in this gathering is involved in the wholeness of the situation and this destroys the hierarchical distinction between police and killers, man and woman, old and young, moral and immoral by using very exaggerated actions. Such scenes can be read as "a second life of people, who for a time enter the utopian realm of community, freedom, equality and abundance" (Bakhtin 1984: 9). In this chaotic environment, only the cross-dressed characters know the individual people`s unofficial and official truths which lead to fear and oppression. They know who is who and whose character is formed by what kind of tension between fear and desire. It can therefore be claimed that they are just as much an element of this carnival as anyone else; in other words, they are the other of carnival, but they are not other, they know the system which is behind the chaos. This carnival which is provided by cross-dressed characters is the opposite of the solid official form of a military coup. At the time of a military coup, meetings, protests and even a gathering of more than five people are forbidden, whereas cross-dressing characters can simply create carnival.

The three effects of cross-dressing fracture the institution of power and any kind of power relations. Fractures can be considered, like the rabbit-hole in *Alice in Wonderland* (Lewis Carroll 1865), as a door to playfulness, transformation and a space where ordinary conventions have collapsed and where not only the construction strategies of representations but also the relationship between discourses on these representations which previously eluded them suddenly become visible. We can say that cross-dressing is a

"positive device for making trouble" and "a traumatic response to political certainties" (Collins & Mayblin 2011: 4).

Conclusion

My intention in this study was to discuss general arguments about and around cross-dressing by questioning them. I have addressed a number of problems about discussions of cross-dressing performance in the Introduction. First, these arguments are based on the western philosophical tradition and even those texts about cross-dressing performance which have been produced from eastern geography in order to discuss eastern cases are based on the same assumptions. Furthermore, these general arguments have been founded on binary oppositions. Although some of them have claimed that cross-dressing performance is a way of destroying binary thinking, they have still used the same binaries in order to understand or define it. Another problem is that these arguments tried to structure cross-dressing performance according to an unequal relationship between binary poles by making statements such as 'female characters are capable of establishing their own authority' or 'cross-dressing is about the power of women'. Moreover, some of these arguments have failed to establish a relationship between the politics of the era and cross-dressing performance or have failed to explore the intersectionality of identities.

After reflecting on the key concepts related to the study of cross-dressing performance above, I explored the effects of cross-dressing performance in particular narratives. I identified three effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject: cross-dressing gives mobility to its subject not only between gendered identities but also on the map where all relations between subjects and power are located; and a cross-dressed performer gains mobility within the sources of power, such as time, space, language and memory. In order to discuss this effect, I used the idea of 'becoming' in the Deleuzian sense. I have suggested that cross-dressing can be accepted as a body which is in the process of becoming which provides mobility to the subject. In the context of a military coup, I argue that cross-dressing provides mobility against the solid constraints of a military regime. The second effect is that cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying the desire to be visible and at the same time escaping panoptic social mechanisms because the cross-dressed body is in the frame of

undecidability. I structured this argument between visibility and recognisability. In order to discuss the relationship between them, I have used the term 'grotesque' and considered how this form of the body in relation to cross-dressing affects the determination of the body. Third, I have suggested that cross-dressing is a way of escaping the fear of being other and at the same time experiencing otherness against the discrimination politic of military coups. In order to discuss this argument, I had to establish the relationality between the cross-dressed body and other bodies, and to do this I have used the idea of carnival. After discussing the effects of cross-dressing on its subject, I suggest that these three effects fracture the institutions of power. In the following chapters, I shall explore the ways in which film texts are fractured and how these are related to military coups. In doing so, I will go back to the concept of ontological security.

Chapter 3: Ontological security

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the concept of ontological security as developed by Giddens. I shall use the term in relation to military coups and to cross-dressing gender performance in Turkish films. I shall also seek to establish a relation between military coups and cross-dressing performance in the Turkish context by using the frame of ontological security. In the Turkish context, the production of cross-dressing films has increased during times of military coups. In this thesis, I am seeking to understand the reasons for this by asking questions such as: Why have these films continued to appear? What is the importance of these films in terms of Turkey's political, cultural and economic circumstances? What kinds of relationship can be found between military coups and cross-dressing films? In order to answer these questions, I am using the concept of ontological security which for the purposes of this study is accepted as a bridge between military coup and cross-dressing film.

I argue that the concept of ontological security is the meeting point of the distinct activities of military coups and of cross-dressing gender performance. In the previous chapters, I have discussed the effects which cross-dressing performance has on its body in narratives which fracture the element of ontological security. I have suggested that cross-dressing performance in Turkish films has three principal effects. First, it gives mobility to its subject against the solid captivity of military coups. In order to discuss this effect, I used the idea of *becoming* adapted from Deleuze by saying that the cross-dressed body becomes a tourist on the map of not only gendered identities but also all relations between subjects and power. For the second effect, I suggested that cross-dressers in films can escape surveillance without losing their visibility, because although they are visible they are unrecognizable. I discussed this effect in relation to the panoptic social mechanism of military coups. I explained it by using the idea of the grotesque body developed of Bakhtin by saying that cross-dressing characters can escape a panoptic social mechanism because although they are still visible which can be accepted as source of self, they cannot be recognizable, because their bodies are in the frame of undecidability, because cross-dressing makes the bodies and the performances of bodies artificial and annihilated by means of the grotesque body and

performance. For the third point, I argued that cross-dressing is a way of escaping the fear of being other and at the same time experiencing otherness against the discriminatory politics of military coups. In order to discuss this argument, I used the idea of the carnivalesque proposed by Bakhtin by suggesting that communication between cross-dressed characters and the other characters creates carnival in films.

Before discussing the effects of cross-dressing performance on its body, I described the Turkish political and cultural contexts. Chapter 1 offered a stage of the choreography of theory and of the effects of cross-dressing. The question addressed in Chapter 1 was where and when cross-dressing films have shown up and the hypothesis of this whole study was contextualized. By framing Turkey, Chapter 1 gave information about Turkish politics, culture and cinema in three specific periods of national trauma when cross-dressing film production appeared. In this current chapter, I shall use this information about military coups to discuss how military coups disrupt the element of ontological security. After framing Turkey, I mapped films. In the previous chapters, I discussed and introduced cross-dressings films and explored the question of what cross-dressing does in films and I intertextualized and contextualized films according to their position in Turkey's culture and politics. In this current chapter, I shall now discuss the outcomes of the first two chapters in terms of the association of cross-dressing films with ontological security.

In the framework of Turkey in the three selected periods when military coups threatened the ontological security of the nation, cross-dressing films appeared as an example of how individuals re-organize ontological security by means of cross-dressing. The ordinary process and continuity of Turkish culture, daily life and the idea of national identity were interrupted and threatened by military coups. Military regimes change the usage and understanding of time and space, language and even acts of speaking. On the other hand, the sources of stable identity (continuity, coherence, routines and trust) which is the system of ontological security are interrupted and threatened by cross-dressing performances in films, and then cross-dressed characters re-organize them for their own benefit. This ability of the cross-dressing characters can be accepted as representing the wishes of citizens who have to live under military rule. However, each disruptive action also involves re-organizing in itself. Between disrupting and re-organizing ontological security, planes of power such as language, time, space and gender – which are also the suppliers of the elements of ontological

security- are transformed into a *playground of the subject* in cross-dressing films. I term these crises which cross-dressing causes for ontological security 'fracturing', where the subject can travel in the geographies of power according to his/her needs. When the institutions of power – gender, time, space and language – fracture, not only the discourses which produce them but also roots of those discourses and the relationships between them become visible. Indeed, at the heart of this thesis is the question of how this fracturing process happens as answers to this provides us with an understanding of the map of power of a particular time – in this case three specific times of national trauma. To do this, I use the term 'ontological security'.

In this chapter, I shall explore the connection between cross-dressing films in the Turkish political and cultural contexts and the effects of cross-dressing by using the term 'ontological security' in order to understand fracturing on different two levels: the individual and the state. I am aware that ontological security as a concept does not quite fit the direction of the rest of the study. There is a theoretical distinction between Deleuze and the other theories which I have used on the one hand, and between Giddens and ontological security on the other. Ontological security is based on a binary structure and the idea of a fixed subject. However, although I do not completely agree with the relevance of the term 'ontological security' to my particular interest here, I believe that it can show us how power constructs the subject, what the position of the subject in power relations is, and how power organises itself by using time, space and language. This can take us into the point of view of power and it can be used in reference to the levels of both state and personal identity, which is what I need here. As I have explained, this study has two different elements, one of which is the cross-dressing body and other is the state organisation and military coups of Turkey. I need a term which can create a connection between these two distinct elements and the fractures which they both lead to. In this section, in order to find answers to the questions set out above and to explain the fracturing, which is the main point of the thesis, I use the idea of ontological security because it is a productive argument which can be adapted for different discussions in different disciplines, from individual to state, from international relations to personal relations. This approach of Giddens has been employed in sociological, physiological and political studies, which is why it can be a useful connection point between cross-dressing, the politics of state and national traumas. I have also used the theories

generally which are based on subject formation and on the understanding of subject positions against power. On the other hand, the term 'ontological security' can help us to understand power formation and the control system of power on subjects. It is a term which shows the politics of power while a subject is gaining access to power relations. Using different approaches in this way might therefore be helpful for identifying the dialectic relationship between subject and power.

I shall discuss the term 'ontological security' in order to establish a relation between military coup and cross-dressing gender performance in the Turkish context. I shall first discuss what ontological security is in the way that Giddens used it, what the elements of ontological security are and what kinds of relationship can be found between cross-dressing and ontological security. After that, I shall discuss ontological security in relation to military coups. This discussion might help us to determine the strategy of power which is used to stabilize subjects and the relations between them and how cross-dressing disrupts them. This discussion will take us to a point where state, military and cross-dressing performance meet. This is why I shall discuss the term by using the approaches of several different disciplines towards it – international relations, media studies, politics, and trauma studies. These different approaches from different disciplines might make establishing relationships between military coups and cross-dressing gender performance easier to rationalize. However, I shall first explain the theory in detail then link it to the Turkish case.

3.1: Ontological Security and Cross-dressing

From the beginning of this study I have argued that cross-dressing characters in films fracture the institutions of power such as time, space and language which are the sources of stable identity. They are not only sources of stable identity but also provide security for this identity by creating a basic trust system of confidence, routine, continuity and relationality. It is this understanding which makes ontological security relevant to this study. I argue that the understanding of ontological security which refers to "a person`s fundamental sense of safety in the world and includes a basic trust of other people" (Giddens: 1990:92) correlates with cross-dressing performance in films.

Ontological security and insecurity was introduced by Ronald David Laing (1973) in *The Divided Self*. He described ontological security as follows:

> The individual ... may experience his own being as real, alive, whole; as differentiated from the rest of the world in ordinary circumstances so clearly that his identity and autonomy are never in question; as a continuum in time; as having an inner consistency, substantiality, genuineness, and worth; as spatially coextensive with the body; and, usually, as having begun in or around birth and liable to extinction with death. He thus has a firm core of ontological security. (Laing 1973: 41-42)

The ontologically insecure individual lacks these features; s/he does not have this stable sense of being. Laing continued:

> [The individual may feel] that his identity and autonomy are always in question. He may lack the experience of his own temporal continuity. He may not possess an over-riding sense of personal consistency or cohesiveness. He may feel more insubstantial than substantial, and unable to assume that the stuff he is made of is genuine, good, and valuable. (Laing 1973: 42)

Laing's study was based on psychology whereas Giddens conceptualised and interpreted the term for sociology. Giddens (1990) defined ontological security in the same way as Erik Erikson (1950), whose approach reflected identity as an "anxiety-controlling mechanism" consisting of biographic continuity reinforced by a sense of trust, predictability, confidence and control, in the following way:

> [Ontological security] refers to the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surroundings social and material environments of action. A sense of the reliability of persons and things, so central to the notion of trust, is basic to feelings of ontological security; hence, the two are psychologically related. Ontological security has to do with `being` or, in the terms of phenomenology, 'being-in-the-world`. But it is an emotional, rather than a cognitive, phenomenon, and it is rooted in the unconscious. (Giddens 1990: 92)

Although the needs[40] and the character of ontological security have been constantly changing, some elements do remain stable and we can call these stable features `elements

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[40] The structure of ontological security can be different or be changed to meet the needs of individuals and cultures according to their security requirements and the risks which they can face. Giddens (1990) explained

of ontological security'. They are a stable sense of being, confidence in the continuity of self and other, and trust in the constancy of surroundings, persons and things. All these feelings can be structured by the routines which are supplied by time, space and language, each of which are discussed in this thesis. Ontological security can exist and controlling daily life can be possible by using these elements and their sources. Each of these elements and their sources work as institutions of power for identity formation. All these elements which are conditions of ontological security produce not only the singularity of norms but also knowledge about norms. A person who is ontologically secure is expected to admit and reproduce this singularity and knowledge.

Ontological security is based on a stable identity, continuity of self and the experience of self as a real whole, and being alive to controlling anxiety. A man who masquerades as a woman (and vice versa) disrupts stability and continuity of being a man. This means that ontological security can be possible for *being* but not for *becoming*. Cross-dressing performance in Turkish films fractures the continuity and stability of self, because identity moves away from 'be' and comes close to 'becoming' by means of cross-dressing. As discussed above, the subject is accepted as stable by ontological security, and ontological security enables the subject to be discussed as 'being', whereas on the other hand, cross-dressing shows the process of 'becoming' as discussed in Chapter 2. Cross-dressing underlines the impossibility of stable narratives of identity which is the main point of ontological security and "opens the mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps" (Sedgwick 1994: 8) which are regarded as chaos, unpredictability and uncertainty in ontological security theories. It can therefore be said that cross-dressing simply by its existence disproves ontological security theories. Furthermore, because of the mobility which is provided by becoming, the process of cross-dressing deterritorializes not only gendered identity but also all the stable identities which the cross-dressed body has, because becoming dislocates, displaces and un-times all the

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these differences between ontological securities by comparing the pre-modern and modern cultural environments of risk and trust. For instance, an environment of trust in the past was based on kinship relations, local communities, religious cosmologies and tradition which were the organising tools for maintaining a stable social life, whereas in the modern world, personal relationships replace kinship, abstract systems which can be discussed by a time/space separation perform instead of local communities as a familiar place and time, and a future-oriented system undertakes the role of tradition (Giddens 1990). The environment of risk in the pre-modern culture was based on nature, localised crimes such as robbery, and falling from religious grace; on the other hand, in the modern world they are replaced by the reflexivity of culture instead of nature, the industrialising impact of war instead of localised crime, and meaninglessness instead of religion. From these examples given by Giddens, it can be said that the need for ontology and the nature of security has been changing culture by culture, time by time.

categorizations which give identity to the subject. By means of becoming, the cross-dressing body gains the ability to be mobile not only between gender binary but also on the map of power relations. It can transform and change its relations with the power, and it is another way which disrupts ontological security. Cross-dressed bodies begin their journey in the rhizome and this journey allows them to transform all meanings of stable identities not only gendered identity. They can change, for example, their class identity (as in *Şabaniye*) but in this changing the definition and categorization of class identity also transforms into a completely new understanding; there is no more upper or lower class in this transformation because this action changes the meaning of classes. They can also change their religious identity (as in *Şeytanın Pabucu*) but this changing make religious identity an area open to discussion. Because of their mobility in the rhizome, all meanings and categorizations become mobile; there is no more stable meaning or continuity of stable identities. Therefore, there is no more ontological security for the cross-dressing performer.

Another element of ontological security, in addition to stability and continuity of identity, is a sense of the reliability of other persons, things and material and social environments. To be ontologically secure, people need a basic trust system with roots going back their early childhood. Basic trust is a trust in the continuity of others and in the object world. Erikson (1950) stated that early childhood development provides a basic trust system and he explained ego identity by using this system. In Giddens's (1991) words;

> The trust which the child in normal circumstances vests in its caretakers can be seen as a sort of emotional inoculation against existential anxieties – a protection against future threats and dangers which allows the individual to sustain hope and courage in the face of whatever debilitating circumstances she or he might later confront. Basic trust is a screening-off device in relation to risks and dangers in the surrounding settings of action and interaction. It is the main emotional support of a defensive carapace or protective cocoon which all normal individuals carry around with them as the means whereby they are able to get on with the affairs of the day to day life. (Giddens 1991: 39-40)

Ontological security is a kind of trust system which includes a danger-warning system implicit in the term itself without actually referring to it and which applies to all cultures and eras. It is the form of feelings of trust which help the continuity of not only self-identities but also the identities of others and communities. Ontological security and its trust system make

it possible to answer questions such as not only 'Do I really exist?' 'Am I same person today as I was yesterday?' but also 'Do other people really exist?' 'Does what I see in front of me continue to be there when I turn my back on it?' Does what is perceived really exist?' (Giddens 1990). The flux of everyday life is the necessary order of things, persons and relations and this order can be supplied by traditions, rituals, routines and taken-for-granted activities all of which help individuals to avoid the panic which is rooted in the unknown, the pain which is rooted in loss, the horror which is rooted in the uncanny, and the chaos which is rooted in undecidability, and protects their identities against these negative forms of feeling. This eschewal of dangers which threatens the stable agency and its relations with its surroundings is provided by institutions of power such as the family, education, community, nation, religion and the active engagement of the agency with these institutions. Acquiring such trust becomes necessary in order for a person to maintain a sense of psychological well-being and avoid existential anxiety (Giddens 1991: 38-39). Ontological security is the way of controlling everyday life and it does this by the trust which is provided and supported by these institutions. The cross-dressing character destroys the reliability of persons and the trust system of ontological security in films. As already discussed, the cross-dresser is both man and woman and neither man nor woman and this paradox disrupts the feeling of trust in the stability and continuity of other persons. In cross-dressing activity, body, performance and clothes create a new way of being which is beyond the category of stable norms. By means of cross-dressing performance, gender performances become artificial and annihilated. Repeated and stylized gender acting becomes unrecognizable. It is this which allows us to discuss the grotesque body. It can therefore be said that cross-dressing is a way of destroying the basic trust system because it is structured by repeated acts which are the main sources of performativity. As discussed above, the basic trust system is the main shelter in which a subject can escape the dangers, risks and unknowability of social life. In this sense, the artificial and annihilated performance of cross-dressing as an undecidable grotesque performance destroys the trust system of ontological security. In cross-dressing performance, no one looks real or whole, no one ensures the continuity of identities and no-one is as s/he appears.

The basic trust system helps the subject to create routine by blocking out the fear of not knowing what dangers are lying in wait and this routine ensures the continuity and

consistency of identity as narrative which we tell about ourselves by blocking out the chaos in which anything is possible. According to Jennifer Mitzen (2006: 342), "ontological security is achieved by routinizing" which "drives to minimize hard uncertainty" (*ibid.* 346). Routines regularise social life and produce self-knowledge about this social life. Therefore, these routines sustain identity and make it the active agency of daily practice. Routines work like cement between actors and social structure because our daily life is structured by routines. It is obvious when we should wake up, when we should go to work or school, when we should stay at home. In parallel with daily life, our whole life is routinized. People know when they last voted, when they got married, when they had children and how often they do such activities. So routine is used as a tool for social control. If the daily practice of human beings can be controlled, at the same time so could their way of thinking be controlled. Giddens explained routine as follows;

> If the subject cannot be grasped save through the reflexive constitution of daily activities in social practices, we cannot understand the mechanics of personality apart from the routines of day-to-day life … . Routine is integral both to the continuity of the personality of the agent as he or she moves along the paths of daily activities and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continued reproduction. (Giddens 1984: 60)

"The maintaining of habits and routine is a crucial bulwark against threatening anxieties, yet by that very token it is a tensionful phenomenon in and of itself" (Giddens 1991: 39). Routine is therefore an action of bracketing the infinite possibilities of daily life and this bracketing makes social relations possible, otherwise human beings could not take in the infinite possibilities. Cross-dressing performance in the case studies opens the door onto the infinite possibilities of daily life and in doing so, it destroys ontological security because, as determined in Chapter 2, cross-dressing as a grotesque body usually creates a carnival atmosphere in the films. The power of carnival is based on carrying those infinite possibilities. Carnival times are sharply distinct from the serious, official, feudal and political cult forms, ceremonies and daily routines. Carnival refuses fixed pre-ordained social routines, it is outside daily life. The grotesque body and carnivalesque aspects of cross-dressing gender performance threaten routines by disrupting the basic trust system of ontological security. In the world of the cross-dresser, things and persons are not always what they are or what they seem to be. Things and persons are not monolithic. That is why

almost all cross-dressing films end with a gathering scene, as was discussed in Chapter 2, to create a carnivalesque atmosphere. For example, in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, all the characters and the different characters of the same persons gather at a dance; Fikri/Fikriye/Kemal, Naci/Naciye, Gülten, killers, policemen, old men, young men, rich clients, poor workers and so on. Each one's knowledge about the others is different. All hierarchies and official forms of identity and routines of these identities have collapsed. Ontological security could not work in these scenes. In the carnivalesque life of the cross-dressing body in the films, there is no routine any more. Conversely, cross-dressing performance can be possible only when the routines of daily life are fractured.

Cross-dressing performance in narrative fractures the element of ontological security, as an example of *becoming* it fractures the stability and continuity of identities, as an example of the grotesque body and performance it fractures the basic trust system towards others and things as they appear to be, and as a producer of carnival it fractures the routine of daily life. On the other hand, some institutions of power are needed to routinize daily life, stabilize identities and create a feeling of trust towards the world in general, such as time, space and language. Without organising and trusting the organisation of time and space and language which are the principal sources of meaning which enable us to be rational agencies, a subject cannot be ontologically secure. My contention in this thesis is that time, space and language are the principal sources of ontological security and are the connection points which take place between subject and power. Furthermore, they are the conditions of being. Although I shall discuss how cross-dressing performance fractures time, space, language and identity later in my case studies, I shall first consider them here very briefly.

The concept of linear time helps people to sustain their ontological security because 'being' requires continuity and continuity of ontological security can only be possible in linear time. The perception of time not only structures permanent identity, continuity and self-control but also makes them plausible as a single reality because time creates symbolic reality. Time has to be synchronized for citizens of today's world who have been separated. The notion of nation needs the perception of synchronized time. Furthermore, the idea of nation is based on people's memories being synchronized. One community cannot be constructed without being in synchrony with others. This imposed synchronicity can be seen in the huge clock towers which stand in every modern city. In Giddens's (1984: 36) words, time as an

institution "is both the condition and the outcome of practice organized in the continuity of the daily life". Routines are built in time and time reproduces as an outcome of these routines. Time is a tool of power which ensures the organization of daily routines and the continuity of identity. Cross-dressing performance destroys the relationship between power and time and in doing so destroys the routine and continuity of ontological security which are built by time.

Space as well as time is an important tool for routinizing daily life in order to ensure continuity and consistency of identity against the risks and dangers which are faced by human beings in social organization. Controlling a subject in time is based on organizing and coordinating space. Ontological security is based on the awareness and trust of the subject not only in her/his own but also in other people's and things' position in space. The confidence and anxiety-control system which allow us to *be* come from this trust in the relationality between others and us and between things which take place in stable space. Donald Woods Winnicott (1974) argued that creation of a subject and the separation of that subject from others can only happen because of the emergence of the space which provides the distinction between 'me' and 'not me'. He went on to say that every cultural experience occurs in the space which is located between a subject and its environment and that space also determines the nature of every cultural experience. Space is therefore one of the elements of ontological security. We are *in* time and space but at the same time we *are* time and space as well. The cross-dressing performer in the films destroys the relationship between time and space. For example, s/he can be in three different spaces at the same time, which fractures the continuity, trust and stability of ontological security.

We do not know time and space inherently: we learn time by using words. At this point, language comes into play. Language is a third key actor not only of ontological security but also of agency, because meaning, order and continuity are provided by language. Language is not a window which opens onto the real world. It is not our way of understanding the world. It *is* a world; it is itself a discourse which structures and constructs our realities and our world. There is no meaning, space or time outside language. By means of language, daily life and its practice are institutionalized. Experiences are bound to the subject in terms of body, time and space because language labels them. All human beings are knowledgeable which makes them active agents by means of language. Giddens (1984: 21) stated that

language is methodology applied to produce the practical activities of day-to-day life. Not only language itself but also the various elements involved in language such as voice, silence, speech and listening shape our realities and give us a meaning of things in an order. Thus, when language is threatened, ontological security is threatened and *vice versa* because when language is threatened the realities which are accepted by means of language and which are structured by language are also threatened. Trust, which is the main base of ontological security, can exist only in language. Routine is also set up only in language, just like time and space. It can therefore be said that language is an actor of ontological security because it is the relationality between all other actors of ontological security. It is the context of ontological security. In short, to be ontologically secure we need a basic trust system, continuity, confidence and routines. These are the elements of ontological security. All these elements are created by the institutions of power: time, space language, memory. When cross-dressing fractures the institutions of power, it means that for this thesis, it fractures the ontological security.

On the other hand, ontological security can be criticized for ignoring how the world is structured and accepting that this structure is natural, real and unique. Alongside Woolley's (2007: 176) questions "Is ontological security possible? Is ontological security coherent, conceivable and achievable?", we can ask what kind of danger ontological security carries with it. What does ontological security hide and mask? Answering these questions will help us to understand why and how cross-dressing fractures ontological security.

First, it can be said that the concept of subject is beyond the limitation of ontological security. When ontological security discusses the subject's need for security, it accepts that the subject is fixed, unchanged and stable and tends to acknowledge that the self is structured by solid narratives. This perspective "allows us to see the always-already politic co-ordinates of ontological security" (Rosedale 2015: 373). It ignores subjective flexibility and by doing so it contours the boundaries of subjectivity which is the reproduction of dominant discourses around the subject. Not only is the subject unfixed but also subjects are different from one another. Therefore, not only is a subject's need for security unfixed and changing, but also security needs change from one subject to another. A not-fixed subject means not-fixed security. What does this acceptance of ontological security do to a subject? It is the way to depoliticize the subject. Existential contingency and continuity, and identity

as a narrative which allows us to ask who is able to establish an identity narrative, are the problems which should be discussed for/in politics. Furthermore, ontological security operates the institutions and discourses which are produced by these institutions as unquestionable. The basic trust system reproduces and coordinates the regime of truth and by definition a regime of truth can never come into question. Even so, the subject has been produced within this regime of truth.

Ontological security is structured on a binary meaning system. It not only accepts automatically this binary system bur also puts the sides of the binary in order. Basically, ontological security is the way of ordering the relationship between self and other, the inside and outside of the subject, the person and the social world. Although the term shows the subject the way to escape chaos and uncertainty, Silverstone (1993: 579) suggested that it offers "a model of social life which is over-ordered, over-rational, paradoxically over threatened".

The term offers security for its subject against this over-threatened social life. However, security itself is a discursive motivation and not a simple discussion. Security means placing one group or person inside and others outside. Jeff Huysmans (1998: 231) argued that "the interpretation does not just explain how a security story requires the definition of threats, a referent object, etc. but also how it defines our relations to nature, to other human beings and to the self". Whilst security means including someone or something, at the same time it also means excluding some others and it masks the unequal power relations between those who are involved and those who are excluded. Security also labels something or someone as a source of danger and produces a discourse to make it true. Caterina Kinnvall (2004: 745) similarly pointed out that "security as a thick signifier thus highlights the dynamics behind people's and groups' different senses of security by clarifying how societies institutionally and discursively position people into structures of marginalization. It provides the means with which to discuss real economic and social asymmetries, both between and within societies".

Stated in simple terms, ontological security is a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust that the world is what it appears to be. Trust in other people is like an emotional inoculation against existential anxieties, "a protection against future threats and dangers which allows the individual to sustain hope and courage in the face of whatever debilitating

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circumstances she or he might later confront" (Giddens 1991: 39, cited in Kinnvall 2004: 746). In short, ontological security enables us to see rational agency and how is it accepted as stable and fixed. In ontological security, a fixed subject and its fixed position are discussed according to changeable discourses, dangers and others. In other words, ontological security aims to protect the stability of the subject in power relations. We can therefore say that ontological security is for being, not for becoming. As discussed throughout Chapter 2, cross-dressing is not being but becoming. Therefore, cross-dressing performance is itself inherently against the term ontological security. This will be expanded in the following chapters when I examine how the process of fracturing functions.

Cross-dressing can be claimed as a way of expressing the connection of ontological security and insecurity together. Cross-dressing performance makes this connection visible by means of the fractures created by films. However, these fractures, such as becoming, carnival and grotesque, are labelled with power relations in order to inject them into the discourse as a safeguarding system. That is why they involve both the collapse and the renewal of systems. All of these terms help us to explain the subject's way of being mobile by using cross-dressing. Almost all cross-dressing characters in Turkish films can escape from the system and at the same time express themselves within the system. They can perform these two actions simultaneously because of their mobility, which is the tool for re-establishing ontological security in their own way. On the other hand, performing both actions together fractures reality and the order of the system: re-establishing ontological security which is threated by military coups is a renewing of the system; fracturing the reality and order is collapsing the system, like the carnival and the grotesque. I suggest that cross-dressing's randomness, unpredictability, facelessness and undecidability in performance transforms everyday life into a space of chaos which is the enemy of ontological security but which also involves possibilities of transforming everyday life into a space of resistance and renewal. However, between these two spaces, fractures take place. Fractures are the places "where dominant standards of success so frequently reflect particular configurations of (capitalist, heteronormative, patriarchal) power … failing, losing, forgetting, unmaking, undoing, unbecoming, not knowing may in fact offer more creative, more cooperative, more surprising ways of being in the world ... failure allows us to escape the punishing norms that discipline behaviour and manage human development with the goal of delivering us from

unruly childhoods to orderly and predictable adulthoods" (Halberstam 2011: 2-3). Against the demands for a good, coherent story about ourselves, for authenticity and for stability, Jack Halberstam invited us to take (and even enjoy) our ontological failures as starting points for an alternative ethics of the self (Rossdale 2015: 380). It can be said that, like Halberstam's point, cross-dressing gender performance also invites us to see the possibilities which take place between ontological security and insecurity which I call fracturing.

3.2: Ontological security and military coup

As discussed in previous chapters, cross-dressing films reappear as a genre at particular times, with similar narratives but different aesthetics and connotations. In the Turkish context, production of cross-dressing films has always increased during times of military coups. In the section above, I sought to make a connection between cross-dressing and military coup by using the term 'ontological security'. I shall now discuss military coup in terms of ontological security in the same way as I discussed ontological security and cross-dressing in the previous section.

So far, I have discussed ontological security in terms of subject, but the term has also been used in reference to the state. Mitzen (2006), among several commentators,[41] developed and discussed ontological security for international relations and claimed that ontological security can be discussed not only for individuals but also for states. Ontological security is needed by both individuals and states "in order to realize a sense of agency" (Mitzen 2006: 342). According to Mitzen (2006: 342), states, like individuals:

> … need to feel secure in who they are, as identities or selves. Some deep forms of uncertainty threaten this identity security. The reason is that agency requires a stable cognitive environment. Where an actor has no idea what to expect, she cannot systematically relate ends to means, and it becomes unclear how to pursue her ends. Since ends are constitutive of identity, in turn, deep uncertainty renders the actor's identity insecure. Individuals are therefore motivated to create cognitive and behavioural certainty, which they do by establishing routines.

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[41] Jennifer Mitzen, 'Ontological Security in World Politics'; Jennifer Mitzen, 'Anchoring Europe's Civilizing Identity: Habits, Capabilities and Ontological Security', *Journal of European Public Policy* (2006) 13,2: 270-85; Jef Huysmans, 'Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier', *European Journal of International Relations* (1998), 4,2: 226-55; Catarina Kinnvall, 'Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security', *Political Psychology*,(2004), 25,5: 741-67; Eli Zaretsky, 'Trauma and Dereification: September 11 and the Problem of Ontological Security', *Constellations*, (2002), 9,1: 98-105; Brent Steele, 'Ontological Security and the Power of Self-identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War', *Review of International Studies*, (2005), 31,3: 519-40.

States, like individuals, need their trust system, their routine, and their stable relations and they need their stable narratives for their identity which can be called national history, and in this history as narrative states are positioned in a particular time and space. States, like individual, can therefore face a crisis of ontological insecurity. "By analogy, in the cases of states-as-persons, traumatic social encounters and other experiences such as major wars or other disruptive events, especially those related to the founding or constitution of these states, should undermine their basic trust and place them in a state of ontological security-seeking. This condition, in turn, translates into a strong attachment to routinized behavior" (Krolikowski 2008: 116).

Military coups are one action which threatens the ontological security of a state. According to Eric Carlton (1997: 16-17), a coup is a "particular type of assault on the state and is an action made by government not of oppositions and it is kind of ideological orientation". The definition of a *coup d`état* given by the Oxford English Dictionary is a "sudden and decisive stroke of state policy which is carried out violently or illegally by the ruling power". A military coup, according to Edward Luttwak (1968: 11), is "violence controlled by militarism".

> ... militarism is not just war as such. It is a social hierarchy of order givers and order takers. It is obedience, domination and submission. It is the capacity to perceive other human beings as abstractions, mere numbers, death counts. It is, at the same time, the domination of strategic considerations and efficiency for its own sake over life and the willingness to sacrifice oneself for a 'Great Cause' that one has been taught to believe in. (Landstreicher 2009: 85)

According to these definitions of military coup and militarism, it can be said that a military coup is an actor which destroys the ontological security of the state in many ways. First, a military coup re-organizes not only conceptualizations of social groups and categories, but also their positions in the past and accordingly in the future. Groups and identities move away from the center, which becomes the space of the military. Group identities are shaken and questioned. For example, the 1960 military coup in Turkey brought leftist groups to the forefront whereas the 1980 coup re-organized the relationship between the groups of the left and the right and featured the right-wing groups. The military rulers after the 1980 coup sought to use Islam as a conservative force against the resurgence of the strong leftist movement of the 1960s. Military coups in Turkey disrupted the continuity and stability of groups and by doing so they disrupted the state's ontological security.

Second, military coups blocked the freedom of information and speech by preventing the ordinary circulation of newspapers. When there is insufficient information or explanation of circumstances, groups and events become unsettled and the basic trust system collapses. For example, "between 12 September 1980 and 12 March 1984, the number of publishers, journalists, writers and artists who were interrogated, arrested and brought into court totaled 181, and 82 of these were convicted"; "Newspapers were not published for 300 days" and "On November 11, the moderate leftist newspaper *Cumhuriyet* was closed down by martial law command for 'exaggerated and baseless' reports" (*Cağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği. Basın* '80-84 Ankara: CGD *Yayınları* (1984: 197)). On 6 February 1980, Martial Law headquarters announced that foreign press reports critical of the regime must not be quoted or reprinted in Turkey. Under the uncertainty created by the blocked freedom of information and speech, people and groups suffered anxiety about what was happening and what was going happen. It can therefore be said that the military coup changed the basic trust system of the state which was the basis of the state's ontological security.

So the actions which followed the military coup destroyed the daily routine of not only social groups and individuals, but also the state itself. Space, time, history, memory and language were re-structured beyond their daily, normal and ordinary usage and meaning. Spaces were used in different out-of-routine ways, for example, schools, sport arenas and stadiums were closed and transformed into prisons, many streets were closed and work-places were regulated. Time was also re-organized by the military beyond the ordinary usage; for example a night-time curfew was imposed and people could only do specific actions at specific times. Acts of speaking were restricted; individuals and groups could not speak and use language in their routine way. For example, after the 1980 military coup, the use of the word *inkilap* ('transformation' or 'reform') was imposed instead of 'revolution' because the military rulers thought that the word 'revolution' had a direct relationship with the left-wing groups. School books were withdrawn and then were published again with the new word *inkilap*. The military made decisions on behalf of individuals and groups about what events could be remembered and what could be forgotten. In short, not only was the routine of now reorganized, but also the routines of the future and the past. Military coups broke down the routine of social order, which created ontological insecurity and destroyed taken-for-granted values, collective identities and groups.

A military coup imposes machine-like behavior and a greater degree of discipline than normal. In military coups, the perspective of militarism determines what is proper and what is not. A military coup is a process of making and controlling meaning. In addition, in order to control the level of obedience, the imposition of a system of surveillance gains great importance. After the 1980 military coup, on 22 September, "the Martial Law Commanders, who had taken over the administration in virtually every location in Turkey, were given broad authority in a revision to the Martial Law Act, law number 1402. The powers vested in the Martial Law Commanders included: censorship of the press, radio, television, books, pamphlets, placards; a complete halt or ban on all union activities; a ban or permits required for all meetings or demonstrations; close, restrict or control operating hours of all restaurants, theatres, night-clubs and other such places of entertainment; and double the pre-coup fines and penalties for infractions of the law."

Both military coup and cross-dressing gender performance destroy ontological security on two levels: the individual and the state. However, the way of destroying it and what is put in the place of ontological security of the two spheres are different. A military coup re-structures the surveillance system of daily life, and on the other hand, the visibility but not recognisability which is provided by cross-dressing gender performance to its body gives an opportunity for the cross-dresser to escape this surveillance system. Cross-dressing provides the opportunity for its performer to be visible but not recognizable because it is a body which is in the grotesque form, so by means of a cross-dressing gender performance, the subject can escape the panoptic surveillance created by a military coup without losing his/her visibility. A military coup limits the movement of bodies and ideas, but on the other hand cross-dressing give mobility to its body because its body is in the process of becoming. A military coup shakes and breaks down groups' identities and gives new meaning to being other, but on the other hand cross-dressing gives an opportunity to experience otherness without being other by creating a carnivalesque environment for its subject. A military coup solidifies daily life and identities but on the other hand cross-dressing fragments them.

Taking all this into consideration, it can be said that the increasing number of cross-dressing films during the times of military coup in Turkey cannot be a coincidence. Both fracture the elements of ontological security, routine, the basic trust system, confidence and continuity of time, space, language, memory, the act of speaking, and the relationship between self

and other. However, they each fracture and reorganise these elements in very different ways. There is something between the disrupting and reorganizing of ontological security which I have called fracturing. It can be said that cross-dressing eases the tension created by a military coup and by doing so give free space to individuals to be ontologically secure.

Conclusion

In summary, I have suggested that cross-dressing gives to its subject an ability of mobility not only between genders but also between all categories in between one gender and the other. In order to explain and discuss the reasons for this mobility, I have used the idea of becoming. Becoming itself can be accepted as a journey between at least two beings which implies mobility. The second point about what cross-dressing does in films is contained in this argument: cross-dressing satisfies the desire to be visible but at the same time to escape the panoptic surveillance which is imposed after military coups. Visibility is one of the main sources of identity. Cross-dressing re-locates not only the cross-dressed body but also the other who is the spectator of the cross-dressing body because being is doing, doing includes showing, and showing requires a spectator. The grotesque body as a visible but non-recognizable body serves these two different actions. Furthermore, the grotesque body establishes a connection point between becoming and performance. Performativity is also explained as a repeated and stylized gender act which is destroyed by cross-dressing. Artificial gender performance gives an opportunity to the subject to be mobile. The grotesque body shows a body as a process of becoming. The third point about what cross-dressing does in films is that it gives its subject an opportunity both to escape the fear of being other and yet at the same time to experience being other. If we read these three actions and military coups together, under the term ontological security we can claim that cross-dressing gives its subject ways of struggling with trauma and ontological insecurity.

Another question is what these three actions do in films in relation to military coups. These three actions disrupt ontological security just as military coups do and then re-organize it. In the Turkish context, not only cross-dressing performance but also military coups destroy the ontological security of both the citizens and the state by affecting the ordinary workings of

these institutions. Both military coups and cross-dressing characters in films threaten the continuity of self, the constancy of surroundings and the material world, the reliability of others and the stability of social life by disrupting the institutions of power, time, space and language, and then re-organize them. This brings us to my main argument. Between these two actions of disrupting and re-organizing reality, power relations, order and systems fracture. Questions which are asked by cross-dressing performance remain in the air and are never fully lost. This shows us the questionability of categories, normality, order and power relations; it does not matter whether it reorganizes them or not. I use term ''fracturing' to describe these moments and enable them to be discussed. These fractures take place on the elements of ontological security.

If ontological security is understood as a state of confidence in "who I am and what everything is, and that everyone around me is how they seem to be,", then, cross-dressing destroys the idea of believing that the person with whom I am is not how s/he seems to be. Therefore, cross-dressing destroys the ontological security of other and its audiences in terms of relationality and at the same time enables its body to re-organize its ontological security. A military coup destroys ontological security as well, but in a different way. It destroys routines and the basic trust system at state level whereas cross-dressing works on the individual level. That is why, when ontological security is threatened by a military coup at state level, cross-dressing films appears in order to relieve the anxiety. And that is why I have used the term 'ontological security', because military coups and cross-dressing can be discussed together and can be bound to each other by using the concept of ontological security. On the other hand, military coups curtail these possibilities openly and it is this which makes them visible.

PART TWO

Chapter 4: Fracturing masculinity and femininity

Introduction

In this chapter, the crises of femininity and masculinity and how they can be read as responses to the tensions of the periods as well as the perception of authority and freedom according to a film's historical position will be discussed. According to Bell-Metereau (1985: 3), "Almost all cross-dressing films involve the relationship between authority and freedom – the extent to which the male is free to explore his female nature and the extent to which female characters are capable of establishing their own authority". Although Bell-Metereau`s approach is interested in fluidity in the gender binary, the idea of authority and freedom can be seen in many other aspects of cross-dressing films according to their historical locations. However, there is something more important than the visibility of authority and freedom of particular periods. Cross-dressing films can be accepted as a journey from authority to freedom, and back to authority again. 'Journey' is the key word here, and this journey is an open space where authority and freedom are liberated from their meanings as a stable binary and show that they are different faces of the same discourse. Moreover, this journey as an open space gives an opportunity for the subject to be mobile on the map of power relations and to become a critical agency[42] for a while.

In order to perform the act of crossing as a journey, at least one binary opposition is necessary: man/woman, upper class/working class, white/black, traditional/modern or human/non-human: to put it in simple terms, the self and the other. There is a need for at least two stable and fixed notions. Therefore, the features of the two terms of binary opposition must be seen during the act of crossing. In short, it can be argued that crossing is relational: it includes a relationship between two binary terms. For this reason, first the idea of masculinity and femininity in films will be discussed according to their means of production and the historical contexts within which they were produced. The difference in cross-dressing films is based on their ability to make performance visible. Other films of the

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[42] At this point, the question should be asked regarding what is being critical. "Critique is only the experience of the limits of the discourse which might offer the possibility of our becoming critical of transforming ourselves and current society" (Butler 2002). In this sense, the limit of discourse is the limit of who we are, because subjectivity is the effect of one`s belonging to a particular discourse (Foucault 1984). On the other hand, critique cannot go beyond the discourse. However, cross-dressing gives an opportunity to experience the limits.

period can be discussed under the idea of how gender is represented.[43] However, cross-dressing films show how gender representations are represented. The representation of

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[43] Although gender representation has changed throughout history, it is still based on a patriarchal discourse: The woman is described as being seen/watched/saved, whereas the man is watching/seeing/saving (Bell *et al*. 1995). Women were positioned as the subordinate gender. In early cinema, women were portrayed in the domestic space as a mother or wife: "Her main job was to produce and raise children not work outside the home" (Benshoof-Griffin 2004: 208). Women were shown as household functionaries or decorative objects which depend upon men. Men occupied almost all the authoritative roles in films. Women were presented as visually attractive and men as authoritative figures. However, the visual attractiveness of a woman was not for herself, but for being watched. Only bad women used their sexuality for their own pleasure, and they were usually described by their sexuality. Bad women who desired more than they were given according to the social order were punished at the end of the film. This punishment can be accepted as a warning used to bring women under control in order to create docile bodies. Turning to Turkish cinema, melodramas were the popular genre of this period. According to Abisel (1995), "Yesilcam melodrama has apparently created a new female identity based on passivity. The female character goes through agonising experiences; she assents to the demand of contemptible situations, destiny and customs in order to solely become a good wife" (cited in Atakav 2013: 40). In the melodramas, women were portrayed according to the needs of patriarchal discourse in Turkish cinema.

According to Benshoof-Griffin (2004), after the first-wave feminism, the representation of women altered. Feminist women were represented as "madwomen or criminal radicals" (210). By the time women had achieved equal rights, new types of women called `flappers` began to be seen in films. However, their independence was dependent on their personal style. Women on the screen could be seen as more free, but they used their freedom to buy things. Women were encouraged to engage in consumption in order to show their independence. In films during that time, a woman`s place was still a private sphere. If they did not obey the rule of patriarchy, they would be in some way punished. There was only one way to achieve happiness: find the right man. After second-wave feminism, women were portrayed between career and family. They had to choose between having a man and pursuing a career. "The messages of these movies are meant to teach women how to be submissive and beautiful in order to find a man to raise a family with and how horrible their lives would be if they cannot find a man" (Benshoof-Griffin 2004: 220). According to Benshoof-Griffin (2004), at times when patriarchy goes through a crisis such as war or an economic crisis, and men are disabled from their roles as family providers, domestic violence from men to women can be seen on the big screen. Women can be seen as victims. Turning to Turkish cinema, it can be said that the effects of feminism on films worked differently from the way it did in western cinema. As stated above, state feminism can be accepted as first-wave feminism in Turkey. Therefore, unlike western examples, Turkish cinema did not show independent feminist women as "madwomen or criminal radicals"; rather it worked to encourage women to find their correct place. The narrative style produced by the effects of state feminism was based on women who try to improve their status by using their independence (such as Halide Edip Adivar's adaptations). The second-wave feminism of the 1980s not only affected the representation of women but also introduced 'women's films' as a genre to the Turkish cinema audience. Turkish audiences met representations of working women and their problems by means of second-wave feminism. Female desire and subjectivity were other topics of representation of women in this period.

The relationship between age and gender is another interesting point based on the research of Lauzen and Dozier (2005). A 2002 study of the top 100 grossing films showed that the majority of female characters were in their 20s and 30s whereas men were in their 30s and 40s. The same study showed that men became more successful as they grew older. Getting older was not a preferable situation for women. Women's success depended on their youth and good looks whereas men`s success was directed by their achievements (Lauzen & Dozier 2005). The absence of older women in films is remarkable. "When they are shown they are depicted in a narrow range of stereotypes such as gossip, interfering mother/mother-in-law" (Gill 2007: 79). Although no similar research has been carried out into Turkish cinema, this situation can be accepted for Turkish cinema as well.

Since the 1980s, strong women characters who want to take control of their life and men who can show their emotional side have been visible in films. According to Gauntlett (2002), liberated and powerful women began to appear in films such as *Sex and the City*, *Charlie`s Angels, Hannibal* and *Titanic*. Powers, Rothman and Rothman (1993) showed a transformation in gender roles in films between 1946 and 1990. According to their findings, women characters in traditional occupations decreased whereas non-traditional representations of women increased. However if we analyse the films deeply, we can recognize that only the myth level of the narrative changes but the ideological level remains the same. The women of *Charlie`s Angels* are strong, brave problem-solvers, out of the norm of standard families. However, they are still directed by a man's voice, the brain of the team. The women of *Sex and the City* seem to be free. They earn money, they can explore their sexuality, and they have control over their lives. Even so, they are still keen on consumption and being beautiful and young are still important issues. For example, Miranda is a typical career woman who also tries to be a good mother and wife. However, when her husband cheats on her, he says it is because she has not enough time for him and his desires. Miranda finds herself torn between her career and her family. In *Hannibal*, FBI detective Clarice looks like a man. She has to give up her feminine side in order to take her place in a man's world. Tasker and Negra (2007: 2) pointed out that "postfeminist culture works in part to incorporate, assume or naturalize aspects of feminism, crucially it also work to commodify feminism via the figure of woman as empowered consumer". The same situation can be observed in Turkish cinema as well. It can be said that post-feminist culture and its effects on cinema has naturalized the gains of second-wave feminism in terms of cinema. Yesilcam melodramas transformed into 'new romantic comedies' in which women are represented outside traditional occupations. However, they are still based on the same patriarchal discourse.

Kandiyoti`s term 'patriarchal bargain' can be used to understand this situation. According to Kandiyoti (1988), sometimes women have to compromise with patriarchy in order to gain free space for themselves. For example, a wife can induce her

gender fractures the idea of masculinity and femininity. In this chapter, I shall discuss crises of masculinity and femininity in relation to the idea of authority and freedom of the period, to how the effects of cross-dressing performance help the cross-dressing character to overcome these crises, and to how this overcoming fractures the ontological security. In order to reach this aim, I shall use critical discourse analysis as explained in the introduction.

4.1: Fracturing masculinity

Cross-dressing is not a process of being but of becoming, which implies mobility between different poles of a binary. In this mobility, first the current position has to be left behind. This means that the first 'original' gender experiences a crisis for transforming cross-dressing. The five selected cross-dressing films therefore begin by showing hegemonic[44] masculinity in crisis. Under the effects of cross-dressing, the cross-dressing characters try to overcome these crises. In this section, I shall consider the masculinity crisis in the selected cross-dressing films.

It is normally accepted that the military and masculinity have a reciprocal relationship. This was well explained by Paul R. Higate (2003: 113):

> On the one hand, politicians have utilized ideologies of idealized masculinity that valorise the nation of strong males collectively risking their personal safety for the greater good of the wider community, gaining support for the state`s use of violence, such as wars in the international arena. On the other hand, militarism feeds into ideologies of masculinity through the eroticization of stoicism, risk taking and even lethal violence.

However, masculinity is also multidimensional and intersectional. The idea of hegemonic masculinity creates a hierarchy between men (Connell 1995). Michael S. Kimmel (2005) stated that the hegemonic man as an ideal manhood creates competition between men.

husband to go out two nights a week, and the husband can accept taking care of the children for two nights, or women can be paid for their housework. This is a kind of bargain which is made with patriarchy. Contemporary popular films show this bargain as a patriarchal privilege. These women gain some privilege because of their bargain; however, representation of these women is still under the patriarchal discourse. On the other hand, cross-dressing characters in films make visible not only these constructed representations but also the way of bargaining with patriarchy because cross-dressing is the way of showing how a body transforms a gendered body.

[44] 'Hegemonic Masculinity' is the definition of manhood which is dominant in a given cultural context (Connell & Messerschimdt 2005).

During military coups, a hierarchy forms between military masculinity[45] and civilian masculinity; military coups and the army settle at the top of the hierarchy of masculinities. It can therefore be claimed that military coups change the relationship between masculinities and relocate them. This relocation causes a masculinity crisis. Cross-dressing films begin with the enunciation of this crisis and offer cross-dressing performance as a solution. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah,* in order to mark out the masculinity and then disrupt it, in the first thirty minutes the audience only sees one woman. The viewer only sees Naci in the first scene in a car where he is trying to extort money from an old, ugly woman by using his handsome appearance. Living at a woman's expense is one way to disrupt masculinity. In the second scene, the spectator sees a relationship between men: Naci and Fikri try to get money by gambling. Gambling creates a hierarchy between men and in this hierarchy, Naci and Fikri are losers, not winners. They lose not only their money but also their suit jackets. Dress expresses social control of the body according to categories of age, class, gender, religion and race. Dressing, like other power institutions, transforms the imaginary existence of a subject because being a subject is an on-going process and dress is a way of experiencing the world and a kind of self-construction of identity by using the signification system of dressing. The system of difference which is used to create meaning expresses itself using codes of dress and acts of wearing as ways of expression. The loss of your jacket is related to the abandonment or loss of masculinity. Furthermore, a suit jacket not only implies masculinity, but also symbolised modernity for Turkish culture because of the dress codes and implications of Kemalist modernisation. The loss of a man's suit jacket means the loss of his status within the modernisation process which was the principal tension of the period. The next scene begins with a man being beaten up in the nightclub where the *The Wasps* – the name of Fikri and Naci's group – are performing. Nobody is interested in the performance of the group and some of the audience even jeer at *The Wasps*. Being a *wasp* implies productivity of masculinity in Turkish culture, so their masculinity is being mocked. After losing their money, losing their jackets, losing their body's power, they are now losing their artistic talent in the eyes of the audience. All of these scenes are organized to undermine masculinity and induce in the audience acceptance of the need for the subsequent gender

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[45] "The concept of 'military masculinities' refers to a particular set of gendered attributes typically found within the institution of the armed forces" (Connel 1995: 57). "These traits – both performance and ideology – cluster around violence, aggression, rationality, and a sense of invulnerability, and they share in common certain aspects of civilian-based masculinities such as coolness under pressure" (Higate 2003: 29).

transformation. In this way, the two characters can achieve protection in the eyes of the audience. The audience is convinced the exigency of this transformation without making any judgment. Hence, cross-dressing is portrayed as a purely pragmatic act, as a temporary solution. In *Şoför Nebehat*, masculinity and its power domain are expressed by emptiness. Nebahat's father dies suddenly, her husband cheats on her and they divorce. Her cross-dressing is depicted as an entirely pragmatic act, as a temporary solution, because of the emptiness created by the absence of masculinity. This emptiness can be read as an outcome of militaristic masculinity which destroys the hierarchy between masculinities in ordinary civil times. This crisis and emptiness in terms of masculinities disrupt ontological security: not only are identities and their hegemonic domain fractured, but also their continuity is interrupted by military coups. When the stability and continuity of identities are threatened, ontological security is threatened as well. Therefore, masculinities are ontologically insecure in times of military coups. Cross-dressing films can be accepted as a solution to this insecurity.

Very similar scenes can be seen in *Şabaniye*. However, the description of hegemonic masculinity changed between the 1960s and the 1980s, which is why in *Şabaniye* the masculinity crisis is shown differently. In *Şabaniye*, the masculinity crisis becomes visible through the relationship between mother and son. He lives with his mother and he works by means of his mother, because the owner of the music hall owes a debt of gratitude to Şaban's mother. Although Şaban is an unskilful waiter, his mother always has his back. Even so, he consistently does the wrong thing at the wrong time. On the other hand, the enemy family`s son Şehmuz is the other masculine figure of the period. His mother is disabled and unable to walk. Her only hope is Şehmuz, whom she uses as a phallic tool of power. However, he is a gambler and a spendthrift. All of the male characters' positions in the film are determined by their relationship with their parents. The post-1980 period can be read as becoming distant from tradition by means of neo-liberal politics. Furthermore, feminism took root in Turkey in the post-1980 period. The position and situation of women in society rapidly changed; they began to work, to demand their rights and to challenge society. Hence, the masculinity crisis of the period was based on a questioning of the position of men in the family. According to Elizabeth Badinter (1994), what causes a crisis of masculinity is not so much changing roles, but a questioning of male authority (cited in Powrie 1997: 10).

Furthermore, neo-liberal politics require the nuclear family as a reproduction centre of capitalism. The loss of father, grandfather or mother gave power to man as head of the family and this power domain cannot in reality be filled by men in 1980's. As Yvonne Tasker (1998: 110) pointed out, "men became more overtly targeted as consumers of lifestyle. The invitation extended to western men to define themselves through consumption brings with it a consequent stress on the fabrication of identity, a denaturalising of the supposed naturalness of male identity" in the 1980s. It can be claimed that this is also true of Turkish men. The changing family structure and the force of consumption which affected the self-perception of identity can be accepted as sources of the masculinity crisis in 1980s Turkey. The idea of filling this power domain remained an impossible desire for men as head of the nuclear family. According to Kimmel (2005), "It is difficult for any man to embody the characteristics of the ideal man at every given moment and over the course of his life time, the need to prove our masculinity is thus a constant source of anxiety" (cited in Fineman & Thomson 2013: 83). For example, before becoming female, Şaban, as a male, suffers from a lack of voice and reason. Although he wants to, when he is on stage he cannot sing. He wants to talk but nobody understands him and everyone accuses him of being unreasonable. When he becomes Şabaniye, however, as a woman he becomes a singer and a star. This opportunity is given to Şabaniye by the effects of his/her cross-dressing performance. The effects of cross-dressing performance allow Şabaniye to get rid of the masculinity crisis of the period. By means of cross-dressing, he can change his position on the map of power relations and moreover he can design this map according to his needs because he is not a stable and fixed *being* but rather he is *becoming*. This distinction between lack of voice and being a singer is based on the contradictions of the 1980s period. Şaban's journey from man to woman is a journey from repressed to provoked which is also very similar to the arabesque culture of the period.

In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, hegemonic masculinity is contoured by the collapsed and depressed neo-liberal politics. Menderes's slogan in the 1950s was "We will grow one millionaire for every single quarter," and after him the president in the post-1980 period, Turgut Özal, encouraged citizens to be greedy and to work together with their eyes open. However, instead of millionaires, little mafia groups grew up in every single quarter. The distance between the classes increased. Neo-liberal dreams became a nightmare. That is why

Şeytanın Pabucu begins with a dream which turns into a nightmare. Burhan has trouble with the mafia group in his neighbourhood. However, in this case the necessity of cross-dressing is neither the heritage of the father and tradition nor the result of an accident. Rather, it is a fault of character. The character is the symbol of the performance of unsuccessful masculinity. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, all of the male characters are swindlers but some of them use brute force, some religion and some money as the visible face of power. Religion, bullying and violence are the main sources of the 2000s politics of masculinity.

It can be claimed that the cross-dressing character not only wears the opposite sex's clothes, but also wears the tension of period. For example, in *Şabaniye*, Şaban not only becomes a woman but also becomes rich, even though he belongs to the working class, by means of cross-dressing. The act of cross-dressing involves 'class crossing' according to the time period of Turkey's attempts at neo-liberalism. For example, when Şabaniye and her mother enter their new house, her mother looks around and says*, 'It is like a museum. How did they find these old things?'* The new owner of old treasures is the new and hot money. In other words, in order to gain access into the aristocracy,[46] one does not have to be born as one of them. The new and hot money owner is encouraged not by being elite but by buying the idea of elitism. Consumption is the motto of the period. Only in this film, *Şabaniye*, does the audience watch long shopping scenes. Shopping is presented as a condition of being a woman. The body of Şabaniye transforms into a shop window. The relationship between the body and its surroundings is ignored in the film. The body becomes a space where the new and hot money is exhibited. In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan not only becomes his sister but also becomes a pilgrim, even though he is an alcoholic, by means of the act of crossing. The period in which the film was made was marked by increasing Islamic conservatism in Turkey. The country started to wear religion as well. By cross-dressing, characters can adjust themselves to the criteria of the hegemonic masculinities of the period by means of the mobility of cross-dressing performance in order to overcome the masculinity crises of the periods.

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[46] Many historians such as Ilber Ortayli (2000) and Oliver Bouguet (2011) accepted that there was not an aristocracy as a social class in Ottoman times, so therefore there is not in the Turkish Republic either. I have chosen to use this term because 'hereditary aristocracy' implies a unique social class into which no-one lowborn can climb.

Figure 4.1: A film poster for *Şabaniye* - 1984. Şabaniye shows off her jewellery.

Figure 4.2: A frame from *Şeytanın Pabucu*: Fatih Ürek as a pilgrim

In short, it can be claimed that men's patriarchal power reflects itself in the making and functioning of the state. Cynthia Enloe (1990: 45) observed that "Nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope". So when the state has a problem, the patriarchy becomes part of this problem and *vice versa*. It can be claimed that these films also work as a process of reproducing masculinity by helping

men to create a surveillance system through which they regain the power of hegemonic masculinity which was taken away by military masculinity. However, in order to re-construct masculinities, first the hegemonic masculinity crisis has to be organized by narrative. Therefore, all of the selected cross-dressing films begin by fracturing masculinity, as explained above. After that, it is restored by a cross-dressing act. The mobility of cross-dressing which is provided by *becoming* for a cross-dressing character can change the character's position within power relations. The visible but unrecognisable face of a cross-dresser allows the cross-dressed character not only to escape the panoptic social mechanism of military coups but also to create his/her own surveillance system. All this re-organises ontological security for those characters whose ontology security is threatened by military coups.

Furthermore, the typology of the rich old man who falls in love with a cross-dressed male character is a recognisable connection because this character can be seen in almost all male-to-female cross-dressing films. This character can also be discussed in relation to masculinity. The old man figure can be read as a type of masculinity which has been set free from his sexuality. This character has at least two main functions in films, which will be discussed using Judith Butler`s sex and gender argument and Foucault`s bio-power[47] argument. First, he makes visible masculinity and sexuality, in other words the relationship between gender and sex. Simone de Beauvoir said that "one is not born but becomes a woman" (1949: 295). Although this statement is accepted by most feminists, it should be asked who decides and how it can be decided whether a new born baby will be a woman or not. Can sex and gender be separated? According to Butler, they cannot be separated; there is no sex without gender. Butler (2006: 70) stated that "both are inevitabilities within a culture where reproduction becomes the central organizing principle for bodies". Furthermore, according to Foucault (1990), the science of biology and the determined biological sex of the body make gender discourse natural, coherent and essentialist. Second, he showed that moral ethical rules about sexuality are necessary for the people who can procreate, and therefore are the subjects of bio-power, in Foucault's term. Foucault (1990) went on to state that the growth and care of the population are the main concerns of the state in the art of

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[47] Foucault analysed several types of power, such as disciplinary power and sovereign power, and bio-power was one of them. In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault described bio-power as a power which takes hold of human life: "Bio power is the power over bios or life, and lives may be managed on both an individual and a group basis" (Taylor 2011: 44). Bio-power is the way of regulating "the problems of birth, role, longevity, public health, housing and migration" (Foucault 1990: 140).

government, which is why sexual discourse, like other discourses, is structured by taking into consideration reproduction. At the end of *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, when the old man realises that the woman with whom he has fallen in love is a man, he says, 'No problem. No-one is perfect'. In *Şabaniye*, in the same circumstance, the old man says, 'I wish we had had a night together before you came out'. It does not matter for him whether it is Şaban or Şabaniye for them to sleep together. By virtue of their age, these old men[48] are liberated from the ethical rules of procreation and their sexuality does not threaten society.[49]

Another issue which it is also important to discuss in the masculinity crisis is that there is always another character who accompanies the cross-dresser. Cross-dressers are not alone in their transformation. I term this accompanying character an 'anchor of identity' who helps the cross-dressing characters not to forget their 'inner self`. There are usually two characters who decide to change their appearances. One of them can be claimed to be an anchor of identity for the other: in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Naci and Fikri; in *Şabaniye*, Şaban and his mother, in *Şoför Nebahat*, Nebahat and her daughter, in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Ercüment (one of the male students) and Arzu. When one of them has gender, identity or belonging problems because of his/her changed performance, the other helps him/her as an anchor of identity because without an anchor of identity, a cross-dressing character can get lost in the world of possibilities in the rhizome. As was discussed above, cross-dressing destroys not only gendered identity but also the idea of a fixed and stable identity. The other is therefore the witness of identity. Identity is a kind of story about ourselves which we tell others, so it requires another who witnesses us, without whom our identity loses its value. The other is the anchor of identity.

In the selected cross-dressing films, a possibility is offered to the cross-dressing characters for reconstructing the very masculinities which are threatened by a military coup. In order to express this offer, the films begin by portraying masculinity in crisis. In this crisis, cross-dressing performance is presented as a solution. Mobility of cross-dressing gives an opportunity to the characters to reorganise power relations. So they can change not only their gendered identities but also other forms of identity such as class, ethnicity and religion.

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[48] Although Foucault (1990) wrote that non-productive sexual acts were considered sinful and had come to be seen as a threat to society, this situation was only valid for individuals who could actually procreate.

[47] However, this is not common in female cross-dressing films.

Furthermore, because of the mobility which is provided by cross-dressing, they can use time, space and language according to their particular needs and this usage upgrades their masculinities to the hegemonic masculinity level. The visible but not recognisable face of the cross-dressers not only enables them to escape militaristic panoptic surveillance but also allows them to create their own surveillance system which gives them hegemony over other characters. All these effects help to reconstruct the ontological security of masculinities which is disrupted by military coups. In this reconstruction, the ontological security process of the other character accompanies the cross-dressing character as an anchor of identity to protect the cross-dresser from the world of endless combinations which exist in the rhizome.

4.2: Femininity crisis

It can be said that although the films undermine masculinity, they also reconstruct femininity: a masculinity crisis can be overcome by means of the effects of cross-dressing whereas a femininity crisis still remains because they are not normally cross-dressers. Even so, it is important to discuss these crises in order to understand the perception and representation of authority and the extent of freedom in the three selected periods. I shall discuss in this section women characters in the selected films and how they experience the tension of the period, how they are represented, and the ways in which they communicate with the cross-dressing characters.

In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, at the thirtieth minute of the film, the audience sees two women for the first time. First, two legs with high-heeled shoes are seen. The camera pans up the screen from the bottom to the top. Naci and Fikri have become two women wearing western-style hats and gloves. No-one wore these in Turkey in everyday life. They represent the image of the new woman of the Kemalist modernization project. Therefore, being a woman becomes an "imaginary formation"[50] (Wittig 1992: 59) in the eyes of the viewer, like the modernization process of Turkey. As discussed above, the modernization process is regarded by some as an endless process and involves impossible desires. This impossibility of

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[9] Monique Witting used "imaginary formation" when she wrote about feminine writings in her essay 'The Point of View: Universal or Particular' in 1980. According to her, the subject is a man and masculine is not a gender, rather it implies being in general. There is only one gender which is feminine. The feminine gender is an artificial mark which is used to create women as a natural group and a political concept. Therefore, according to her, "woman is an imaginary formation and not a concrete reality" (59).

modernization is embodied in the women's bodies of Naci and Fikri as imaginary formations. Furthermore, the audience can see only the "copy of being woman which is also a copy" (Butler 2006). In this scene, the spectator sees the process of *becoming* a woman in their grotesque bodies. Very high-heeled shoes, exaggerated clothes and body-parts such as breasts and hips, out-of-proportion bodies, and un-realistic makeup show the fictionally of being women and being women becomes non-functional. Their *becoming* shows us that *being* woman is a political concept.

Figure 4.3: A frame from *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*: Fikriye and Naciye wearing western-style outfits in a parody of being women

Şoför Nebahat is structured on the tension between a masculine mother and a feminine daughter. The film begins by making the distinction between two types of woman: the mother, who is masculine, is content with what she has, a woman of her word, brave and strong and who ignores her sexual desires, and the daughter who is sexy, desperate to jump class, is spoiled, wants to live out her sexuality and is selfish. The narrative punishes both of them and proposes a third way to the audience: 'be normal as a normal woman'. This tension between them is based on the father figure. After Nebehat learns that her husband has cheated on her, she abandons him. The husband is a lawyer who can open new class doors for the daughter. Therefore, the daughter blames her mother with her masculine behaviour for causing this unsuccessful marriage. These two women struggle with each other in order to gain phallic power over the house. Nebehat tries to do this by using her

masculinity; her daughter tries to do it by using her father. She wants to move into her father's home. Both of them are punished for their desire to gain phallic power. The message of the narrative is clear: do not attempt to gain power which is more suited to a man. It can be said that becoming man is harder than becoming women in films.

In both *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* and *Şoför Nebehat*, women are shown as struggling with modernity. Kemalism has drawn the boundaries for Turkish women as a part of the modernization process but the modernization process can be read as cross-dressing from the traditional to the modern. As a cross-dressing performance, this modernization process creates a sense of in-between. This is why the representations of the women of Turkey are always between modern and traditional. Like cross-dressing, modernization in Turkey is a kind of endless becoming as a process rather than being. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah,* the main woman character is Gülten, who wants to find a rich man to marry and to be a housewife. However, in order to achieve this, Gülten has to be taught to survive for herself the dangers of the modern public sphere. Naci-ye as a women friend of Gülten guides her on how she can win a man; Kemal as a yacht owner lover gives Gülten the opportunity to practise what she has learnt from Naci-ye. Both Naci-ye and Kemal re-produce Gülten for Naci as an ideal woman. According to Teresa de Lauretis (1987), there are two representations of women: 'women' as historically specific individuals and 'Woman' as an imaginary cultural representation. She suggested that the feminine gender is both inside and outside the ideology. The tension which develops between Woman, which as an imaginary representation is therefore an object, and women, which as historical beings are therefore a subject which puts the feminine gender both inside and outside ideology. The film depicts the journey of woman as an individual being to the imaginary Woman embodied in the character of Gülten. In *Şoför Nebehat*, both Nebehat and her daughter are portrayed as 'historically specific individuals` who are stuck between modernity and tradition. The only way to survive in the public sphere is based on finding an imaginary representation. However, the absence of the father is an obstacle for them in this search. There is therefore a need to discuss the relationship between fatherhood and Turkish modernization.

According to Nilüfer Göle (1991), the psychology of Kemalist men was based on them being fathers and raising women who are appropriate for the ideals of modernization. Göle pointed out that it does not matter whether they are biologically the father or not, Kemalist

men felt as if they were the fathers of Turkish women who were at the liminal spaces of modernization. In order to advance the discussion, Jale Parla and her observation about the tendencies of *Tanzimat*[51] novels can be used. According to Parla (1990), the tension of the *Tanzimat* novel was based on the relationship between fathers and sons which can be accepted as the tension between the Ottoman emperor and citizens. The absence of a father is the reason for the seduction of sons by blonde, greedy, *femme fatale* women. Parla (1990) suggested that although *Tanzimat* aimed at being modern, there was still a need for the Ottoman emperor as a father. She concluded that fathers and fatherhood have been the accompanists of the Turkish modernization process since *Tanzimat*. On the other hand, Kemalist modernization sought to create modern women, unlike *Tanzimat*`s modern bureaucratic men. Göle (1991) stated that Ataturk, as the father of the nation and therefore the symbolic father of all Turks, gave this fatherhood mission to the male citizens of the new modern Turkey. The relationship between Kemalist fathers and their modern daughters has inter-penetrated all kinds of gendered identity relations in the new modern Turkey.

Turning to the cross-dressing films of the 1960s, this tension of male/female relationships which is structured within the relationship between Kemalist fathers and their modern daughters can be found in the cross-dressing films of the period. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Naci, Naci-ye and Kemal work together as the 'father' of Gülten who teaches, loves, punishes, rewards and enlightens her to find her 'correct' way. On the other hand, the absence of a father or unsuccessful fatherhood in *Şoför Nebehat* can be accepted as a reason for punishing both Nebehat and her daughter at the end of the film. Nebehat's daughter is portrayed as that very blonde, greedy, *femme fatale* who had embodied one side of the modernization anxieties since *Tanzimat*, and Nebehat herself is portrayed as a symbol of the masculinization of femininity (because her father dies and she abandons her husband), the other side of modernization anxieties, both of which are based on an absence of fatherhood. These modernization anxieties can also be read from the women actors' physical appearances.

Gülten is played by Türkan Şoray, who is called 'the sultan' of Turkish cinema. She is the most important and effective woman star in Turkey, so she can be studied herself both as a text (Dyer 1979) and through the ways in which her audience relate to her (McDonald 1995).

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[51] The first modernization movement which took place in the late Ottoman era.

According to Seçil Büker (2002: 158), "In the 1960s as the new city-dwellers started to lose their fear just by chance they encountered on the screen someone who did not scare them or ignore them. They felt good, because they found someone on the screen who was affectionate, looked warm and they were operating on the same place. In *Aşk Rüzgarı* (1960), the male protagonist has three lovers and does not favour the dark, rather plump one, but the audience does. The audience cheers for the dark girl". This dark girl was played by Şoray, and she began her journey from being a star, which is accepted as a western concept, to being a sultan,[52] which is accepted as eastern. Her darkness represented Anatolia, which was largely invisible to and ignored by Kemalist modernization. Before her, the blonde woman was a very important figure of the modernization process. Cahide Sonku, the first female star of Turkish cinema, was blonde but there was always a distance between her and her audience. According to Büker (2002: 153), "the audience did not feel close to the star, because she was aloof, polite, and blonde. Sonku managed to conquer the hearts of the city-dwellers. This happened because she looked like the western woman that the typical republican intellectual had always positioned as the ideal. Intellectuals chose to call her 'The Turkish Greta Garbo`. She was the star of republican ideology".[53] After Sonku, Türkan Şoray became the symbol of the darkness of eastern people. It has been said that "stars articulate what it is to be a human being in contemporary society. They articulate both the promise and difficulty" (McDonald 1995: 83). Interestingly, however, Şoray plays Gülten with a blonde wig in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah.* Therefore, her blondeness involves many possible readings. In short, her blondeness can be read as a symbol of the women of Turkey being stuck between modern/west and traditional/east. It can also be read as a symbol of cross-dressing from traditional to modern, as discussed above. In *Şoför Nebehat*, Nebehat, who represents the east, is a dark woman, and her daughter, who represents the west, is blonde. Furthermore, Filiz Akın, who plays Nebehat's daughter, was the western face of Turkish cinema after Sonku. In her analysis of four women stars of Turkish Cinema, *Dört Yapraklı Yonca* (2004), Bircan Usallı Silan described Akın as a European, an urbanite and a college girl.

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[52] The sultan is the wife or mother of the Ottoman *padisah* (emperor). The idea of the star was introduced to Turkish society by Hollywood.

[53] On the other hand, the image of the blonde woman was also the symbol of the Young Ottomans` modernization movement called *Tanzimat*. "The most influential books of Tanzimat involved blonde women protagonists as desirable, beautiful women. The male protagonist Bihruz Bey in the most famous novel which was written by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdasi* (1899), falls in love with Perivies Hanim when he sees her blonde hair and green eyes" (Buker 2002).

So not only the characters but also the stars of these two films from the 1960s show femininity fractured between modernism and tradition, between west and east.

Figure 4.4: (*left*) Filiz Akın is a European, urbanite and college girl of Turkish Cinema; Figure 4.5: (*right*) Türkan Şoray is the 'dark girl'

In *Şabaniye*, women are shown as struggling with feminism. The main woman character of the film, Nazlı, is shown as very masculine. She wears men's clothes and always carries a gun. She rides a horse and practises shooting with the gun. Although she is keen on traditions, at the same time she wants her freedom. The feminist slogan of the period transforms into the dialogues of Nazlı in the film. The anxiety about the free movement of woman is embodied in the body of Nazlı: in her body, feminism is caricatured. However, she is taught to become an ideal, imaginary Woman by the love of the cross-dressing character. Her femininity is fractured by feminism and patriarchy according to the position of the text in Turkish political cultural history where feminism meets Turkish women.

Figure 4.6: A frame from *Şabaniye*; Nazlı is wearing a man's suit whereas Şaban is wearing women's clothes.

In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, the main woman character Aysun Kayacı is shown as a sexual object, which is very different from the other films. She becomes a commodity in the consumption culture of the 2000s. She does not have a coherent representation of identity or body. Her body is shown as fragmented: her breast, her legs, her bottom are shown in close-up shots at the male protagonist's eye level. In this way, her "body has been reduced to an erotic exchange value" (Baudrillard 1998: 136) between the audience and the male protagonist by means of the camera position. She becomes an object of desire for the male gaze.[54] She is always harassed but she does not have the ability to understand it because she is harassed by the camera as a male gaze which is not supposed to be there. Furthermore, she looks as if she wants to be harassed. The meaning of femininity is structured by the fact that she serves heterosexual male desire. As Irigaray (1985) pointed out, "Women are objects or commodities that are exchanged between men".

Figure 4.7: Aysun Kayacı in *Şeytanın Pabucu*

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[54] Here it is worth mentioning Laura Mulvey and her ground-breaking article. According to Mulvey (1989: 19), "Narrative cinema incorporates permutations of the look into its very structure, predetermining how the woman is to be looked at and thus placing all spectators in the 'masculinized' position of looking at her".

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the mobility of cross-dressing on maps of power relations, the perception of authority and freedom according to a film's historical position, as well as the idea of femininity and masculinity and how their crises reflect the tensions of the periods. I have sought to construct a bridge between Turkish political history and masculinity and femininity in cross-dressing films. In doing this, I have questioned the relationship between gender discourses and other tensions of the periods and discussed how cross-dressing helps to overcome the crises of masculinity and femininity. Furthermore, I have opened the doors of the selected films. In the next chapter, I shall expand the discussion about the films and analyse what fractures language, time and space, which are the providers of the elements of ontological security: continuity, contingency and routine.

Chapter 5: Fracturing language, voice and speech

Introduction

The cross-dressing body in films allows multiple interpretations of language which show us the way in which the world is contracted by language. I call these moments fracturing in language, where the ontological security is disrupted and therefore the discourses which involve language and the relationships between them can be seen. Cross-dressing performance in films allows us to discuss the fracturing of language. Jonathan Sterne (2012: 3) stated that to question sound, voice and speech is "to ask a big question about culture, political moments, the crisis and problems of their time". This is also appropriate for the Turkish case and film language. Language fracturing, therefore, gains different meanings when it is remembered that these films are the products of times of military coup. However, the scenes which appear in cross-dressing films give us another analytic tool with which to discuss the relationship between the discourses which produce and are produced by body, language and voice.

Language is a condition of ontological security. Giddens (1991) stated that ontological security is the ability to give meanings to things such as the self, the other, time and space, and confidence in the order and continuity of these things. In short, as has already been explained, ontological security is based on fixed regularities. Language is the most important element of ontological security because meaning, order and continuity are provided by language. Language is not a window which opens onto the real world, it is not our way of understanding the world. It is a world; it is itself a discourse which structures and constructs our realities, our world and the continuity of these realities. There is no meaning, space or time outside language. Not only language but also issues related to language such as voice, silence, speech and listening shape our realities and offer us a meaning of things in an order. So when language is threatened, ontological security is threatened and *vice versa*, because when language is threatened, the realities which are accepted by means of language and which are structured by language are threatened. According to Derrida (1967), language can give a meaning to things by means of its structure which is based on binary opposition. The differences and the hierarchy between binary terms in the other's world and the differences and hierarchy between self and other create meanings and the order of things. We can see

these differences and hierarchy between binary terms in the cross-dressing body – in the same body and at the same time – by means of these fractures.

Cross-dressing films contain a typical scene strategy about sound/voice, language and speech. The strategies of these scenes are usually the same: cross-dressing characters come face-to-face with various un-ordinary situations: for example, s/he comes across sexual abuse or is attracted by a woman, or enters a dangerous situation such as encountering killers. In situations like these, cross-dressing characters express their feelings in their 'original' voice and style for a moment, and then realise their position and revert to their cross-dressed performance. These moments of forgetfulness cannot be recognized by other characters in the film, and even if they can be heard by other characters, they cannot be understood. These moments are usually treated as a source of comedy and irony in the films. In this chapter, I shall explore scenes like these under the idea of language fracturing by asking why these scenes are repeated, what kinds of opportunity they provide to us, and how they fracture ontological security in relation to military coups.

Everything which is unheard, misunderstood or repeated but with different voices, words or sounds can be accepted as a kind of citation borrowed by a cross-dressing character from another text. This multiple-voiced utterance allows us to recognize that multiple layers of identity of self and other may be present in a single body. In these fracturing moments, the cross-dressing body opens itself to at least two different speakers. These two speakers express themselves by using different voices and intonations at the same time from the same body. The audience can hear at least two voices, two pieces of information, two points of view, two languages which all talk with each other dialogically. One body is a space of dialogic relationship between multiple voices which address different listeners with different aims. These scenes can therefore be accepted as a conversation of different discourses of the period which embody a gendered way. In other words, one discourse can be understood and interpreted only through the other system of discourses. This encounter between discourses takes place at the level of language, voice, sound and speech in these scenes. Because of these encounters, the consistency, stability and ability to hide the structure as a natural truth of language, voice, speech or sound are collapsed, and it is this which I call the fracturing of language/voice/sound/speech. These fractures make the relationship between

power and them visible. This inter-relation between the two creates fractures not only on acoustic and linguistic levels but also in oncologic security, as discussed above.

When we look at examples in the Turkish context, we can identify three different usages: (1) the 'original` voice of the cross-dressed character which cannot be heard; (2) even if it is heard it cannot be understood; and (3) the cross-dressed character can use language freely from different gender employments. In this chapter, I shall therefore discuss three different forms of fracturing in relation to the three effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject which were discussed in Chapter 2. First, I shall discuss voice and body fracturing. The same body uses different types of voice performance at the same time. The cross-dressed characters speak with someone else using the 'cross-dressed gender` voice and style but at the same time they give their own reaction to themselves using their 'biologically given' voice. This destroys the unity of body and fractures the organic relations between body and voice. Hence it destroys the relationship between sound and image. I read this fracturing with the idea of *becoming*. I suggest that this fracturing relieves the anxiety of citizens who do not want to lose their voice under military rule. Second, I shall discuss, fracturing between listening object and speaking subject. Cross-dressing characters also ignore the listening object when they speak to themselves. These moments are lost time for the listening objects. At these moments, the listening objects cannot talk, and although they are hearing the voice of the cross-dressed character they cannot understand it. This situation is related to the *visible but not recognizable* discussion. Under the effect of this fracture, cross-dressing can speak freely without being judged by others. They can escape the surveillance because no-one can hear them, and even if they do hear they cannot understand. I suggest that these fractures help citizens who are exposed to the restriction of freedom of speech by military rule. In the final section, I shall discuss the language employment of femininity and masculinity fracturing. This situation is based not only on the different voices of woman and man but also on the different ways in which women and men use language, and I shall combine this idea with the *experiencing otherness without being other* effect of cross-dressing performance in its subject in relation to the discrimination politics of military coups.

5.1: Voice and body fracturing

Cross-dressing involves not only body performance but also voice performance, but this is commonly passed over in discussions of cross-dressing. In this section, I shall ask how cross-dressing characters use voices to disrupt and then re-organise ontological security by breaking the bond between voice and gender which is accepted as organic and natural. I suggest that not only are the body and the identities of cross-dressing characters mobile but their voice which is provided by becoming is also mobile. This mobility of voice fractures ontological security because it creates ambiguity about the stability and continuity of a person who speaks with different voices for the listener. This fracturing gives the speaker an opportunity to speak freely, which is one of the main demands of citizens who live under military rule. In order to answer the question, I shall give examples from cross-dressing films in which the alteration of the voice is the main source of the comedy and irony. I shall first provide an overview of the possible meanings of voice as a discourse. After discussing voice, I shall examine what happens in these voice alteration scenes.

When we look at theories about the body, we can easily see that the concept of voice has been largely ignored and excluded from these discussions. The body has usually been theorised without voice as silent. Even in her ground-breaking study *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (2006) discussed body and gender performativity in terms of the visual aspect and gave less consideration to the vocal act and performativity of the body. And it is not only gender studies which have made this error: linguistic studies too have overlooked theorising the voice to a great extent. According to Jonathan Sterne (2003: 13), however, "voice is an important artefact of the political human sphere". If this is so, why has voice been ignored and excluded from discussions? Asking this question and trying to find some possible reasons can help us to understand the unique values of voice. These reasons designate the idiosyncrasies of voice, and that is why I shall discuss why there have been only limited attempts to discuss voice.

Adriana Cavarero (2005: 14) stated that "the metaphysical tradition tends towards a 'devocalization' of speech, a method, or strategic decision to thematise speech while neglecting the vocality of speakers". Mladen Dolar (2006: 15) explained the reason for this ignoring of voice by saying, "voice is that which cannot be said". That is why voice has been discussed only in relation to language, speech, utterance, singing and reproductions but has

not been discussed for its own sake because it is outside enunciation. Cavarero (2005: 222) discussed this issue in Derridian terms, saying that voice is associated with time and, in contrast, writing is spatial organization. Because of its spatiality, writing has always been accepted as the condition of language "Since [it] denies to the voice a meaning of its own that is not always already destined to speech" (Cavarero, 2005: 13). Furthermore, it can be said that voice has here-and-now effects. However, an idea must be repeated, expressed and constituted in order to categorise and measure it. That is why, until the development of recording technologies, writing and gaze had been the subject of philosophy. Turning to the question which I set out in the previous paragraph, from these discussions three aspects of voice can be found: it is a temporal organization; it is here and now; it is outside language and cannot be said.

On the other hand, I suggest that there is another reason for the fact that voice has been ignored, and it is related to the non-resident nature of voice. Voice is a nomadic act: it does not completely belong to the body and it does not completely belong to language. Voice in terms of body can be accepted as being both inside and outside not only the body but also language. Voice is always in-between, so is cross-dressing. Dolar (2006: 73), whose approach reflected the Lacanian point of view about voice, stated that "voice emerges from the body, it is neither fully defined by matter nor completely beyond it … voice is a bodily missile which has detached itself from the source, emancipated itself, yet remains corporeal … so the voice stands … at the intersection of language and body, but this intersection belongs to neither". In other words, voice is a transgressive production which is produced by the body and its outside, and language and its outside together. Voice is therefore a relation between outside and inside both the body and its surroundings, and language and its surroundings. In this relationship, the body orients itself according to its surroundings by using voice. This is why voice is the source of orientation for the body. Then, we can say that voice is not only a temporal activity but also a spatial activity, countering Cavarero`s argument.

Because voice is in-between and therefore relational, as one element of the orientation of the body, voice, as Michelle Duncan (2004: 291) put it, "produces effects of the body on the other bodies", which is why voice can disrupt ontological security. For example, in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, the effects of the cross-dressed character`s ambiguity of voice creates anxiety in the other bodies. In this scene, Arzu, a female-to-male cross-dressing character,

reacts to being given presents in a woman's voice. After hearing this voice, the other students in the class react, and one of them says 'You are such a nice, kind man, but when you speak with a woman's voice I am afraid of you and it makes me nervous. Is there any cure for your voice?' The reason for the other student's discomfort is not the woman's voice, because they are living in a male dormitory and the main topic of conversation among them in the film is anything which is about women. The alteration of her voice creates 'horror' because it destroys the positions of the other students relative to the cross-dressed character as a classmate. This situation goes beyond the ordinary relations between all the male classmates and breaks their routine. No-one knows how he (or she) should react because this ambiguity destroys their ontological security. As discussed above, voice is an element of ontological security and its ambiguity casts doubt on the reality and truth about the world which has to be accepted without doubt in order to survive, according to arguments of ontological security. In other words, the ambiguity of the other's voice destroys ontological security and opens the door to the uncanny because the truth about the other, which also determines us, loses its safety, which creates anxiety about the reliability of our surroundings.[55]

Figure 5.1: A frame from *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba:* Arzu in the male dormitory

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[55] For example, the uncanny voice of which the source is not known is a useful strategy for creating anxiety in horror films. In cross-dressing films, however, the source of the voice is known. The reason for anxiety in cross-dressing films is not an unknown source of voice but a contradiction between source and voice.

In another example, in *Şabaniye,* while Şabaniye is walking down a road as a cross-dressed character, street workmen use slang words to abuse at her. Şabaniye needs to re-organize relations between her/himself and them and in order to protect her/himself uses a man's voice. It is not this male voice but the alteration of the voice in relation to the body which creates ambiguity and stops the workmen's abuse because the alteration of Şabaniye's voice breaks the basic trust systems about the stability and continuity of others and the routine which is created by this basic trust systems, and because workmen know how to abuse at a women and how an woman who receives such treatment will react in the routine of ordinary life. A body's voice is a kind of boundary between bodily interiorities and exteriorities, but this boundary is also a meeting point of inside and outside, which is why voice is a relational phenomenon in which political, cultural and gendered and in which social routines are embedded. That is why voice is not a basic container of language and discourse, but also itself is a discourse which determines any kind of relation between self and other. Hence a cross-dressing character can use his/her voice in order to re-structure the relationship between his/her body and the bodies of others. A cross-dressing character can break the ontological security of others by using voice, in which any kind of identity is embedded, to protect his/her identity and can reconstruct this fractured ontological security according to his/her desires and needs at the time. If we reconsider that these films were popular narratives at times of military coups, we can easily say that this situation is the necessary relief of citizens whose ontological security has broken down in a sudden and unexpected way, and who do not want to lose their voice under military rule.

Figure 5.2: A frame from *Şabaniye*; Şabaniye reacts to the workmen's catcalls

Voice performativity as a materialisation of body is a social construct which contains an exchange value. This exchange value makes it a discursive practice because not only does the body produce voice but also voice produces the body as well. This is why voice cannot be discussed without body/gender performance. Although "the voice manifests the unique being of each human being" and "this uniqueness makes itself heard as voice" (Caverero 2005: 173), Nina Eidsheim (2008: 178) suggested that "a source is heard according to schemas of racialized, gendered or otherwise categorized bodies in accordance with the values of the given society ... (In turn), the sound as so perceived is considered evidences of the existence of these categories". In other words, social agreements and conditions classify the voice and this classification makes the categories, social agreements, and conditions natural. However, as discussed above, voice involves various intersecting discursive practices and regimes. For example, when we think about gender and voice it is obvious that, as John Durham Peters stated (2004: 88), "voice is a site where sexual differentiation is most clearly and most routinely accomplished". Voice should be understood culturally rather than biologically within the normative regimes of gender. "As feminist linguistic research since the 1970s has shown, there are no basic differences in male/female intonation patterns in English, which are exclusively one or the other. Gender differences in the use of the voice, such as pitch and timbre, are rather socially formed than anatomically determined. Even the change in boys' voices during puberty as a result of hormone changes is not fully explained by biology alone" (Key, cited in Hendricks 1998: 115). Pamela Hendricks (1998: 116) argued that vocalization in itself does not provide enough information to the listener about the speaker's gender: "Only when voice and gesture are combined and repeated in more detailed patterns do they result in an impression of 'masculine' and 'feminine'". In short, voice as a social product gives meaning and any sort of identity to body and *vice versa*, and their combination makes both of them visible and audible. These arguments can help us to answer the question of why voice ambiguity creates incomprehensible speech in many scenes.

I would like to give another example from *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*. In one scene, Gülten goes into Fikriye`s bedroom in order to thank her for something. She realises that Fikriye is very cold and in order to help her to get warmer, she gets into bed with Fikriye. In order to warm Fikriye up, she begins to rub herself against Fikriye`s body. After various noises, Fikri-ye

begins to talk to himself in a man's voice, saying 'I am a woman, I am a woman, calm down, I am a woman; am I a woman? Oooo, God, can you see whether I am a woman or a man?' This monologue cannot be heard by Gülten even though it goes on for a long time because the connection between body performance and voice performance has been destroyed. These private words are shared as information about the situation between Fikri-ye and the audience who know the 'original' gender of Fikri-ye.

Figure 5.3: Gülten tries to warm Fikriye up in bed

As the examples above suggest, the speech which is produced by the 'original' voice of the cross-dressed characters either cannot be heard or, if it is heard, cannot be understood. The reason for this is the separation of body and voice performance. When the body and gestures are not combined with voice, voice becomes undone; in other words, voice loses its locus and the locus loses the voice because, as discussed above, the relationship between body and voice is reciprocal and has been structured as a discursive practice socially, historically and culturally. When the voice and body relation is destroyed, both body and voice move outside any categorization and become inaudible. This inaudible space gives an opportunity to the cross-dressed character to exercise the right of free speech, which is impossible under a military coup.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, if the cross-dressed body is a body which is in the process of becoming, and if the voice and body have a reciprocal relationship during the process of their construction, then we can say that the voice of a cross-dressing performer is also in the process of becoming. The voice of cross-dressing performance is also mobile in between not only gender poles but also on the map of power relations. The voice of the 'first gender' becomes another, but this becoming changes the meaning of being another and therefore another becomes different from itself in relation to the first voice's becoming. In other words, trying to make one voice masculine or feminine in the performance highlights the

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discursive regimes which are embedded in voice. The cross-dressing performer has at least two voices which dispute each other: the feminine voice calls into question the masculine voice and *vice versa*. The cross-dressed voice therefore disrupts the binary opposition which is embedded in voice and which shows this binary as a natural truth about gender. Between the two voices which are produced by cross-dressing performance, the consistency of hegemonic discourses about the categorisation of voice disperses and fractures occur on the plane of voice. Fractures make visible the construction strategies of voice as an institution and the way of affecting the subject of this institution. As discussed in Chapter 2, we can regard fractures as an empty and therefore slippery space where the subject and any kind of relationships which produce the subject as a subject and a metaphysical concept of being are deterritorialized. In cross-dressing performance, voice, as one of the metaphysical concepts of being, is deterritorialized because, in cross-dressing films, the cross-dressed character can produce different vocal utterances, some of whose source cannot be seen in the frame, and some images whose sound cannot be heard.[56]

Voice as a discursive practice is kind of label which is used for categorising bodies. It is a social construct, which is why although all voices are unique, we can nevertheless hear them with their label: women/men, black/white, human/non-human. The cross-dressed voice in films as a voice of body of becoming fractures the system of categorization which both produces and is produced by voice. This is why, when the body and voice relationship breaks down, voice becomes inaudible, or audible but not understood. This feature of voice which is discovered by cross-dressing characters gives them an opportunity to express themselves freely and to re-organise the relationships between self and other; it also re-orients their body according to their needs. They can use at least two different texts/discourses/voices together and by doing so, they disrupt ontological security which is based on trust in the continuity and stability of others. Furthermore, disrupting ontological security and reorganising it again gives them the right to free speech, unlike the citizens under military

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[56] We can use the idea of the 'acousmatic voice' proposed by Michel Chion. What we would hear is what Chion in his ground-breaking book on sound in film, *The Voice in Cinema*, calls an acousmatic voice, "a sound that is heard without its cause being seen" (1999: 18). This acousmatic voice materializes a split between the visual and the sound. "If the talking cinema has shown anything by restoring voices to bodies, it's precisely that it doesn't hang together; it's decidedly not a seamless match" (Chion 1999: 126). Furthermore, Chion described the subject's attempts to suture the visual and the sonic as "a complex structural operation (related to the structuring of the subject in language) of grafting the non-localized voice onto a particular body to the voice as its source. This operation leaves a scar..." (1999: 126). Chion's reflections on the fragmentation of the subject are helpful for reinterpreting the different dimensions of the cross-dressing scene. The more interesting thing is that the voice of the cross-dressed character is acousmatic for other characters, not for the audience.

rule. The mobility of the cross-dressed voice which is produced by the body which is in the process of becoming fractures not only the relationship between body and voice but also the film's surface. This fracture which takes place on the film's surface creates a third dimension which is directly related to the audience. At this point, we can discuss how the alteration of voice opens up a new discussion about listening and speaking. I shall explore this new question in the following section.

5. 2: Speaking and listening fracturing

As discussed above, ontological security is a relationship which takes place between the self and its surroundings in order to create confidence and trust for the self that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be. Language is one of the most important elements of ontological security because we understand our surroundings through language. Dialogue as a relational part of language is a place where the power and orientation of self not only take place but also are exercised. Unheard and misunderstood parts of the dialogue of characters which are produced by the alteration of a cross-dressed character's voice also fracture the dialogue between the speaking and listening subjects in film. Cross-dressing characters ignore the listening subject when they speak with their 'original' voice. These voices belong to someone who is not there and speak to someone who is not there. However, the voice's place is still in the dialogue and its value can be understood only if or when the relationship between this monologue and the dialogue can be understood. In this section, I shall discuss the possible meanings of fractured dialogues. How do these fractures of dialogue 'talk' and what do they say to us? In order to analyse them, I shall first consider the functions of the acts of listening and speaking in dialogue.

There are two actions in a dialogue: one is speaking and the other is listening. Both actions work together and colligate each other's action and reaction like a rope. Therefore, the direction of a dialogue is usually forwards. One monologue not only creates its counter-monologue but also determines its own position according to this new counter-monologue. By means of listening and speaking, a person as a part of one dialogue becomes a part of the broader situation. This is why Sterne (2012: 9) pointed out that "Speaking, listening and hearing places you inside an event but seeing gives you a perspective on the event". It is

almost impossible to place yourself in what you see. On the other hand, your listening activity carries you into the event and your speaking activity gives you the opportunity to be on the other side of the dialogue in order to re-orient yourself according to your reaction which is embedded in your speaking. This is why it is important to ask why some parts of the dialogue in cross-dressing films are not understood or are misunderstood, what the possible reasons are for these situations and why it happens so often.

There are some possible explanations for this situation. First, in these scenes the direction of the attempt at communication differs from the real recipient of the dialogue. The intention of the cross-dressed character is to open a new dialogue with someone else who is not in the frame, who is the viewer of the film, the audience. This new dialogue is therefore not bounded by the context of the dialogue which takes place between the characters (very similar to the voice which is an unbounded body). Austin (1961: 24), however, pointed out that "the notion of meaning is contextually bound". The text which is not bounded by its context creates a sense of nonsense. These new dialogues which take place between the audience and a cross-dressed character are unbounded from the context of the dialogue which takes place between two characters. Destroying the relationship between text and context could be a reason for the misunderstanding. One example from *Şeytanın Pabucu* can be given for the unbounded relationship between text and context.

Figure 5.4: Aysel massaging Burhan's back in *Şeytanın Pabucu*

In this scene, Aysel massages Burhan's back (Burhan is a male-to-female cross-dressing character) without knowing that she is a he. She thinks that she is helping to ease the health problem of an old, religious woman. Her mistaken thinking provides the context for her in the scene. Burhan, however, gets an erection after her massage. Aysel says, 'How stiff your back is' (*Sırtın ne kadar sert*). Burhan answers with a man's voice 'There is somewhere else which is more stiff than my back!' (Implying his erection). Although she can hear what Burhan says, Aysel cannot understand the meaning of the sentence because it is not bonded with her context. The interlocutor of this dialogue is not Aysel: the dialogue is not between Aysel and Burhan but between Burhan and the audience. This shared information between Burhan and the audience empowers Burhan over Aysel.

Another reason could be the intentions of the speaker and the listener. Claire Humphreys-Jones observed that "The relationship between what the speaker intends and what the hearer understands essentially determines the outcome of a communication attempt (1986: 43). If what the hearer understands to have been expressed differs from what the speaker intended to express, misunderstanding or not understanding has occurred". In another example from *Şeytanın Pabucu*, while Aysel is servicing tea to Burhan, he looks directly at her breasts and says 'Ahh, ahh, Aysel, thank you, Aysel, wonderful Aysel, ahh, Aysel'. Although he uses a very erotic masculine voice, Aysel interprets these sentences as if he really is thanking her because she has served him tea. Their two different intentions affect the communication process and fracture the plane which exists between listener and speaker. By this fracture, the cross-dressed character appeals to the desire of the audience; that is the intention of the cross-dressed character.


Figure 5.5: Aysel serves Burhan tea in *Şeytanın Pabucu*

Furthermore, the intention of a cross-dressing character as a speaking subject not only establishes a direct relationship with the audience but also establishes direct access to his/her way of thinking which is also full of secret information which is shared between the audience and the cross-dressing character. The alteration of voices gives them the right to free speech, now causing a fracture between listener and speaker and giving them an opportunity to share their way of thinking with whoever they want to and to hide it from those who they do not want to share it with. While they are doing that, they escape any kinds of censorship or self-control. In other words, they can escape surveillance, unlike the citizens who live under military rule.

At this point, the effect of the visible but unrecognisable body of the cross-dressed character can be recalled. In some examples, even though context and text relations are not bonded and even though the intentions are same, some utterances of cross-dressing characters still cannot be understood. In a previous chapter, I suggested that cross-dressing can be accepted as a way of satisfying the desire to be visible and at the same time of escaping panoptic social mechanisms. Cross-dressing characters can escape a panoptic social mechanism because although they are still visible, which can be accepted as a source of self, they cannot be recognisable, because their bodies are in the frame of undecidability, because cross-dressing makes the bodies and the performances of bodies artificial and annihilated. We can use this argument for the voice performance of cross-dressing characters. The original voice of a cross-dressed body is audible but incomprehensible, like being visible but unrecognisable; because it is liberated from its linguistic and multiple codes such as class, race, age and gender, this voice therefore does not belong to the character. It belongs to someone who is not in the frame. In this fracture by cross-dressing, characters can escape acoustic panoptic surveillance and can say whatever they think and want without any fear.

Figure 5.6: Şabaniye and her boss fail to understand one another

In the scene from *Şabaniye* shown as Picture 5.6, we see a dialogue between Şabaniye and his old and rich boss who falls in love with Şabaniye. The boss talks about how masculine Şabaniye is and says 'I like hard women'. Şabaniye answers him by saying 'Yes, I like hard women too' in a man's voice. The boss is surprised and says 'Pardon, I didn't understand`, then Şabaniye realises what she has done and corrects herself, saying 'I mean men, hard men'. In this scene, the counter-part of the dialogue (the boss) can hear the voice but he cannot understand it. Although it is still in the same context and probably the same intention is shared between speaker and listener (informing the other about what s/he likes), the monologue of the cross-dressed character cannot be understood. Military coups impose a panoptic social mechanism not only for bodies and the identities which these bodies have, they also impose surveillance on speaking and on the sharing of information. They also control who speaks, what is spoken and to whom it is spoken. Audible but incomprehensible monologues, like the visible but not recognisable body of the cross-dresser, enable cross-dressing characters to escape the solid surveillance of a military regime without losing their voice.

Dialogues are not only a relationship between two speakers, they are also the way of spatializing and temporalizing narratives and events. So where and when do these acts of unheard or non-understood speech take place on the film's surface? These moments are lost

time for the listening objects; at these moments listening objects cannot speak and although they can hear the voice of the cross-dressed character they cannot understand it. These monologues are placed outside the frame by being addressing directly to the audience, so we can call these newly placed utterances 'lost space' because in this space, these voices cannot be heard or even if they can be heard they cannot be understood by the other film characters. These scenes therefore fracture the spatiality and temporality of films as well. This misunderstood or not understood part of a dialogue makes time and room for them on the film`s surface where it becomes lost space and lost time for the counter-character who has no opportunity to access this lost space and time. In this lost time and space where the cross-dressing character exercises her/his power as a speaking subject, he/she takes control over the listener. R.S. White stated in *The art of listening* "What we hear is what enables us to speak, and what we say is what enables the other to hear and speak, and so on" (1986: 124). So the unheard or misunderstood part of the dialogue does produce a reaction and a response, thereby establishing the right for a counter-part of the dialogue to be spoken. This produces a hierarchy between two characters. Moreover, by using the new window which is opened directly to audience, the cross-dressed character takes control of the narrative. In the example described above, for instance, Aysel cannot understand that she is being abused and so cannot give a reaction to the situation. Here, it is worth remembering the crises of masculinity which are caused by military coups and which were discussed in the previous chapter. A military coup changes the hierarchy between masculinities by putting militaristic masculinity at the top. In Chapter 4, I suggested that military coups change the relationships between masculinities and relocate them. This is what creates a crisis of masculinity. Here, the lost time and space which is produced by the unheard and un-understood parts of a dialogue enable the cross-dressed character to recover his/her dominance which is taken from him by a military coup over others/women because masculinity is a practice over others and it needs this practice in order to be enunciable.

What happens in this lost time and space? What are the politics of these lost utterances? These lost utterances correlate the text with other texts which are the hegemonic discourses of the era. They can be accepted as a response to other texts of the era. These lost utterances usually involve at least two different structures. For example, if one of them involves action, the other involves emotion; if one of them carries the truth, the other

carries falsehood; if one of them is masculine, the other is feminine; if one of them is full of power, the other is not. So the two different utterances, one of which addresses the audience and the other addresses another character, form a hierarchy which might give us the correlation between the discourses of the era.

Figure 5.7: Burhan's experience at a funeral in *Şeytanın Pabucu*

An example can be given from *Şeytanın Pabucu*. One scene, shown in Picture 5.7, depicts the ritual after a funeral. Although rituals of this kind involve gender segregation and men are not allowed to be present, Burhan is a cross-dressed character who is pretending to be his sister, so he is present in the women`s ritual space. He joins in the mourning by saying 'Ahh, my sister where are you? I hope and I know you are with God as a good Muslim' by using religious terms in a woman's voice. Then, after he sees the underwear of the woman sitting opposite, he says 'Ayy Maşallah[57]' in a man's voice in a form of abuse towards her. He then realises what he has done and corrects himself by saying same words, 'Ayy, Maşallah' in a woman's voice in order to express his-as-her religious feelings, and then continues, 'My sister was always a good Muslim and she died in Kaaba'. The first 'Ayy Maşallah' cannot be heard by any others who are at the wake. He uses exactly the same term differently according to his/her gender. The two poles of the gender binary speak together in the utterance of 'Ayy Maşallah'. On the other hand, the first 'Ayy Maşallah' contains a sentiment of abuse whereas the second contains a religious sentiment; the first one is masculine and the second is feminine, the first is a way of conquering and establishing a hierarchy over the object which the exclamation 'Ayy Maşallah' addresses and the second expresses devotion. In short, the first can be read as active, male and invasive, and the second can be read as passive, emotional, feminine and devotional, but both of them contain clues about the

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[57] *Maşallah* is an Arabıc world which is used by Muslims. It means *May Allah preserve him/her*. In street language, it is also used for abusing women.

gender discourses of the situation and they come outspoken from the same body. Scenes such as this are double-voiced discourse. Bahktin (1981: 324-325) explained how double-voiced discourse recognizes that multiple layers of identity of self and other may be present in a single discourse:

> It [double-voiced discourse] serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically interrelated, they – as it were – know about each other (just as two exchanges in a dialogue know of each other and are structured in this mutual knowledge of each other): it is as if they actually hold a conversation with each other. … A potential dialogue is embedded in them, one as yet unfolded, a concentrated dialogue of two voices, two world views, two languages.

As discussed in Chapter 1, *Şeytanın Pabucu* is a film which was made in 2008, at the beginning of the era of Islamic conservatism when conservatism and Kemalist modernism were talking at the same time with different voices. In this 'Ay Maşallah' dialogue, we can observe not only how two different genders can speak from the same body but also how two different political discourses of the era can speak together from the same body. Another key issue is these politics of inner utterances. These monologues of a cross-dressed character make the binary oppositions of the discourses of the era visible. These utterances are produced by a body which can be visible but non-recognisable, so they are audible but incomprehensible, and can therefore help cross-dressing characters to escape acoustic surveillance, unlike the citizens of the period, and give them back the right to free speech.

Both voices of a cross-dressing character use at least two different texts. One voice whose body is not in the frame makes a reference to another text which is not the subject of the frame. One body uses two different texts and therefore two different discourses which talk to each other at the same time. One of them can be accepted as an echo of the other. Words which are repeated as exactly the same but with different connotations function as a political invention which can find its place in its repeated form. They make visible the power and the discursive dimension which lie inside the language. Language destroys itself by

resisting within itself. Cross-dressing characters and the fractures which they create make this situation visible.

A dialogue which temporalises and spatialises language is one of the elements of ontological security because dialogues provide temporal and spatial continuity, locate subject and others inside an event, and convince the subject of the stability and continuity of the self/other and of the event. Cross-dressing characters fracture the relationship between the two sides of a dialogue, the listener and the speaker, and therefore disrupt the temporal and spatial continuity and stability of self, other and the surroundings. There can be several reasons for this fracturing. One of them is that the monologue which fractures the relationship between listener and speaker is not bonded with the context of the scene. Another explanation can be the different intentions of speaker and listener. These monologues of cross-dressing characters produce lost time and space for the counter-part of the dialogue. From this lost time and space, cross-dressing characters call to the audience and share their way of thinking freely with whoever they want, because this lost space and time is kind of a door which opens directly onto the way that the cross-dressing character is thinking.

5.3: Language occupation fracturing

The fracturing of language occupation is based not only on the different voices of woman/man but also the different ways which women and men have of using language. Cross-dressing performance provides opportunities to hear two different usages according to gender in the same body. In this way, cross-dressing characters can experience otherness without being other. Language gives opportunities for this experience. In this section, I shall discuss the differences between men's and women`s ways of using language under the specific conditions of cross-dressing performance by using sexual difference theory in terms of language. I shall discuss this fracturing by reference to the third effect of cross-dressing performance; experiencing otherness without being other.

As we know from post-structuralist discussions about the subject, it is a process of formation which is based on the differences between subject positions. This system of differences is a result of power relations which shows that the system is natural. These asymmetrical power

relations construct woman as the other of the dominant subject, which is male. Language, as discussed above, is not a tool of communication but the space where the subject is constructed. In order to get access to language, the subject has to take up her/his gendered position. The significant divide of masculine/feminine determines the content of language. Wittig (1992) stated that culture, history, memory, truth and gender are all products of language which are structured by and structure the system of differences, carrying the hetero-normative, straight thinking within them. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, attention began to be given to how and why speakers use language in relation to their identities. Within this study area, one of the most important discussions has addressed questions about "how people use language to express gender, how a person's gender affects the choices they make in how they speak, and how their talk is received" (Kiesling 2007: 653)

"The founding of the field of language and gender studies is often traced to Robin Lakoff's (1975) *Language and Woman's Place*, which focuses on how women are expected to use language and how their linguistic usages perpetuate their subordinate position in society" (Kiesling 2007: 653). Language came to be thought of as a site of differences and dominance. After the 1960s, feminist writers began to discuss language in different ways compared with second-wave feminism. For example, as I discussed at length in the Introduction to this thesis, Julia Kristeva (1980) suggested that to speak is necessarily to occupy a male position and that even the maternal voice can be heard only through the male voice. According to Luce Irigaray (1985), unlike the male organ the female sex is not one but several. Her vision of feminine language hangs on this model of multiplicity, contiguity and simultaneity, giving greater value to the sense of touch over sight. Irigaray stated that a woman speaks by wandering off in different directions, touching upon rather than focusing. For Helene Cixous (1976), "women have historically been silenced: made to assume the role of physicality and materiality as a counter to masculine reason and discourse, women have been denied access to language and writing". Kaja Silverman (1988) then argued that, for the reasons suggested by Irigaray, Cixous and Kristeva, the female voice cannot be rational, coherent or concentrated in films.

In cross-dressing films, the differences between male and female employment of language are highlighted in many scenes. In these scenes, cross-dressing characters are free to enter the other's way of thinking by using the other's way of employing language because

language is where the self is produced. For example, in *Şoför Nebehat*, when Nebehat (the female-to-male cross-dressing character) begins to talk like a man, her driver friends say, 'Welcome to our world now; right now you are beginning to be a real man, a real driver'. They are all aware that being masculine is not only related to dress but also to the way of employing language. Even though men and masculinity are in the gender relationship, they are subject to a different organisation. We cannot say that all men are masculine or that all masculine things belong to men: "Men are the corporeal beings identified as such, usually ultimately based on genitalia and body; however, maleness is also socially constructed" (Bing & Bergvall 1996). "Masculinity is a quality or set of practices (habitual ways of doing things) that is stereotypically connected with men" (Kiesling 2007: 655). It can therefore be said that masculinity is also a performance which involves voice, language, speech and physical acts. In the scene with the drivers, Nebehat's linguistic practice is understood as masculine because s/he imitates the stereotypical male way of talking as part of the hegemonic masculinity of the era, and in doing so reconstructs masculinity as a social institution. In this scene, Nebehat not only uses traditional slang words but also produces new ones a lot. By producing slang words, Nebehat does two things: first, s/he finds new words for old meanings, which makes her/him an active agency of language, and second, she gains dominance in the conversation. After hearing her/him using slang, one of the driver friends says, 'Well done, you have to speak like this in order to earn the respect of other drivers which makes you more equal in the competitive world of drivers' (*İşte böyle erkek gibi öteceksin. Şoför tayfası erkekliğe hoşaflanır. Böyle öt ki yerin olsun aralarında*). From this dialogue, we can easily understand that language is also a place where masculinities compete. In the crises of masculinity which are produced by military coups, employing language with the usage of the other provides an opportunity for cross-dressing characters to recover broken masculinities.

Figures 5.8 and 5.9: Nebehat with the other drivers and Nebehat is leaving with her new clothes in *Şoför Nebehat*

At the end of the same film, Nebehat (back as a woman) finds the right man and marries him. Her husband says 'You will be my own driver from now on; you will use our car not a taxi'. While they driving in their car, another car commits a traffic violation and Nebehat begins to swear like man. Then she realises that her husband has heard her; her husband says, 'I love you in every aspect of you'. Nebehat raises her pitch to make her voice more feminine and says 'I love you too'. In this exchange, we can see that there are different aspects of employing language and voice: the man's aspect and the woman's aspect. From this stereotypical incident we see that men tend to be less polite than women, that a woman's voice should be pitched higher, and that men's utterances involve competition and dominance. Cross-dressing characters are allowed to use all of these attributes: Nebehat is lovable in any situation (at least, to her husband). Experiencing otherness without being other through the use of the language of the other protects cross-dressing characters against the politics of a military coup which are based on discrimantion. It is significant here that, for example, after the 1980 military coup it was annonced that all other languages which were used in Turkey, such as Kurdish, were forbidden. The prominent slogan of the coup which was written on the walls of all the prisons was 'Speak Turkish, speak less`. In this political environment, cross-dressing characters can penetrate the language which belongs to the other and can talk as much as they want.

Figure 5.10: Nebehat berates another driver, but her husband loves her for it; two frames from *Şoför Nebehat*

The fracturing of language can be discussed in relation to the effects of experiencing other without being other. In the scenes discussed above, cross-dressing characters are enabled to employ different language formats of different subject positions. They can use the language of the other and gain benefit from this usage without being other. In doing so, they make visible the construction strategies of linguistic discourses; they show the performative side of the linguistic act.

Additional part: Music as Sounds of Films

The music used in the films is also a way of expressing the tension of the period. In FIstIk Gibi Maşallah, traditional songs are played but on western instruments. The film uses western sound and eastern words in order to express a national identity crisis between west and east. Furthermore, the notion of music halls and balls which are key locations in the films was introduced to Turkish citizens as a western form of entertainment imported as part of the Kemalist modernization project. However, traditional songs infiltrate the modern sounds and locations. The film becomes fractured and it admits tradition. In Şabaniye, the main song is Kim Bilir? ('Who knows?'), a popular arabesque song of the period. The question 'who knows?' overlaps the emotional geography of the period. The 1980 military coup was the most brutal and effective coup and created a sense of unpredictability because the Kemalist ideology, which had been followed until the 1980s, began to be abandoned after the 1980 coup. The same question, 'Who knows?', which was asked in the 1980s could find its answer in the 2000s with Prime Minister Erdogan and his famous and most repeated sentence, "We know". Furthermore, the playback culture and re-productivity of art caused a

disembodiment of voice and body in Şabaniye. In ŞeytanIn Pabucu, ezans (calls to prayer) and ilahi (carols) are used as music by the cross-dressing character. The group which moves into Burhan's basement introduce themselves as a band, but the audience does not hear any music. First the sound-track of Fıstık Gibi Maşallah is the space where west and east meet; then the sound-track of Şabaniye finds its way in the arabesque form which is neither/both western nor/and eastern; and finally, in Şeytanın Pabucu, the music disappears and is replaced by ezans (call to prayer) and carols.

Conclusion

Language is not a conveyer by which our ideas and feelings are transmitted. It is a kind of regulation which gives no opportunity for anything to exist outside it. This regulation is the source of ontological security. Therefore, when ontological security has been destroyed by a military coup in Turkey, the fixed and accepted meaning which is structured by language is fractured. This can be seen in cross-dressing films where ontological security is threatened by the cross-dressing performer who is the popular narrative of the era of military coups in Turkey. Many similarities can be found between the cross-dressing character who does not want to lose his/her sound and right to speak and the citizen who want to speak but cannot under military rule. Such scenes can be read as a tension between two sensations: the desire to have unity of body and voice – because this unity creates a subject as a speaking subject in the system of ontological security – and the fear of losing it, which can be accepted as the main tension of the era of a military coup. These scenes can therefore be read as the story of a society metamorphosing between two emotional topographies which are contoured by the need to be heard and the need to speak, in order to regain ontological security.

Even so, language needs voice in order to find one`s tongue and requires a listener/reader in order to be interpreted. So when language is fractured, its traces can be followed in voice, in the act of speaking and in listening because all of them work together to create a meaningful truth about the world. Because of this unity, I have discussed in this chapter three different fractures which occur on the linguistic level: voice fracturing, speaking/listening fracturing, and gender fracturing, in relation to the three effects of cross-dressing gender performance. In each section, I have discussed how the stable, fixed meanings which are constructed by

language can be destroyed by language itself. I have given examples to show how regulations contain a virus, a parasite, which can carry the potential for them to destroy themselves. In order to discuss these issues, I have used the effects of cross-dressing performance on its subject which were discussed in Chapter 2.

The cross-dressing body as a body which is in the process of becoming is a very good example of the potential effects of these parasites or viruses because, as was discussed in the previous chapters, cross-dressing performance in films animates the alternative possibilities of life which seems to us to be meaningful truth by means of language. The cross-dressing body and performance are the beyond categorisation and disrupt the rigid hierarchy between categories by means of language which produces meaning.

Chapter 6: Fracturing space and time

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which cross-dressing performers use space and time in the selected films and by this usage how they affect the linear, progressive, connected perception of space and time which is the main source of ontological security, and therefore the source of stable identity, in relation to the politics of the era and particularly in relation to military coups. Cross-dressing characters are always given an opportunity by their cross-dressing performance to break down the idea of a perception of space and time which is geometrical, unchanged, fixed, linear and a given fact, and this breaking down fractures the linear, progressive way of understanding the world. They start their journey from being to becoming by abandoning their home and changing their memories of the past. After abandoning their home, they settle in liminal spaces. Cross-dressing films usually prefer liminal spaces because they are both/neither public space and/nor private space as locations in films, such as a taxi in *Şoför Nebehat*, an hotel in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* and a school dormitory in *Hababam Sınıfı*, in order to gain flexibility in time. In this way, they become liberated from the social control of space and time and they can be in different spaces and times/`nows`, if time and space can be accepted as perceptions, not real. These different spaces and times sometimes run parallel but sometimes they cut across one another. These different spaces and times make it possible to discuss the counter-strategies which were used, or were imagined to be used, by subjects who lived under a militaristic hegemony. Furthermore, they not only play with the past and the now but also produce their future with different strategies which can also be accepted as a fantasy of a subject who cannot predicts her/his future under the military rule.

In this chapter, I offer a critical reflection on the ways in which cross-dressing characters fracture perceptions of space and time as elements of ontological security. I discuss how space and time lose their control over the subject and how, as products of power relations, they provide opportunities to resist themselves conflicting with themselves by means of the gender confusion created by cross-dressing characters. I discuss these issues in three

separate sections. I call the first section *Leaving home and the past;*[58] here I shall explore the idea of house and home in relation to the past and to memories, and how cross-dressing films use the concept of home. I shall argue that the idea of home as a space for gaining stable subjectivity is destroyed by cross-dressing characters. Home will be discussed as a space where the memories which are the stories of our identities are produced. In this section, the idea of home is also used as a connotation of the nation. I shall then discuss notion of *Liminal spaces and multiple `nows`.* Liminal spaces are spaces which can be found in almost all cross-dressing films. I shall discuss liminal spaces by asking why cross-dressing characters are identified by in-between spaces – what does an 'in-between space' mean? – and how liminal spaces allow cross-dressing characters multiple usage of space and time and how this usage fractures the perception of space and time. Liminal spaces are also discussed as a way of escaping surveillance in this section. Third, I shall discuss the *Envisaged future* and how cross-dressing characters design their future. I shall consider these three topics in relation to the three effects of cross-dressing performance and military coups. Before beginning the discussion, however, I want to use this introductory section itself as a 'space' where the idea of space and time in the context of this thesis is discussed. With this intention, first, I shall discuss space and time themselves and then I shall return to discuss cross-dressing gender performances in Turkish cinema and their usage of space and time.

6.1: What are space and time?

Cross-dressing performances in Turkish cinema highlight and make visible our fictional relationship with space and time which cannot be discussed without considering power relations. Life and culture are constructed and defined by space and time. It can be claimed that no life can exist unless it has been labelled by space and time. Space and time help people to gain their essential identity and maintain the stability and continuity of this identity. The concept of space-time therefore helps people to maintain their ontological

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[58] I shall examine the films by using the perception of past, present and future, although I am aware that this separation is supported by the linear time perception. Time is like a painting; just as a painting cannot be separated colour by colour, shape by shape, time cannot be separated into past, present and future. All three together are in same phase and all three together create one single reality about time. None of past, present, and future has a single meaning; they only acquire a meaning when they are together. Cross-dressing characters in film locate in between past, present and future. That is why I call the cross-dressing performer's use of time in films the inter-temporal asymmetric use of linear time. In order to highlight this inter-temporal usage, I decided to divide the discussion into past present and future.

security. Cross-dressing characters break down the continuity and linearity of space and time which are required for *being* but which are the enemy of *becoming*, as discussed in Chapter 2, and thus disrupt ontological security. Furthermore, destroying the space and time perception breaks down control of power over the subject. By means of destroying the space and time perception, the subject gains flexibility. In short, cross-dressing disrupts the dominant value of the present: the here and now. In order to discuss how cross-dressing achieves this, I shall first discuss space and time.

As stated above, space and time are important elements of ontological security. Here again, according to Giddens (1990: 92) ontological security refers to "the confidence that most human beings have in the *continuity* of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding *social and material environments* of action". To be ontologically secure, the individual must be more or less able to rely on the spaces where people, objects, and meanings are placed and oriented. A crucial element, which protects individuals from uncertainty, is habitualization. This is the source of routine forms of behaviour and knowledge which are spatially organised (Berger & Luckmann 1991: 70-85). Furthermore, in order to be ontologically secure, a person should know where s/he belongs. Ontological security requires the sense of where someone belongs in the world, from home to nation. In this sense, not only personal space but also national space as a land is the source of ontological security.

In order to achieve being ontologically secure, people need a continuity which is structured by routine. Routines regulate everyday social life and sustain the continuity of identities. Our daily life is structured in routines by time. It is obvious to us when we should wake up, when we should go to work or school and when we should stay at home. In parallel with our everyday life, our whole life is governed by time. People know when they have to vote, when they got married, when they had children. It can therefore be said that routines which are the main determinants of ontological security can be organized by time.

Space and time are not only elements of ontological security but also the places where ontological security is constructed because, without space and time, routine, memory, belonging and identity, and confidence in them and their continuity, cannot be organized. A question arises here about why and how space and time organize all these things. In order the answer this question, I shall first discuss the idea of space then time.

Academic discussions around the concept of space have a long history. Almost all disciplines have discussed space, but I shall begin with Martin Heidegger, who was one of the most influential philosophers on the idea of post-modernist space perception. For Heidegger (1978: 250) "a space is something that has been made room for, something that has been freed, namely, within a boundary (horizon) … not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, … that from which something begins its essential unfolding". The meaning of space according to Heidegger`s point of view is based on it being constructed, cultivated or designated by human action. The space in which we exist is established by human movement through space and human organisation in space. Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) developed this idea further by putting forward "the view that place is that part of physical space which we construct in our own minds by investing it with symbolic significance" (cited in Lucas 2014: 198).

Sara Pink (2012: 24) commented that the relationship between space and place has been debated by philosophers (for example, Gerard Casey 1996), geographers (for example, Doreen Massey 2005) and anthropologists (for example, Tim Ingold 2008) who have all agreed that what characterizes places is the bringing together of both material and socio-cultural phenomena. Casey (1996) agreed with Heidegger that our perception of space "is based on the representation of the 'gatherings' which are in place". Heidegger's view was that it is only possible to comprehend space from within our experience of the things and relations which form the boundaries of places. Massey (2005) suggested that space and time are mutually dependent and that neither dominates the other, a view which does draw on Heidegger's original proposition but seems to have moved closer to Merleau-Ponty's view of places as "spatio-temporal events" (Massey 2005: 130), and that they comprise collections of spatial 'stories' compiled by the human agents who are involved in constructing them. Pink (2012) observed that Massey's (2005) view suggests that there is "a distinction between space as an individually perceived phenomenon and place as a collectively co-constructed one." Ingold (2008) stressed the importance of movement for the way that we perceive space and added that the process of meaning-making in our spatial environment seems to suggest that we fabricate places not as bounded zones, as Heidegger had claimed, but from the effects of motion and perceptual fluidity (Lucas 2014: 198). From these discussions, we arrive at the idea that space is relational and can therefore be understood from the

movement between the boundaries of this relation and involves the action of gathering them. Therefore, it cannot be a stable, fixed and unchanging entity, even though it is organised and represented as if it is by power relations. Cross-dressing performance makes these the mobile, unfixed changeable face of space/time with its effects.

At this point, Henri Lefebvre comes to mind. According to Lefebvre (1974), space is a social product which involves not only relations of production but also of re-production. However, saying that 'space is relational, a social product and fluid' is not enough. Space is not only a social product but also a producer of the social relations which are its foundation. Lefebvre, among others, insisted on the importance of considering not only what might be called 'the geometry' of space but also its lived practices and the symbolic meaning and significance of particular spaces and spatializations. According to Massey (1992: 79), "interrelations between objects occur in space and time; it is these relationships themselves which create/define space and time". This created and defined space and time then creates and defines the interrelations between subjects. In this circle, space becomes a tool which is used for naming, classifying and categorising things and relations. It can therefore be said that space is not a place where objects and subjects simply move, meet, gather and are oriented according to each other, but where they also gain name, category and label. These names, categories and labels in turn also determine the space reciprocally. Because of these reciprocal relations, according to Ernesto Laclau (1990), spatializations is a kind of hegemonization. He suggested that space and time can be used in order to understand social systems. In *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (1990: 41-69), Laclau argued that "any repetition that is governed by a structural law of successions is space" and that "spatiality means coexistence within a structure that establishes the positive nature of all its terms". That is why, when cross-dressing characters in the films disrupt the unity of space and the structure of space at the same time, they destroy this hegemonization as well. In doing so they can escape the naming, classifying and categorising of space.

At this point, it is apposite to discuss military coups, national traumas and space relations in Turkey. As discussed above, space is the place where the routine, memory, belonging, identity and confidence about these issues take place. Space is therefore not only the place where traumas which are based on the destruction of routine, belonging, identity and confidence take place but also an element which determines the nature of the trauma.

There are two different arguments in these sentences: that the meaning and nature of trauma are determined by space, and that the meaning and nature of trauma change the meaning and nature of space. I prefer to use a different context to discuss these points. Bombing attacks can be given as an example. The same actions gain different meanings according to their place; for instance, bombing France is not the same as bombing Syria because space is determined not only by the relationship between the subjects and objects in it, but also by other spaces. One place as a location can be a space because of the relationship and distinction or differences between places. In order to be space, the important thing is what this particular place does not mean as much as what it does mean, such as local *versus* global, private *versus* public space, west *versus* east and so on. Therefore, not only do space and subject determine each other's position in power relations, but also the relationship between spaces determines the position of the subject and the meaning of space. In other words, these relationships and differences between spaces are a way of mapping subjectivity which can be regarded as a tool of control over subjects. The borders which are called liminal space between different spaces and which determine each other's meaning can help us to discuss the way in which cross-dressing characters use space. This point will be discussed later in this chapter. On the other hand, traumatic events change the meaning of space as well; for example, the twin towers became a symbol of terror rather than being a trade centre. During a military coup, these two reciprocal transformations between spaces and trauma can be observed in Turkey. Military coups have a special meaning for Turkish political life, as was discussed in Chapter 1. Military coups have changed the meanings and structures of spaces in Turkey. For example, schools and sports stadiums were transformed into police stations and detention centres not only physically but also relationally; the use of streets was changed and the whole nation became a prison. Cross-dressing films, which are accepted as trauma narratives in this study, disrupt and re-organize spaces as elements and conveyers of ontological security on many levels and these levels can be read in relation to the military coup because the usage of space by the cross-dressing character is based on destroying the control over the subject by using space when the whole country has been transformed into a prison. As well as space, the perception of time has also been disrupted and re-organised both by military coups and by cross-dressing characters: both by the state and by the individual.

The routines of ontological security can be possible only in terms of the organisation and the collectivization of time not only for individuals but also for societies. According to Emile Durkheim(1947), everybody in a particular society has the same temporal consciousness and time is a product of the society as a social category. Time consciousness is designed by rhythmic social and economic events. The "Calendar expresses the rhythm of collective activities, while at the same time its function is to assure regularity" (Durkheim 1947: 10). According to Durkheim, time is the "subject of collective representation" (in Hassard 1990: 3). Most societies have some kind of time organization but these time organizations are set up for the purpose of serving the society. For example, the days of week can be different according to different market activities: "The eight-day week of the Khasi is based on their system of trade whereby they hold a market every eighth day" (Hassard 1990: 7). Community cannot be constructed without everywhere being in synchrony with everywhere else. This constructed synchronicity can be seen in the huge clock towers in every modern city of Turkey. In the process of modernization not only have laws, practices and the alphabet been taken from the west, but also time perception, organizations and practice have been taken from the western world. The Turkish calendar and clock time were adjusted to match the western example: previously, the Islamic calendar had been in use, but it was abandoned as part of Ataturk's reforms and replaced by the Georgian calendar in 1925 under the `Law on the change of the Calendar` (*Takvimde Tarih Mebdeinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun).* At the same time in 1925, the old Turkish way of calculating the time of day was replaced by the international clock under the `Law on the Division of the Day into Twenty- four Hours` (*Günün Yirmidört Saate Taksimi Hakkında Kanun).* Before this law, the rising and setting of the sun were used to calculate the time, but because Turkey is so big that the sun rises and sets at different times across the country, this system was confusing and defied attempts to synchronise communities across Turkey. For the first time, national timetables were organized. Time had to be synchronized according to the western method for the citizens of modern Turkey who had been separated by being in the east. The intention behind building the clock towers at the beginning of the modernization process was to create collective, organised, institutionalised time for all Turkish citizens. Time became a commodity which brought a community together as a nation. In short, routines which are created by the organisation and collectivization of time not only protect

individuals from chaos in their daily life but also the notion of nation requires synchronized routines.

The routines of ontological security which protect identity from the uncertainty and chaos of life by organizing and collectivising time are also used as a tool for social control in many cases. If the everyday practices of human beings are organised and controlled, at the same time their way of thinking can be controlled and organised. That is why Giddens (1984: 145) commented that "discipline can proceed only via the manipulation of time". Time is controlled, organised, institutionalised, and collectivized by routines which shape our daily practices. Our controlled, organised, institutionalised and collectivized daily practices are a means of social control over subjects. If this is done, it can be said that time can work as an institution which is used for surveillance and control.

Military coups threaten the organised and collectivized routines of nations and citizens by enhancing the surveillance system. On the other hand, cross-dressing characters in Turkish films destroy these routines in order to escape the surveillance system. Both military coups and cross-dressing characters use time in order to destroy then re-organise the routines of ontological security because the source of the routines is time. The usage and organisation of time is re-structured by both military power and cross-dressing characters. In times of a military coup, the manipulation of time becomes more visible. For example, a curfew is imposed at night and people are only permitted to undertake specific actions at specific times. The daily life routines of citizens are re-organized by the military in order to avoid the formation of large groups. In this way, time as well as space is used to avoid the flux and indeterminacy of un-controlled everyday practices. Time organization under military rule as a surveillance tool fractures the routine of ontological security. It re-categorizes time and then the usual activities and practices acquire new meanings which are different from ordinary times. Time is therefore used as a surveillance tool openly by the military more than at any other times. All these practices and applications which are the consequence of military coups make power relations around time visible. Because the usual temporal ordering of time in routines is a way of hiding that, these imposed activities have to be ordered. These practices of military coups over time allow us to understand how timing activities and ordering time is the re-production of social life in a hierarchical way. When the usual everyday organisation of time is threatened by military power, feelings about

continuity, coherence and confidence are interrupted. That is why a military coup fractures time in terms of ontological security.

In the following section, I shall explore the relationship between cinema and space/time. Cinema itself is an apparatus which constructs, presents and represents space and time. Furthermore, cinema not only reproduces space and time but it also happens in space and time. Four different spaces and times can be identified in films: narrative space/time, spectator space/time, characters' space/time and production space/time. Production space and time can be understood as where and when the film is shot whereas spectator space and time can be considered as where and when the film is watched. Narrative space can be thought of as the spaces and times which are represented and reproduced in films and how this is done; on the other hand, characters' space and time are the spaces and times which identify characters and how they use space/time. The organisation and coordination between them creates 'realistic cinematic space/time'. In cross-dressing films, I consider that narrative space and time, as the representation of space and time, and cross-dressing characters' space and time, as a practical space and time, in other words how they use narrative space and time in practice, are different. In cross-dressing films, unlike most other films, envisaged space and time and lived space and time are different from each other not in terms of film language as a classical style of narrative but in terms of the use made by cross-dressing character of space time. I call these differences which happen by means of the multiple space and time usage of cross-dressing characters 'space/time fracturing'. In this fracturing, space and time lose their label, name and category and the dominant ideology which is the main source of the production of space and time loses the consistency, stability and routine which make it natural and essential. These fractures make space and time a process, a never-closed system, and destroy the linear presence of space. In the Derridian sense, this fracturing is a way of 'spacing' the space/time. According to Derrida (1981), who regarded space not as a negativity of time unlike Laclau and Michel de Certeau, "spacing is rethinking of space as processual and performative, open ended, multiple, practical and of the everyday". I suggest that cross-dressing characters in the Turkish films are spacing space/ time by using different times in the same space and different spaces at the same time. In this way they allow the rethinking of the performativity of space/time. I shall discuss this issue with examples in the next sections.

What the cross-dressing character does in films, which I call fracturing space and time, is very similar to Laclau's (1990) argument of 'the crisis of spatiality'. According to Laclau (1990: 72), space can be understood and considered as set of representations which is "equivalent to ideological closure", and therefore, as discussed above, specialisation is a form of hegemonization. He (1990: 79) stated that "dislocation – dislocation as a term can be used for any kind of actions which are done by cross-dressing character in films – destroys all space and possibility of representation in time". This inequivalence of space and representation was what Laclau called the crisis of spatiality. The process of becoming of a cross-dressing character which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is the deterritorialization of the subject, can be accepted as a dislocation which is caused by a crisis in space and time. I shall now discuss this crisis under the three different headings. First; leaving home.

6.2: Leaving home and playing with the past

Cross-dressing films can be read as a story of leaving home, abandoning permanent settlement and deterritorialization. In almost all cross-dressing films, a cross-dressing character departs from his/her settlement and settles in a liminal space. I shall discuss the idea of leaving home and the question mark about space and time which hangs over the idea of leaving home in relation to ideas of becoming and of the nation as home in this section. However, as usual, first I shall discuss the idea of home and its location in the formation of subjectivity and identity, and then I shall make a connection between the idea of home, cross-dressing and military coup.

It is impossible to think of the body without space/time and of space/time without the body. Power relations work on the body by placing it in a particular space and time. 'Home' has a special meaning compared with other spaces in this sense because, as Gaston Bachelard (1964: 4) put it, "For our house is our corner of the world, as has often been said it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word". Not only do we live in a home, but also the home lives inside us, and not only do we construct a home, the home also constructs us. Michel De Certeau (1984: 148) stated that "Our successive living spaces never disappear completely; we leave them without leaving them because they live in turn, invisible and present, in our memories and in our dreams. They journey within us." "The house, in

particular the childhood home, is therefore understood as an anchoring in a time and place that can be accessed in other times and places. The childhood home remembers and is remembered as a virtual place, constantly called upon for idealistic understandings of security and imaginative possibilities" (Davidson 2009: 339). The idea of the home is therefore the safe-guard system of our stable identity because, according to Bachelard (1964: 17), a "House constitutes a body of image that gives mankind proofs or illusions of stability". In other words, the home is one of the main sources of our stable identity and of the continuity of this identity. So a home is a very important space for ontological security. Discussing how a home can do this can help us to understand why cross-dressing characters abandon their house/home.

First, the home is the space where subjects gain knowledge about themselves and about the rest of the world. In other words, a home produces knowledge by organising everyday life and building memories. The home teaches us limitations by organising life – what inside/outside means, what self/other means, the value of our activities and the hierarchy between these activities by placing and timing them: where/when we should eat, where/when we should sleep and so on. By means of the home, we know who we were, who we are and who we shall be, because as explained above, a home is a kind of anchor which is in time and space and this anchor establishes a relation with other times, past, present and future, and other spaces. It can do this because the home is the space where memory, which is the source of both identity and knowledge, is structured, where the present is experienced and where the future is imagined. Dallas Roger (2013: 262) spoke about "… inhabiting the home and the role that remembrance, memory and the imagination might play in producing knowledge about the world." The home can produce knowledge in two ways by using memories. Tonya Davidson (2009: 332) suggested that "Houses remember and haunt as they animate the memories of previous inhabitants, memories that become embodied by the houses and the current dwellers. Houses also embody histories of design, reflective of broader social attitudes toward intimate places." The house is not only the centre of our personal history but also a meeting point for our personal history, social history and the histories of previous inhabitants. This is one way in which a house produces knowledge as a source of a stable identity and its continuity.

The second discussion about how the house protects our stable identities can be that our home can enable us to build repetitive behaviour. Bachelard (1964: 14) said that behaviour such as always anticipating the extra-high step before a landing or pushing back doors and expecting specific creaks are memories imbued from early houses. He went on, "But over and beyond our memories, the house we were born in is physically inscribed in us. It is a group of organic habits" (*ibid.*). By the witnessing of the rhythms of the everyday, houses become imbued with cumulative sets of memories. Laurence J. Kirmayer (1996: 177), in his taxonomy of memory, described 'procedural memory' as the memories commemorated through habits, gestures and thought-implicit memory. The house as a home is only possible through these repetitive acts as movements through time. In other words, the house is the place where routines are constructed. These routines protect identities against chaos and maintain the security of ontology. Our homes are the main stages where our identities are performed, and where we gain these identities by repetitive routines as performance.

This repetitive behaviour discussion can be linked with how and where children learn from their family. The house is a safe space for our identities because they are constructed in the home. In order to be a family, which is the one of the ideological state apparatuses, we need a home. Home and family are the re-production system of the ideology. The home therefore also produces knowledge about what is outside it. A house can be thought as a value fabric of the system where a child learns what is acceptable to society and what is not. The home produces and reproduces the dominant culture as exchange values. Ideologies are transmitted through or within the social structures of civil society and are exercised within institutions such as the family and the house which the family inhabits. Houses are places where power is exercised. By means of the home, children not only interiorise power but also take their place in the matrix of power relations. Self-disciplined, self-motivated, normalized and standardized children who are created by family education and home organisation are transformed into citizens who are willing to be a part of a disciplined society. The concept of home therefore always involves a hierarchy which is produced by the father and mother. Hence, the home is the space where we learn to be a part of society and is therefore the source of our stable identities.

Furthermore, a house becomes our second body. As a second body, the house becomes what architect Juliani Pallasmaa (1991: 45) described as "a space experienced through the

cells of the skin". Processes of inhabitation make houses remember; houses remember inhabitation. Lang (1985: 202), following Merleau-Ponty, described how inhabitation is an embodied process:

> Inhabiting is an act of incorporation; it is a situation of active, essential acquisition. Incorporation is the initiative of the active body, embracing and assimilating a certain sphere of foreign reality to its own body. In this sense, incorporation is essentially the movement from the strange to the familiar. This commerce of strange and familiar, which forms a central dialectic of human existence, is instituted and embodied in our dwelling, our home.

Becoming familiar with our home makes our home an extension of our body and our houses are assimilated in our bodies. The houses with which we are familiar and know well give us access to material objects which work as part of our bodies. Our houses, like our bodies, are seen and enable seeing. Our houses become modes of being just like our bodies. On the other hand, "who knows because the body knows. You are a body and your body is the potential of a certain world" (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 98). For this reason, the body is a political tool: "There is no law that is not inscribed on bodies" (De Certeau 1984: 146). All these arguments about the body can be adopted for the idea of the house which is our second body. The home produces knowledge about us and the rest of the world, allows repetitive behaviours which create routines, re-produces and transmits ideologies, and works as our second body. All these establish our identities and maintain the stability and continuity of these identities. Home is therefore the place of the ontological security of *beings.* As already discussed, cross-dressing produces new knowledge about this certain world by using the body. If the body changes its practice which is used for constructing a relationship with the certain world, its information which is gained from this relationship will change. This is the reason why the cross-dressing body has to abandon his/her house/home. But how does abandoning home work in cross-dressing Turkish films?

When we look at the cross-dressing films, we can easily see that abandoning our house/home is compulsory in one way or another. Except for *Şeytanın Pabucu*, all of the case films begin with a leaving home. In *Fıstık Gibi Mşallah*, Fikri and Naci lose their money gambling, they cannot pay their rent and become homeless. Rent is also very important for *Şoför Nebehat*. After the loss of her father and her divorce, she cannot pay the rent so she

has to begin work as a taxi driver and then her taxi identifies her. In *Şabaniye*, Şaban and his mother have to leave their home town because of the blood feud: his father killed the son of the man who then killed his father. This is what starts the blood feud. Şaban and his mother not only abandon their home but also their home town and move to Istanbul. In *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Arzu leaves her home and moves into a dormitory in order to observe her boyfriend's life. After our discussion of the meaning of house/home, their act of abandoning home gains meaning. As discussed above, home is the source of stable identity because it is the source of the knowledge which we gain about others and about ourselves. The house can do this because it is the place where our memories are located, where ideology is transmitted from one generation to the next, where repetitive acts suffuse the body as performance and which works like our second body. In order to escape our stable identities, we first have to abandon our homes. In order to use the body in a different way, to use our knowledge with different aspects, to re-construct memories about ourselves, our house and home have to stay behind us. Leaving the house means leaving a stable identity, a system of knowledge.

The home is the place for *being*, not for *becoming*; it has to be abandoned because it is the place where system is structured within the subject. The house is the connection point between subjects and sets of values, ideology, system and power. Leaving home is therefore the first step to *becoming* because it forces the subject to have experiences beyond the previous limits and boundaries. It is the hierarchy of the ontology of the subject because it organises the memories which are the stories of identity. On the other hand, becoming requires mobility which destroys ontological security. The cross-dressing character as a subject who is in the process of *becoming* has to leave home. Furthermore, as discussed above, the house becomes our second body which enables us to do what the body can do. So no body transformation can happen in our second body. The new body of the cross-dressing subject in films needs new places which are not labelled by power as easily as the home is.

In order to make a connection between the idea of home and the military coups, it can be argued more broadly that home also implies nation. Jale Parla (1990) read the idea of home into her study of the Tanzimat (period in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1876) novel *Babalar Ve Oğullar* ('Fathers and Sons'). She claimed that the houses which are abandoned, left, rented

out or collapsed are the main spaces of the Tanzimat novel. These houses are a symbol of the Ottoman Empire which was in the process of collapsing. Furthermore, Aksu Bora (2005) claimed that the whole modernization history of the Turkish Republic can be read as abandoning or leaving home, which implies the Ottoman Empire. These ideas can be used for the cross-dressing films in Turkey which were produced during the times of military coups. Leaving home in cross-dressing films can be a symbol of the desire to leave the nation. Military coups turn the nation/home into an uncomfortable place for the subject. Nation and home lose their value systems, stability, routine and confidence. The house/nation is both a shelter which protects us from the outside by giving us an identity and at the same time it is also our border, our obstacle to being free. During the times of military coups in Turkey, the nation/home lost its feature of being a shelter and only its coerciveness remained. After the 1980 military coup, thirty thousand people abandoned their home land and took refuge in European countries such as France, Germany, Holland and Belgium as political refugees (Karaca 2001). That is why we do not see the house in these films. In these cross-dressing films, houses are an imaginary formation which we do not see, where the characters do not live. These houses are mentioned but not seen. That is why we can say that the house is not a real space for these films, it is a symbol: a large-scale symbol from body to nation. That is why it has to be abandoned for two reasons: for the body of *becoming* by cross-dressing and for the prison-like nation created by a military coup. So what is the position of home as *space* in *time*? And how can home be used to discuss time fracturing?

As discussed above, a home is kind of anchor which is in time and which establishes a relationship with other times, past, present and future. In other words, home fixes us in time. When cross-dressing characters abandon their home, they become liberated from their fixed past as well because they set free their fixed identity. They therefore have an opportunity to play with the past. Identity is the story about ourselves which we tell others, and memory is the main element of this story. Cross-dressing characters in films have to find their own way to create new narratives of their new gendered identities so therefore, in cross-dressing films, there are several scenes about how the cross-dressing characters create new memories for their new gendered identities. These new memories can then be accepted as sources of new identities.

Memory is the performance of identity. We perform our identities on the stage of memory. Our identities are the embodied form of our memories. Philosophers have long regarded memory as the key to explaining personal identity over time, for reasons of brevity, personal choice or simply as identity according to the context. John Locke (1731) regarded memory as the receptacle of personal identity whereas Joseph Butler (1906) and Thomas Reid (1785) both saw memory as evidence of identity. Autobiographies as accounts of personal identity which are based on memory have always been popular and they envelop the past in what is probably the dominant contemporary view (see, for example, Lewis 1976; Noonan 1989; Parfit 1984; Perry 1975; Shoemaker 1970; Shoemaker & Swinburne 1984). Memory is the form of the past which spills over into the present. It can be thought of as a warehouse which can be re-structured according to the needs, desires and fears of the present. This is why memory cannot be fixed; it is socially and culturally mediated in at least two ways. First, memory emerges from social interactions which focus on the telling and retelling of significant life events (Nelson & Fivush 2004), and second, it is modulated by the socio-cultural models available for organizing and understanding human life, including narrative genres and life scripts (Berntsen & Rubin 2004; Thorne & McLean 2003). However, each re-telling activity of significant life events of human life involves the question of who is doing the telling, when it is being told, what is being told and what is not being told. Memory therefore includes the politics of storytelling which is about remembering and forgetting. That is why, in order to re-construct today, in the context of films, then, cross-dressing characters have to use memories of the self differently for their new identities. They can change the past according to the needs and desires of the present. In other words, they are active agents who can travel between distinct time periods and re-shape these time periods which are usually accepted as closed, fixed and unchangeable. In doing this, they transform the past into a place of becoming rather than of being. They can play with the past. I am interested in the way that cross-dressing characters create memory because it can be claimed that the strategies which they use to do it include knowledge about the perception of the social order, social interactions and the value system. Creating memory transforms cross-dressing characters into active agents in discourse, which is why these strategies give us a significant opportunity to discuss the system of knowledge of a specific period.

In cross-dressing films, remembering the past and using made-up memories to re-construct an identity is a common narrative strategy. For example, in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Fikriye, as a cross-dressed character, makes up memories for her new identity as a condition of her identity. In one scene, she tells a story about how hot she is and how hot her lovers are to the other girls playing in the band by saying '… as a modern, urbanite young girl, of course I have some lovers'. While she is telling stories about her un-experienced memories, at the same time she is abusing the women around her by touching them and kissing them (*see* Figure 6.1). In these made-up memories of Fikriye, we can find a larger historical narrative about love, women and men. Fikriye can abuse women by using these narratives. This scene shows us how the discourse around love at a particular time can be abusive. The love stories of the time turn into a male fantasy controlled by men. As discussed in the previous chapters, this film carries the tension between modernity and tradition and shows how the modernization process has forced women to be seen in the public sphere as a symbol of the modern state. At the same time, modernism and urbanism enable women to experience love, but these love stories are now used as vehicles for abusing women. The made-up memories are based on the fear of modern women who are starting to appear outside the home.

Figure 6:1 : A screenshot from *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*: Fikriye touches and kisses women while telling a love story

In one scene in *Şabaniye*, Şabaniye explains to enemy family's son Şehmuz why she does not like her brother Şaban by recounting a made-up childhood memory. Şabaniye tells a story about how Şaban always bullied her in the past because he was the only son of the family and sons are always more important than daughters. In this scene, the cross-dressed character whose identity is in the process of becoming becomes an active agent who can use public forms of memory. Memories of self are constructed by both private consciousness and public knowledge. In other words, our memories, for example childhood memories, come to the present in different forms which are framed by the knowledges which we have of the current period. When we recall the memories, even more so the personal ones, they are framed by knowledge about how the particular time and space was when they were formed. Our memories cannot be separated from the knowledge which we have been gaining over time. In other words, memories do not belong to us entirely. You can never decide whether the things which are remembered actually happened in the way that they are remembered. The cross-dressing characters in films such as *Şabaniye* make up stories about the past by using contemporary discussion. As I discussed in the previous chapters, this particular film was produced in the period when second-wave feminism was emerging in Turkey. Şabaniye makes up the story by using the feminist discussions of that period.

Figure 6:2: A screenshot from *Şabaniye*: Şabaniye tells a story about Şaban

In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan is a cross-dressing character who makes up stories about herself and also about himself. While he is his older sister, he tidies up Burhan's past. In this film, the past is re-organized for the character to be absolved. S/he always re-tells stories of his

past in order to create a wonderful future. As his sister, she makes up stories about how Burhan is a brave, honest and even religious man even though he seems to be an alcoholic swindler. This film was produced in the period of the rise of Islamic conservatism in Turkey. The cross-dressing character plays with the past in order to create a brand new identity for himself which is more acceptable for the period. In this film, memories as a temporal ordering device shape the movements and orientation of his body as well. By using these brand new memories, he can come closer to his sexy neighbour. His body gains a new place in which to move by means of the re-structured past. The link between the perception and the memory of identity becomes visible.

In cross-dressing films, the cross-dressing characters use the past and memories as a narrative of the past as the foundation of not only the present but also their new identities. By means of their actions, the past becomes timeless and abstract. They can do these actions because their bodies are the body of becoming. This becoming provides them with mobility between the different discourses of different periods. As has been stated many times in the previous chapters, these films are the films of times of military coup when the actions of remembering and/or forgetting the past are controlled by the military. They were times when memories of nation were under control and were not free. In Turkey's experiences of military coups, history, as the synchronized perception of the past, creates a national identity which has been changed quickly according to the needs of present. For example, the 1960 military coup glorified the Kemalist past whereas with the 1980 coup, Kemalism began to lose its power as a neo-liberal state replaced the national state. After the 2007 ultimatum, the Islamic past of the Ottoman Empire was re-constructed according to the needs of Islamic conservatism (*see* for example Figure 6:3). Each change which has been done to the past fractures the coherence of national identity and the basic trust system of the citizens. When the 'truth' of history changes, new social groups and identities arise and existing groups and identities are excluded by the new truths. New forms of power relations develop between them. It can therefore be said that each military coup resulted in insecurity of the ontology of citizens by changing the 'truths' of the story of national identity. National history, in this sense, is the place where national identity is structured. The idea of nation is based not only on synchronised routines produced by collectivised time but also on the memories of citizens which have been synchronized by what can be called national history.

Military coups change the dominant ideas of history which affect the concepts of national identity because each military coup leads to an attempt to re-organise the power relations of the nation and to control the present. The process of making up memories seen in each cross-dressing film involves the tension of the period. Whereas the truths about the past are changed under military rule, cross-dressing characters can pick up any memory from the past which is more acceptable for the new period.

Figure 6:3: The front page of the *Posta* newspaper (11 February 2018): it tells how Recep Tayyip Erdoğan invited living but exiled members of the Ottoman dynasty to Turkey. It is an example of how the perception of the past can be re-organised according to the political needs of the present.

The cross-dressing characters in the films gain flexibility because of their becoming to re-organize and re-construct the past. They re-construct the past just as a military coup does, and maybe it can be said just as all people do, but they do it very openly, without rationale, shamelessly. The most important thing is that they are doing it by challenging the narrative and the narration style of the film. Other characters are not able to re-construct the past; they are prisoners of linear, progressive and measurable time. In *Şabaniye*, Şehmuz and Nazlı are stuck in their past, they are desperately seeking their father's killer. In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, when the leader of the group band finds a cigar, he accuses Gülten because

Gülten is known to have had a rebellious past. In *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Yakışklı (boyfriend of cross-dressing character) pays the price for his womanising past. Although the past is not changeable for them, for the cross-dressed characters there is no past, no memory, no personal history because past, memory and personal history make us ourselves and give us identity; they make the world stable. In Deleuze's words, "becoming has no history". Cross-dressing characters have no history: they are free to re-construct their past.

The cross-dressing character fractures the linear, fixed, unchanging past and the past, which is the guarantee of identity, becomes a playground of the cross-dressing character. It is no longer a closed, fixed, and stable entity in the present. The past and the memories of cross-dressing characters destroy the perception of linear, measurable, progressive time which is the foundation block of power relations. They can do this because they are in the process of becoming. Their identities are reterritorialized and the symbol of this deterritorialization starts with leaving home in the narrative.

6.3: Liminal spaces and multiple `nows`

In this section, I shall discuss the space where cross-dressing characters go after leaving home. It can be easily seen that they usually move into a liminal space. For example, in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Fikri and Naci begin to live in an hotel; in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Arzu moves into a dormitory; in *Şoför Nebehat*, a taxi becomes the main space of Nebehat; and in *Şabaniye*, a music hall can be accepted as a main space of the film. Hotel, dormitory, taxi and music hall are regarded as liminal spaces in the context of this current study. I shall therefore examine the kinds of opportunity which these liminal spaces provide to the characters and how the characters use these opportunities to fracture space and time.

Figure 6:4 (*left*) : Arzu in the male dormitory in *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*

Figure 6:5 (*right*) : Naciye, Fikriye and Gülten in the hotel in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*

In order to discuss the politics of liminal space, its meaning should be discussed first. The idea of liminality is taken from the Latin word *limen* which means a 'threshold', and this in-betweenness was the subject of anthropological studies by Arnold van Gannep (1960) and Victor Turner (1969). They advanced the idea of liminality "in which people are betwixt and between all the recognized fixed points in space-time of structural classification" (Turner 1969: 97). Liminality can be used to refer to space "where the people [are] positioned on a boundary or threshold" (Weller 2006: 102). Turner (1982) emphasized how liminal spaces act to create the contexts where the norms and values of everyday society can be and are suspended. Liminal spaces can generate unsettling, disturbing and dangerous experiences, (Tempest *et al*. 2007) but they can also be sites of togetherness, creativity and self-fulfillment (Simpson *et al.* 2010; Sturdy *et al*. 2006).

After establishing the core of the term 'liminal', its features can now be discussed, I will now discuss its features as represented in film. De Certeau (1984) suggested that in order to analyse a space, the first question which should be asked is who is the owner of the space. The house belongs to women, the street belongs to men, and liminal space belongs to either or neither no-one or everyone. A liminal space is a space for nomads who are on a journey. So if the meaning of space is constructed by the relations which take place within it, the meaning of a liminal space takes on great variety and becomes multifarious. The meaning and structure of a space depend on who inhabits the same place. It can be said that liminal spaces are for collective identities, not for individuals. For example, a dormitory is for students, an hotel is for visitors, a taxi is for travellers and so on.

Liminal space is in between binary poles. Liminal spaces are usually both/neither private and/nor pubic, outside and/nor inside, formal and/nor informal, for self and/nor other. In order to describe one place as a liminal space, we need a binary opposition. However, like cross-dressing gender performance, liminal spaces work like the deconstruction effects of these binaries and create ambiguity about space perception. Liminal spaces are for those who want both to escape and to settle, who want to be both nomads and localized. Liminal spaces therefore involve two actions: coming and going, but not staying. The something which happens in between these two actions is transformation.

Liminal spaces are the space for transformation. They are often the contexts where identities are challenged or changed, where previous subject positions are no longer sustainable and where actors adopt new identities which may be permanent or remain temporary. Beech (2011) and Ellis and Ybema (2010) pointed out this dynamic nature of identity transformation which is provided by liminal spaces. Wendelin Küpers (2011: 46) stated that "liminal spaces and places have always been basic conditions for all transitions of human beings, things and occasions". "He argues that the process of transition is intrinsically linked to movement through open, liminal spaces, which are inherently ambiguous, and hold the potential for subversion and transformation" (in Lucas 2014: 199). It can be said that liminal spaces have ambiguous potential and allow the subject to achieve transition. Turner (1969) described "the transitional or liminal phase as a limbo between a past state and a coming one, a period of personal ambiguity, of non-status and of unanchored identity". In short, in a liminal space, you cannot stay in the same position: it is the place where you transform into something different. It can therefore be said that liminal spaces are places of uncertainty because you know what the beginning point is but you cannot know what the end point will be. Liminal spaces are full of possibilities, hence full of mobility, and they are dynamic spaces. It is therefore not a surprise that cross-dressing gender transformation takes place in liminal spaces. *Şeytanın Pabucu* provides a very good example of this transformation of identities. In the film, Burhan and his sister go to Kaaba to help Burhan to find a way of being a good Muslim because he is an alcoholic and a swindler. In Kaaba, Burhan's sister gets lost and Burhan masquerades as her in order to escape his enemies. Kaaba can be accepted as a liminal space; it belongs to no-one but to everyone, it is both private and public. Burhan's transformation takes place in this liminal space, and for this transformation the dominant structure of a given society and the obvious acceptance of roles have to be changed. Being a pilgrim involves the deconstruction of the former life. Burhan deconstructs his former life but in different way compared with a pilgrim.

Figure 6:6: A screenshot from *Şeytanın Pabucu*: Burhan in Kaaba

In view of the above, it is possible to claim that liminal space is uncontrollable. Power loses its control system over liminal spaces because "liminal spaces provide a chance to conceptualise moments where the relationship between structure and agency is not easily resolved or even understood" (Thomassen 2009: 56). In liminal space, the thread which binds subject and system breaks. Bronwyn Wood (2012: 345) commented that "liminal space provides a powerful starting point for developing new understanding. Liminal space is flux, unfolding, constantly changing rather than a finished product."

After discussing liminal space and its features, we can now turn to cross-dressing films and the liminal places which are chosen by cross-dressing characters. As has already been explained, liminal spaces are usually the principal locations of cross-dressing characters after leaving home. Home, as discussed above, provides the core of the stable identity of the self and represents routine, consistency, continuity and security: it is the place of ontological security. As I have argued throughout this thesis, when ontological security has been threatened by a military coup, the security, routine and continuity of places have been threatened. A home not only represents itself, it also represents nation, homeland and country. During a military coup, the system is changed, and this can be accepted as a transformation of society. So leaving home and settling in liminal spaces cannot be a coincidence in cross-dressing films which are accepted as popular narratives during times of military coup.

Furthermore, as discussed above, the control of power decreases in liminal space, which means that the panoptic social mechanism loses its ability in liminal space. This makes liminal space more useful for any kind of identity transformation. In other words, liminal spaces are more useful spaces than houses for the process of becoming. In this sense, liminal spaces can be considered as connection points on the rhizome for *becomings*. When identity begins its journey in the process of becoming, this journey affects the preference for space where the identity is located. Becoming requires a space where it can be and liminal space as a space of transformation provides this space for the process of becoming. Arzu is no more a woman in a dormitory, Naci and Fikri are no more men in hotels and so on. Moreover, they need this liminal space for the process of becoming. As already discussed, cross-dressing is a way of challenging the gender binary; now we can see that liminal space is a way of challenging the space binary. It is not therefore surprising that liminal spaces are the spaces of cross-dressing performance.

Liminal space can be accepted as a meeting point for subjects who are in the process of becoming in the rhizome, as discussed in Chapter 2. In cross-dressing films, liminal space provides two opportunities for cross-dressing characters. First, it is the place of transformation where stability, routine and continuity collapse and therefore is a place of ontological insecurity. The second opportunity is pertinent for the case of Turkey: liminal spaces are the places where power loses its control over the space. They are therefore the place where collective identities can escape the panoptic mechanism of a military coup.

Liminal space allows cross-dressing characters to be in different spaces at the same time because of this lack of control. These different spaces run parallel to each other at the same time. This situation and the benefits which it gives to cross-dressing characters allow us to ask some important questions about the spatial organization of power relations.

As explained above, cross-dressing characters can be in different spaces and times if space and time are accepted as perceptions and not real. For example, Naci in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* can be in three different spaces at the same time: Naci-ye is in the hotel room with the girls in the band, Kemal is on the beach with Gülten and Naci is in Istanbul with the killers. All three versions of Naci have their own time and space and their own stories which are written in their own time and space. The other girls think that Naciye is resting in the hotel room and they want to visit her. However, Naci as Kemal is on the beach with Gülten. So

Naci-ye alternates between being on the beach with Gülten and being in the hotel room. At the same time, Naci makes up stories and spreads them as gossip to convince the killers that he is in Istanbul. So he is not in one place, he is everywhere but at the same time nowhere. Three different spaces produce three different representations and knowledge for one character at the same time. Although the narrative space is the beach, the character's spaces are the beach, the hotel and Istanbul. This multiple usage of space can be accepted as a source of the comedy and irony in the film. In *Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba*, Arzu is in her home for her mother but in the dormitory as a man. Her mother is a teacher at the all-male boarding school and is with her daughter every day in the school, but she cannot recognise that the cross-dressed he is her daughter. This place – an all-male boarding school and dormitory – produces different knowledge for the mother; for her Arzu is one of the male students. In *Şabaniye*, Şaban is in Lebanon for the enemy family, Şaban-iye is in the music hall for Şehmuz, and Bayram is in the park with his lover Nazlı all at the same time. Between the park, Lebanon and the music hall, Şaban is intangible, mobile. Power has lost its control over Şaban; he can do whatever he wants. It can therefore be said that we can encounter at least three different spaces for one body in cross-dressing films in terms of the other characters. This crisis of spatiality can happen because subjects cannot be controlled in liminal space; they can escape the surveillance which is produced by other characters by using space because they are intangible in space. They cannot be fixed, placed and oriented in a given space by narrative; they are mobile in envisaged places. Cross-dressing characters can therefore fracture the perception of fixed, unchanging, stable and linear space in narrative.

Being in different spaces at the same time creates different nows for cross-dressing characters and these parallel nows destroy routines and make cross-dressing characters more free in linear time. This freedom is lived by cross-dressing characters because it does not take place in the narration; film narration follows linear conventional time. The most important thing here is that this freedom is available only to cross-dressing characters and no other characters can play with the past in the same way. The films follow the conventional and classical narrative and narration style for the other characters and for the audience, but not for the cross-dressing characters because only cross-dressing characters are the bodies of becoming. Cross-dressing characters can use different nows because of

their ability to break down the connections between time and space. These fractures highlight and make visible our fictional relationship with time and space, which cannot be discussed without reference to power relations. Cross-dressing characters can be in different nows because of their mobility. But for what purposes do cross-dressing characters use these different nows?

By breaking down routines, different presents are used as means of escaping the surveillance of a specific time, which is the very opposite of the aim of a military coup. The use of the present by cross-dressing characters creates different nows and these different nows help them to escape the surveillance of the present. The multiple usage of now makes cross-dressing characters intangible. The reason why the killers in *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, the creditors in *Şeytanın Pabucu* and the enemy family in *Şabaniye* cannot find the characters whom they are seeking is because in the same time phase they can be everywhere and nowhere. As discussed throughout Chapter 2, they are visible but not recognisable because they have fractured the connection points between time and space. For the purposes of this discussion, it can be said that they fracture the relationship between time and space which are structured by power relations and therefore cannot be labelled by any time/space relationship. So they can escape surveillance by using space and time.

By this multiple usage of the present, cross-dressing characters also fracture the perception of the present. The present is no longer a measurable part of space because of this multiple usage, which is why the actions of cross-dressing characters in the present create confusion and cause the collapse of the fabric of everyday experiences for other characters. In this sense, cross-dressing characters in films fracture the trust in ontological security by fracturing the way of operating time as an institution of power because cross-dressing characters create randomness, unpredictability and facelessness in the presents. By means of this action, unquestioning commitment to the established routines which stabilize our identities is fractured. When the established routines are fractured, the ideology which these routines provide is undermined, and this is why, when the actor's ontological security is fractured, the whole system which creates subjects as self and other is fractured.

The multiple usages of the present made by cross-dressing characters and the liminal space in the films work in three different ways. First, the characters can escape the surveillance system of the present(s) because they are de-centred becomings of the present. They are

visible but not recognizable; they are here and now but intangible in time and space. Second, cross-dressing characters fracture the operation of time and space as the regulatory systems of ontological security which fabricate everyday routines. And third, ultimately they undermine the discourses which are provided by using time and space. All of these things can gain a lot of new meaning if we regard them as the popular narratives of a culture which organizes the rule of a military coup.

As Giddens observed, routines which are controlled and synchronized by and in time and space allow the continuity of self-identity. Time and space not only provide continuity for identities but are also the main sources of identity. Identity requires continuity and being in time and space. Identity as a narrative of self needs chronological ordering to be told. Identity is a story which is a bridge between past, present and future and through which we perform our stories in time. Time and space give boundaries to the stories and also bind our stories with those of others. The concept of linear and fixed time and space helps people to protect the ontological security of their identity. Therefore, when time and space are fractured, the ontological security of identity is fractured and when ontological security is fractured, the perception of time and space is also fractured.

6.4: An envisaged future

The future is the aim of ontological security. Routines, basic trust system, time and space organization and even language have been organized to protect identities from the unpredictability and potential chaos of the future. This is why the fundamental questions of ontological security are 'Will I be the same person in the future as I am today?' and 'Will the life by which I am surrounded remain the same as it is today?' Ontological security protects us from the chaos of the future by using the past and the present. In other words, ontological security is our guarantee of the future. Paul Ricoeur (1984) stated that the future is a form which involves the proposal, anxiety and assumption of now. Anxieties are always about the future, not the present. Ontological security relieves us from anxieties of self because it works towards to the future. This is why, when a military coup destroys the ontological security of both state and citizen, the main concern becomes the stability and validity of the self in the future, rather than in the present.

In almost all of the selected cross-dressing films there is a formulaic scene in which the cross-dressing character re-organizes the future. The common way of doing this is by telling fortunes. In *Şabaniye,* Şaban tells Nazlı's fortune using a Turkish coffee cup (as seen in Figure 6:7). As his cross-dressed character, Şabaniye predicts how Nazlı will meet her true love: (s)he tells Nazlı that she will be attacked by some bad men but that, luckily for her, there will be a young, handsome, brave man whose name begins with B who will rescue her from them. This young, handsome, brave man whose name begins with B will be Nazlı's true love. Şaban then organises this attack by paying some men to threaten her and then he rescues her and introduces himself as Bayram. Of course, Nazlı thinks that Bayram is going to be her true love. Then they fall in love. By using a coffee cup, Şaban captures the future and reorganises it. It is a kind of time travel in words. In similar ways, each character and the various identities which are provided by cross-dressing performance re-organise the narrative for each other by manipulating time.

Figure 6:7: In *Şabaniye*, Şaban tells Nazlı's fortune using a Turkish coffee cup

In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Naciye tells Gülten's fortune by reading her hand.(as seen Figure 6:8) He advises her to be on the beach at a specific time and tells her that at that particular time and that place she will meet a man; Naciye describes the man in great detail. Naciye works out what kind of man Gülten is looking for from the questions which she asks. Naci as Naci turns up at the predicted time, meets Gülten and they fall in love. He manipulates the future by making up a story about it. He provides himself with open-ended linkages between the present and the future. Cross-dressing gives mobility to its subject not only between

gendered identities but also between past, present and future precisely because of the characters' unrecognisable, uncontrolled and unlabelled performativity.

Figure 6:8: In *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah*, Naciye tells Gülten's fortune by reading her hand

In *Şeytanın Pabucu*, Burhan tells the fortune of his attractive neighbour when he wants to guide her in his direction. The men who use fortune-telling in this way might normally have escaped the attention of their chosen women. But because of the fortune-telling, the women are prepared to wait for the predicted men and the predicted circumstances in which they will meet them. The cross-dressing characters thus create an expectation about the future which is entirely false but which becomes entirely true. They use their mobility in order to create an expectation about the future and the mobility of their becoming transforms the relationship between the present and the future in the narrative. It can be said that the cross-dressing characters in the films are located between the present and the future; they are time travellers. For them, the future is not predictable, it is knowable. The future is a play-ground for their desires and their wills. Cross-dressing characters in films actually produce the future.

Conclusion

Space and time are tools of power which are used to produce knowledge to show the correctness, naturalness and genuineness of power relations. Furthermore, space and time produce and are produced by these power relations. These power relations not only enable the subject to acquire identity but also maintain the stability and continuity of this identity. Space and time are therefore elements of ontological security. When cross-dressing characters in films disrupt and then re-organise ontological security, they also disrupt the perception of linear, fixed and stable space and time and re-organise space and time

according to their needs and desires. In order to do that, they first abandon the home where the stable identities and knowledge about the world are produced and where ideologies are transmitted from one generation to the next. I suggest that the home also represents the nation, which is transformed into a huge prison by a military coup. Abandoning the home gives a cross-dressing character the opportunity to play with the past because the home produces knowledge about self and other both inside and outside by using memories which construct identities. Then the cross-dressing characters move into liminal spaces which belong to everyone and to no-one and are in-between public and private. Power loses its control over the subject in liminal spaces. The cross-dressing characters therefore become intangible; they cannot be fixed or oriented in spaces. They can be in different spaces at the same time and can thus escape surveillance and the panoptic organisation of space, unlike the citizens who live under military rule following a coup. This cross-dressing mobility, visibility but not recognisability, also gives the characters an opportunity to design their own future. In order to achieve this, they use the three effects of cross-dressing performance on the body. By means of the use of space made by cross-dressing characters, the idea of space and time is fractured. Military coups disrupt ontological security and the perception of space and time just as cross-dressing films do. Space and time change their meaning and their routine usage under military rule. Diametrically opposite to the restricted usage of space and time for citizens after military coups, cross-dressing characters in films are free to use space and time according to their own needs and desires.

In this current study, time has been regarded as a condition of power which is used to re-organize and re-shape the practices and performances of not only individuals but also the state. Time which is conventionally regarded as linear, measurable, irreversible and progressive is part of a control system over individuals. It is used for giving shape to ways of being, acting and feeling. Time itself is therefore a tool of surveillance. Furthermore, time is accepted as one of the principal foundations of identity. Identities, which are the narrative forms of self, are constructed through the lens of time. Time gives coherence and utterance to the self.

Time is also one of the key elements of ontological security. The routines and the basic trust system of ontological security can be created by means of the perception of time as linear, measurable, irreversible and progressive. The ontological security of the self can only be

possible by the acceptance of the journey of the self from past to future through the present. On the other hand, national traumas such as military coups which destroy ontological security also destroy the sense of being secure in time because they re-structure the past, re-organise the present everyday routines and present the chaos of the future.

Cross-dressing characters in the films which are the popular narratives of the times of military coups in Turkey use the notion of time in many different ways. Because of their multiple usages of time they are located not in the present but in an inter-temporal space. They can be simultaneously in the past, present and future. They use the body as a space of becoming rather like a time-travel machine. They use the past as a warehouse of their new identities. They can make up stories about their imaginary past and in this making-up process they use invented memories which involve the dominant discourses of the period. In their remembering and forgetting while they are building up the past, their political intentions can be read. Furthermore, they can use the present very differently. They can be in different spaces at the same time, which destroys the link between time and space, and in this way they can escape the surveillance system which is provided by the past. When the link between time and space is fractured, their bodies become invisible in current space and then they have the opportunity to re-configure the future. By using strategies such as fortune telling, they can save their self from the chaos of the future.

Cross-dressing characters in films can play with time which is conventionally accepted as linear, measurable and progressive, and which is perceived as related to age and gender, because of the effects of cross-dressing performance on the performer's body. Because they are the body of becoming, cross-dressing performers are mobile between power relations because their bodies are visible but un-recognisable and because their bodies experience otherness without being other. By means of these effects, they fracture the perception of time which provides ontological security.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have taken a distinctive approach to examining the cross-dressing films of Turkish cinema, their characters and narratives by using critical discourse analysis. This study was based on an initial recognition of the relationship between military coups and cross-dressing films in Turkey. Throughout the thesis, I have sought to explore this relationship between military coups and cross-dressing film in the Turkish context. I have sought to answer these questions; if a subject changes his/her position on the map of power relations by using cross-dressing, how are other forms of identity, forms of oppression and relationships between discourses and power relations affected and then relocated by this change? Further, how can these changes be read in the contexts of both Turkish culture and military coups? The discussion throughout the study has focused on the question of what cross-dressing does in particular narratives – the work that it performs - rather than the question of what cross-dressing is.

These questions led to the main argument of this thesis which is that both cross-dressing characters in Turkish films and implications of military coups challenge ontological security at different levels. Cross-dressing characters destroy ontological security by the effects of the cross-dressing performance on its subject. When we look at the opportunities which are provided by cross-dressing characters to both the narrative and the characters, three effects can be seen. First, cross-dressing gender performance provides mobility between all kinds of power relations. I have argued that this mobility is a result of the body of becoming. Second, cross-dressing provides the opportunity to be visible but not recognisable. This effect helps the cross-dressing subject to escape panoptical social mechanisms. This effect has been argued by using the concept of the grotesque. The third effect is that the cross-dresser can experience otherness without being other. This effect has been argued by using the concept of the carnivalesque. All three of these effects can be read as ways to handle the traumas which are caused by military coups. I have suggested throughout this thesis that cross-dressing films are popular in times of national trauma because the effects of cross-dressing performance provide relief for citizens who find themselves living under military rule.

In Chapter 1, I interrogated a broad range of contextual issues which naturally arose from the different fields with which I have engaged with in this study, including Turkish politics,

culture, cinema, gender issues and military coups. Specifically, I have briefly explored the development and changing of Turkish politics in the selected periods when the production of cross-dressing films increased, how these changes impacted upon national and individual identity, and how they can be seen in the Turkish cultural sphere. Following on from this, I considered the overall concerns of two military coups and the memorandum of 2007. In Chapter 1, I suggested that Turkey's modernisation can be understood as a kind of cross-dressing performance which has affected and is at the base of all national traumas. Furthermore, by means of Turkey's modernisation, the meaning of dress and ideas of wearing were politicised more than ever before. The 1960 military coup was discussed as Kemalist, the 1980 coup as neo-liberal conservative and the 2007 memorandum as Islamic conservative. Cultural life during these three chosen periods was discussed under these labels as well as Turkish gender politics, Turkish cinema and the overall Turkish cultural climate. In Chapter 1, cross-dressing films of Turkish cinema history generally and the chosen films specifically were also introduced. In this introduction to the selected films, they were also situated in the vast history of Turkish cinema. My intention was to provide a context for the thesis by introducing Turkish modernisation, military coups, Turkish cinema and gender issues. The key question asked in the chapter was what was happening in Turkey when cross-dressing film production increased. By means of this discussion, a connection between cross-dressing films and Turkish politics was made.

The aim in Chapter 2 was to set out the approach taken in this study to cross-dressing gender performance. This chapter answered the question of what cross-dressing does in the films. The three effects of cross-dressing performance were discussed in relation to the military coups which had been analysed in the previous chapter. In order to analyse these three effects, I first discussed the problem of the existing literature on cross-dressing by pointing out the western philosophical tradition which is embedded in the literature. I then switched my attention to analysing cross-dressing in the films. In order to explore the first effect, the mobility provided by cross-dressing, I used the Deleuzian concept of becoming. I suggested that cross-dressing gender performance is an example of becoming which implies being in between. Cross-dressing gives mobility to its subject not only between gendered identities but also on the broader map on which all relations between subjects and power are located; and a cross-dressed performer gains mobility within the sources of power; time,

space, language and memory. I suggested that this mobility can be read against the solid constraints of a military regime during and after a military coup. The second effect is that cross-dressing can provide a way of achieving the desire to be visible but at the same time to escape the panoptic social mechanisms because the cross-dressed body inhabits a frame of undecidability. I structured this argument between visibility and recognisability and in order to discuss the relationship between them, I used the term 'grotesque' and considered how this form of the body in relation to cross-dressing affects the determination of the body. Third, I suggested that cross-dressing is a way of escaping the fear of being other but at the same time experiencing otherness under the inevitable discriminatory politics of a military coup. In order to explore this, I had to establish the relationality between the cross-dressed body and other bodies, and to do this I used the idea of 'carnival'. After discussing the effects of cross-dressing on its subject, I suggest that these three effects fracture the institutions of power and the principal elements of ontological security.

Chapter 3 provided a meeting point of the arguments presented in Chapters 1 and 2. In Chapter 1, I discussed Turkey in terms of the politics of a military coup and the cultural life of the chosen periods and in Chapter 2, I structured my approach to cross-dressing performance. In Chapter 3, I combined these two discussions under the umbrella term 'ontological security'. I discussed ontological security in relation to military coups and cross-dressing films. I looked at how the effects of cross-dressing performance and military coups both disrupt ontological security. In order to do that, I first introduced the concept of ontological security by following Giddens's definition. I then scrutinized the term in relation to cross-dressing performance, suggesting that the effect of the cross-dressing performance which I had explored in Chapter 2 is to fracture the elements of ontological security. Mobility of the body of becoming fractures the stable and fixed being which is required by ontological security and therefore fractures the continuity of identities. The visible but not recognisable face of the cross-dressed character fractures the basic trust system of ontological security, and the carnivalesque side of a cross-dressing performance fractures the routine of ontological security. Military coups fracture ontological security by their implications. First, they re-define national and group identities and therefore destroy the continuity and stability of identities. Second, the robust security implications of a military coup destroy the routine and trust system of a nation. So both cross-dressing and military coups re-organise

ontological security in different ways. Military coups restrict the mobility of citizens whereas cross-dressing gives mobility to its subject; military coups extended surveillance whereas cross-dressing's visible but not recognisable face enables the cross-dresser to escape the panoptical social mechanism; military coups re-organise otherness whereas cross-dressing enables its subject to experience otherness without being other. They both disrupt the system of ontological security and then re-organise it.

In Chapter 3, I also introduced the term 'fracturing'. I used the term to describe the disruptive performance of cross-dressing. My argument was that cross-dressing performance fractures power relations and that this fracture makes discourses and the relationship between them visible. In the chapters which followed, the term 'fracturing' was used to describe the crises and troubles which cross-dressing causes to the idea of ontological security in films. Each of my three case study chapters presented attempts to identify and interrogate the providers of ontological security: identity, language, time, space and memory, and to consider how cross-dressing and military coups disrupt them and therefore disrupt ontological security. Furthermore, each fracture was discussed in the context of the fractures which have been made by military coups in Turkey. Each chapter started with an examination of an element of ontological security and then I discussed the value of each element in terms of sociology and/or philosophy. I then considered how cross-dressing fractures this element after discussing how a military coup disrupts it.

Masculinity and femininity as stable identities were the topic of my argument in Chapter 4. My aim was to show how military coups cause crises about masculinities and femininities and re-organise the power relations between them, and how cross-dressing helps its performer to recover from these crises by ignoring these stable definitions of masculinity and femininity. In Chapter 5, I turned the argument to language, voice and speaker-listener relations in cross-dressing films. Cross-dressed characters also fracture the relationship between voice and body and between the speaking subject and the listening object. The same body can use different types of voice performance simultaneously. The performer can speak to someone else in a 'cross-dressed gender' voice and style but at the same time still give her/his own reaction to the self-using the biologically given voice in a way which sets up extremely schizophrenic situations for the viewer as well as the performer. This paradox is based not only on the different voices of a woman and a man but also on the different ways

of using language which a woman and a man typically employ. In male cross-dressing films, the reluctance of male characters to lose their natural voice and speech can be seen in their performance. I suggested that there are many similarities which can be found between the male cross-dressing character who does not want to lose his own voice and his right to speak, and the citizen who wants to speak out but cannot under military rule. Another advantage which cross-dressing characters have is that they can ignore the listening object while they speak to themselves. These moments are lost time for the listening objects because they cannot talk, listen or even understand. Speech and sound therefore become a bridge not only between masculinity and femininity but also between a military hegemony which is not prepared to listen and a civilian community who cannot be heard. In this chapter, three different but related topics were discussed: the relationship between body and sound, the differences in language acquisition between men and women, and the fracturing between listening object and speaking subject in relation to three effects of cross-dressing performance.

In Chapter 6, I discussed time and space fracturing. I considered how cross-dressing performance affects linear time and space perception, which are the main source of ontological security and therefore a source of stable identity. I discussed space/time fracturing under three headings: leaving home and playing with the past; liminal spaces and multiple nows; and an envisaged future. These three headings were combined with the three effects of cross-dressing performance. I also discussed how military coups disrupt the time-space routine of a nation. The time-space fractures of cross-dressing performance and the time-space disruption of military coups were combined together. The idea of 'home' in cross-dressing films was read in relation to nation; the liminal spaces of cross-dressing films interpreted as escaping the panoptical mechanism of a military coup; and the envisaged future was read as hope after trauma. The key finding of this chapter was that cross-dressing characters always have an opportunity to break down linear time and space perception, which creates a fracture of the linear progressive way of understanding.

As the chapter summaries presented above illustrate, after analysing the selected films as providers of ontological security – time-space, language, gender – the key finding of this study is that cross-dressing gender performance is not simply about the gender binary or the clothes codes inherent in the binary, it is embedded in the institutions of power – time,

space, language, memory and identity – which have been structured according to the historical position of a text. In other words, cross-dressing is not wearing the clothes of the opposite sex but wearing the tensions of a specific period which are embedded in time, space, language and memory in a gendered way. That is why cross-dressing films in Turkish cinema can be read as a way of dealing with national traumas.

Furthermore, this study can be used for trauma studies. Trauma studies usually focus on narratives which are about identity, belonging, memory, recovering and similar issues. This study, however, has shown that the narratives which are usually interpreted negatively – in this case cross-dressing films which are usually accepted as escapist, misogynist, low-culture products – can be read as trauma narratives. This study gives a new perspective for trauma studies as well.

Suggestions for further study

 This project has of necessity been limited to a relatively small sample of texts, examining in detail only five films. I believe that close analysis of these five films has allowed me to consider the wider issues which I have sought to address because almost all cross-dressing films use same narrative formula. In addition to films as a popular culture product, alternative popular culture products such as stage performances, opera and the music industry could be the next target for further study in this field. Furthermore, this study has focused on Turkish examples and military coups as national trauma, but other cultures and nations can be researched in order to understand whether is there any relation between cross-dressing performance and any national traumas in the chosen nations and cultures.

Another suggestion is that, methodologically, further research could use audience research in Turkey to analyse how cross-dressing films were/are consumed and what kind of pleasure they provide to audience and at what level. I did not use audience research because the psychology and effects of traumas could not be same for a contemporary audience. That is why audience research could have led me in the wrong direction. However, audience research could be done for new cross-dressing cultural products.

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Filmography

*Fosforlu Cevriye (*1959, Director: Aydın Arakon)

Şoför Nebehat (1960, Director: Süreyya Duru)

Aşk Rüzgarı (1960, Director: Nevzat Pesen)

Gece Kuşu (1960, Director: Hulki Saner)

Aslan Yavrusu (1960, Director: Hulki Saner)

Belalı Torun (1962, Director: Memduh Ün)

Fıstık Gibi Maşallah (1964, Director: Hulki Saner)

Yalancının Mumu (1965, Director: Semih Evin)

Efkarlıyım Arkadaş (1966, Director: Türker Inanoğlu)

Babasına Bak, Oğlunu Al (1965, Director Türker Inanoğlu)

Asker Anası (1966, Director: Asaf Tengiz)

Kibar Haydut (1966, Director: Yılmaz Atadeniz)

Beş Ateşli Kadin (1968, Director: Seyfettin Tiryaki)

Avanta Kemal (1968, Director: Ugur Duru)

Deliler Almanya'da (1980, Director: Yunus Bülbül)

Beddua (1980, director: Melih Gülgen)

Şabaniye (1984, Director: Kartal Tibet)

Dönersen Islık Çal (1992, Director: Orhan Oğuz)

Ruhumu Asla! (2001, Director: Kutluğ Ataman)

Komiser Şekspir (2001, Director: Sinan Çetin)

Hababam Sınfı Merhaba (2007, Director: Kartal Tibet)

Plajda (2008, Director: Murat Şeker)

Şeytanın Pabucu (2008, Director: Turgut Yasalar)

Zenne (2011, Directors: M. Caner Alper, Mehmet Binay)