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WOMEN IN TURKISH EROTIC MOVIES BETWEEN 1974 AND 1979

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ABSTRACT

In 1970s, television became a widespread entertainment and communication tool in Turkey. Because of this fact, cinema had lost its popularity in those days and Yeşilçam found the way of gaining money by producing erotic movies. In this study, female Turkish movie stars' subordinate position in Turkish erotic movies between 1974 and 1979 is discussed and criticized. By doing so, how women images are created and how patriarchal discourses are reproduced in Turkish erotic movies are examined. The main argument of the study is, in Turkish erotic movies, although some of them are superstars of Yeşilçam, women are represented in subordinate positions and the overall oppression of women in the society is reproduced by these movies. The movies were analyzed by "content analysis" technique and frequency analyses method was used in order to analyze, "the erotic scenes", "the fetish objects" and "the socio-economic status of the male and female characters of the movies". Besides, the camera movements, mise en scene and the colors of the movies are analyzed in the study. Generally it could be said that, the media is used as a tool to protect the subordinate position and reproduce the patriarchal discourses. Movie is a channel, which helps this situation. But in pornographic movies the condition is worse. Because in these movies women are represented in subordinate positions according to men, like in any other movies. But in pornographic movies the women are also represented as the sex objects who do not say enough to sexual oppression and had violence and gets pleasure from every act those men do to them. So we can say that there is a double oppression to women in those movies.

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STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Introduction and the aim of the study: In 1970s, television became a widespread entertainment and communication tool in Turkey. Because of this fact, cinema had lost its popularity in those days and Yeşilçam¹ found the way of gaining money by producing erotic movies. In this study, female Turkish movie stars' subordinate position in Turkish erotic movies between 1974 and 1979 is discussed and criticized. By doing so, how women images are created and how patriarchal discourses are reproduced in Turkish erotic movies are examined. The main argument of the study is, in Turkish erotic movies, although some of them are superstars of Yeşilçam, women are represented in subordinate positions and the overall oppression of women in the society is reproduced by these movies.

Because these women are mostly main characters in different Yeşilçam movies, they seem like fall backward in their careers as they act in erotic movies, while the television became more popular. After the police attacks towards the movie theaters, this trend was stopped immediately and movies other than erotic ones started to be played. Acting in an erotic movie was not suitable for the Turkish culture from the beginning, but because the movie industry was interrupted by the television culture, actors had to get by upon. The results of the study cannot be generalized through all the erotic and pornographic movies, but it can be good start to examine the subordination of women in media.

Methodology: According to Soykan (1990) in this period 200-300 movies were produced in one year. Because these movies are very old and nearly impossible to find, 5 movies were chosen among the list (totally 59 movies is listed) in Agah Özgüç's book, which is titled as "*Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi*" (2000). By "purposive sampling" method, "Öyle Bir Kadın Ki", "Ye Beni Mahmut", "İsmet Bu Ne Kismet", "Horoz Gibi Maşallah" and "Çukulata Tarlası" were chosen and by "content analyzes" technique, these movies were analyzed.

Literature review: Some feminist theorists, including Gloria Steinmen and Helen Longino have argued that there is a clear distinction between erotic and pornographic. Pornography is clearly degrading and offensive to women and should be censored. Other feminist theorists, like Catharine McKinnon and Andrea Dworkin argue that, all sexualized images of women are harmful and should be regulated as reflecting incorrect attitudes towards them. Between these extremes, pornography is usually defined as involving depictions of unequal power relationships, involving some degree of coercion and/or violence, with men in positions of domination and others, especially women, in position of submission.

Feminist film theorists take into account both the situation of women in movies and try making the situation of women better. According to feminist film critics, women's representation in movies is stereotypical such as the vamp, neighborhood girl, mother, etc. and the contradiction of the stereotypical women in movies and in real life is analyzed. Gender discrimination puts men in a higher position than

¹Yeşilçam (literally means *The Green Pine* in Turkish language) "is the sobriquet that refers to the Turkish film art and industry. It is an important part of Turkish culture, and has flourished over the years, delivering entertainment to audiences in Turkey" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cinema_of_Turkey).

women with a gender blind definition. Women are described with the nature, while men are described with the culture. That is the reason why women are forgotten, misunderstood, become voiceless and unreal both in real life and movies. Feminist critics takes women into account just in this structure and make a new kind of reading as a taking side of women (Süllü 1988: 101-107).

In 1970s there is an upheaval in Turkish cinema. On the one hand, there were movies that tend to give social messages and on the other hand there were movies that were counted as erotic in that period. Before 1974, there are different periods of Turkish cinema. After 1940s, the period is named as “tear period”, after 1945 it is called as “belly period”, between 1965 and 1968 the period is called as “excellency period”, after 1974, it is called as “sex period” and after 1980s, the period is named as “arabesque period” (Karatekin 1998: 59). Erotic film period was ended by the police attacks to the movie theatres through denunciations.

Findings and Conclusion: Generally it could be said that, the media is used as a tool to protect the subordinate position and reproduce the patriarchal discourses. Movie is a channel, which helps this situation. But in pornographic movies the condition is worse. Because in these movies women are represented in subordinate positions according to men, like in any other movies. But in pornographic movies the women are also represented as the sex objects who do not say enough to sexual oppression and had violence and gets pleasure from every act those men do to them. So we can say that there is a double oppression to women in those movies. In short, in the movies, we may clearly examine that women are misrepresented as the feminist theorists argued, who are ready for sex every time, nymphomaniacs and getting pleasure from every sexual act of men, including violent acts. In this regard, the representation of women in the erotic movies is stereotypical and different from the women that the audience knows from their small society. These movies also represent men as ready to cheat on their girlfriends and wives. By doing so, the patriarchal ideology they put women in a subordinate position is also reproduced by these kinds of movies in 1970s. That may be one of the reasons of never-ending nightmare, violence against women and female femicide in Turkey. Besides, the appearance of women and the language (mostly slang) used in these movies are also supportive for the subordinate position of women in the society.

Keywords: Yeşilçam, Women, Turkish cinema

1974-1979 YILLARI ARASINDA TÜRK EROTİK FİMLERİNDE KADINLAR

ÖZ

1970'lerde televizyon Türkiye'de yaygın bir eğlence ve iletişim aracı haline geldi. Bu nedenle sinema o günlerde popüleritesini yitirmişti ve Yeşilçam erotik filmler üreterek para kazanmanın yolunu bulmuştu. Bu çalışmada, 1974-1979 yılları arasında kadın Türk film yıldızlarının Türk erotik filmlerinde aşağı konumları tartışılmış ve eleştirilmiştir. Böylece kadın imgesinin nasıl yaratıldığı ve Türk erotik filmlerinde ataerkil

söylemlerin nasıl çoğaltıldığı incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın ana tartışması, Türk erotik filmlerinde, bazıları Yeşilçam'ın süper starları olmasına rağmen, kadınlar alt konumlarda temsil edilir ve toplumda kadınlara yönelik olan baskılar, bu filmler tarafından yeniden üretilir. Filmler “içerik analizi” tekniği ile analiz edilmiş ve “erotik sahneler”, “fetiş nesneler” ve “filmlerin erkek ve kadın karakterlerinin sosyo-ekonomik durumunu” analiz etmek için frekans analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, kamera hareketleri, sahneler ve filmlerin renkleri de incelenmiştir. Genel olarak medyanın alt pozisyonu korumak ve ataerkil söylemleri yeniden üretmek için bir araç olarak kullanıldığı söylenebilir. Film bu duruma yardımcı olan bir kanaldır. Ancak pornografik filmlerde durum daha da kötüdür çünkü bu filmlerde kadınlar, diğer tüm filmlerde olduğu gibi, erkeklere göre alt konumlarda temsil edilmektedir. Ancak pornografik filmlerde kadınlar, cinsel baskıya yeterince direnmeyen ve şiddete maruz kalan ve bu erkeklerin kendilerine yaptıkları her şeyden zevk alan cinsel objeler olarak da temsil edilmektedir. Bu yüzden bu filmlerde kadınlara çifte baskı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeşilçam, Kadın, Türk sineması

Introduction

In 1970s, television became a widespread entertainment and communication tool in Turkey. Because of this fact, cinema had lost its popularity in those days and *Yeşilçam*² found the way of gaining money by producing erotic movies. In 2000s, these erotic movies were reproduced by Fanatik Görüntü Sistemleri Production in VCD format and had its own fan groups. In this study, female Turkish movie stars' subordinate position in Turkish erotic movies between 1974 and 1979 is discussed and criticized. By doing so, how women images are created and how patriarchal discourses are reproduced in Turkish erotic movies are examined. The main argument of the study is, in Turkish erotic movies, although some of them are superstars of Yeşilçam, women are represented in subordinate positions and the overall oppression of women in the society is reproduced by these movies.

Because these women are mostly main characters in different Yeşilçam movies, they seem like fall backward in their careers as they act in erotic movies, while the television became more popular. After the police attacks towards the movie theaters, this trend was stopped immediately and movies other than erotic ones started to be played. Acting in an erotic movie was not suitable for the Turkish culture from the beginning, but because the movie industry was interrupted by the television culture, actors had to get by upon. The results of the study cannot be generalized through all the erotic and pornographic movies, but it can be good start to examine the subordination of women in media. When we compare the position of women in different periods of time in these kinds of movies, we may argue that, 1974-1979 periods was relatively naïve for the position of women in the movies. We cannot observe hard core intercourse or any other sexual images mostly in the movies, but they are more like comedy movies with erotic scenes in it.

Because the movies are old and they cannot be reached easily, “purposive sampling” is used in selecting the movies. These movies are, “*Öyle Bir Kadın Ki*”, “*Ye Beni Mahmut*”, “*İsmet Bu Ne Kismet*”, “*Horoz Gibi Maşallah*” and “*Çukolata Tarlası*”. These movie names were selected from

²**Yeşilçam** (literally means *The Green Pine* in Turkish language) “is the sobriquet that refers to the Turkish film art and industry. It is an important part of Turkish culture, and has flourished over the years, delivering entertainment to audiences in Turkey” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cinema_of_Turkey).

Agah Özgüç's book (among 59 erotic Turkish movies) titled as "*Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi*" (2000). The movies were analysed by "content analysis" technique and frequency analyses method was used in order to analyze, "the erotic scenes", "the fetish objects" and "the socio-economic status of the male and female characters of the movies". Besides, the camera movements, mise en scene and the colors of the movies are analyzed in the study.

1. Feminist Theories on Women in Erotic/Pornographic Movies

According to Dorsay (2000: 97), cinema does not only observe the sexuality, it also helps people to create their own sexuality. In different periods, different images are used in cinema as sex objects. People are influenced from these images. Cinema is the most powerful medium, which creates the sexual objects and images. It is said that the image on the scene has a powerful influence on the spectators. It is also because of the "voyeurism" effect that cinema creates. On the other hand, according to Peach (1998:123), pornography is sexually explicit material. Opinions vary widely regarding what additional qualifiers are necessary to explicit is erotic not pornographic, and is not harmful or otherwise problematic. Some feminist theorists, including Gloria Steinmen and Helen Longino have argued that there is a clear distinction between erotic and pornographic. Pornography is clearly degrading and offensive to women and should be censored. Other feminist theorists, like Catharine McKinnon and Andrea Dworkin argue that, all sexualized images of women are harmful and should be regulated as reflecting incorrect attitudes towards them. Between these extremes, pornography is usually defined as involving depictions of unequal power relationships, involving some degree of coercion and/or violence, with men in positions of domination and others, especially women, in position of submission. Pornographic images of women frequently depict women as sex objects with vast and insatiable sexual appetites (nymphomaniacs), and as enjoying sexual violence and participation in degrading acts –being tied up, chained, whipped, beaten, atomized, urinated upon, and so on- or unconsciousness, penetration using foreign objects and having sex with animals.

The role of production and circulation of images of women came to be one of the central importance and feminists began to address the issue of ideology. For images, it was argued, not only exploited women- for example the use of a woman and her usually naked body in advertisements towards men and more importantly they produced definition of woman and femininity that are represented as true, timeless and hence "natural". Women are not only women in those representations, but they are mothers, virgins or whores. The debate was therefore framed in terms of women's oppression by male-serving, male-produced images within male dominated image industries those of the press, television and cinema as well as the pictorial arts (Cowie 1997: 16).

When the political project of feminism is posed in relation to the sociological analysis of movie, the object-woman is gained assumed to have a definition, a meaning, which exists already and outside the system of representation of the movie and which the movie or denigrates. A new form of the argument that the filmic representation is inadequate to the real woman is produced in the claim that woman as signifier of women is absent or excluded. The image of the woman refers not to the referent woman, existing in the real world outside of representation, but to a meaning produced by and for men. Patriarchy controls the image of women, assigning it a function and value determined by and for men and in the service of the construction of definitions of male and more especially of masculine desire (Cowie 1997: 19).

1.1. Women as Male Gaze Objects

The first wave of feminist critics adopted a broadly sociological approach, looking at sex roles women occupied in various imaginative works from high art to mass entertainment. They asserted roles as "positive" or "negative" according to some externally constructed criteria describing the fully autonomous independent woman. Feminist film critics influenced by developments taking place in film theory at the start of 1970s were the first point out its limitations. First, influenced by semiology, feminist

theorists stressed the crucial role played by the artistic form as the medium for expression; second influenced by psychoanalysis they argued that Oedipal processes were central to the production of art works. Feminist film theorists gave increased attention to how meaning is produced in movies rather than to the content, which had preoccupied sociological critics; and they stressed links between the processes of psychoanalysis and cinema (Kaplan 1983: 23).

Feminist film theorists take into account both the situation of women in movies and try making the situation of women better. According to feminist film critics, women's representation in movies is stereotypical such as the vamp, neighborhood girl, mother, etc. and the contradiction of the stereotypical women in movies and in real life is analyzed. Gender discrimination puts men in a higher position than women with a gender blind definition. Women are described with the nature, while men are described with the culture. That is the reason why women are forgotten, misunderstood, become voiceless and unreal both in real life and movies. Feminist critics takes women into account just in this structure and make a new kind of reading as a taking side of women (Süllü 1988: 101-107).

Feminist film theory introduces that spoken; written and visual languages placed women in a subordinate position and reproduced the patriarchal ideology (Nelmes 1999: 277). In order to study women's position in the movies, one kind of methodology such as semiology, structuralism, psychoanalyses or sociology is enough. According to Büker (1987: 9-10), interdisciplinary methods of analyzing should be used.

Psychoanalytic theory, particularly the theories of Freud and Lacan, has been instrumental in the development of a feminist film theory, although structuralist and Marxist theories are influential to a lesser extent. Laura Mulvey's article "*Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*" (1999) emphasizes the importance of the patriarchal viewpoint in the cinema. The pleasure gained from looking (called scopophilia) is male pleasure and that look in cinema is directed at the male, which is often referred to as the male gaze. Schopophilia can be directed in two areas: first, voyeurism that is schopophilic pleasure linked to sexual attraction and second schopophilic pleasure, which is linked to narcissistic identification. Mulvey argues in her article that, this identification is always with the male who is the pivot of the movie, the hero, while the female is often seen as threat. Movies reflect society and therefore society influences our understanding of movies. This viewpoint is linked with psychoanalytical theory to demonstrate the influence of patriarchal society on movie. Patriarchy and phallocentrism are intrinsically linked; the phallus is a symbol of power (*note that how guns are used in film: guns = phallus = power*). The woman has no phallus; she is castrated, which relates back to Freudian theory that the woman is lacking and therefore inferior because she has no phallus (Nelmes 1999: 276-277).

Freud's theories on schopophilia center around voyeurism and the desire to see erotic and the forbidden, yet this desire is male-centered. The cinema provides a perfect venue for illicit voyeuristic viewing because the audience is in a dark enclosed womb-like world. As Mulvey (1999 cited in Nelmes 1999: 227) argues, the power that cinema holds is so strong it can act as a temporary form of brainwashing. In her article she also mentions that, woman has two roles in movies: erotic object for the characters in the story and erotic object for the spectator (Nelmes 1999: 277).

According to Kaplan (1983: 31) two basic Freudian concepts – voyeurism and fetishism – are often used in order to explain what exactly woman represents and the mechanisms that come in to play for the male spectator watching a female screen image. The first voyeurism is linked to the scopophilic instinct, for example the male pleasure in his own sexual organ transferred to pleasure in watching other people having sex. Critics argue that the cinema relies on this instinct making the spectator essentially a voyeur. To derive causes little boys to peek through keyholes of parental bedrooms to learn about their sexual activities comes in to play when the male adult watches films, sitting in a dark room. The original eye of the camera controlling and limiting what can be seen is reproduced by the projector aperture,

which lights up one frame at a time and both processes (camera and projector) duplicate the eye at the keyhole, whose gaze is confined by the keyhole frame.

Mulvey (1999) thinks that, cinema uses woman to be an object of looking. For her, woman is an icon, which made up for male gaze. In this situation, woman became a fetish object with wearing, make-up and accessories. She also argues that men are observers. This is relevant in the classical Hollywood cinema's visual speed and cinematic code. According to Mulvey cinema is somewhere, which opens its doors to voyagers, satisfy their fantasies.

On the other hand, as Cowie (1993: 124) argues, fantasy is condemned as invariably using another person as an object and as fragmented or reductive in relation to the full identity of that person. A moral charge is made that sexual fantasy dehumanizes. The second position on the contrary accepts that fantasy is intrinsic to human nature and indeed is bound up with sexuality although in a way which we do not really understand.

According to Kaplan (1983: 27) the male fantasies in *Friday's book, My Secret Garden: Women's Sexual Fantasies*, focus on the male excitement in arranging for his woman to expose herself (or even give herself) to another men, while he watches. The difference between this male voyeurism and female form is striking. For women the desire is not hold, even when they watch. Women may distance themselves from sex. Men, on the other hand, own the desire and the women in the image and get the pleasure from exchanging the female characters. Some fantasies in Friday's book show men's wish to be taken over by an aggressive woman, who would force them to become helpless, like the little boy in his mother's hands. The situations are the predictable ones: young boys (but sometimes men) seduced by woman in a form of authority- governesses, nursemaids, nurses, schoolteachers, stepmother, etc.

Eroticization of women on the screen comes through the way cinema is structured around three explicitly male looks or gazes: there is the look of the camera in the situation being filmed (called the pro-filmic event); while technically neutral, this look, as mentioned before, is inherently voyeuristic and usually "male" in the sense that a man is generally doing the filming. Secondly, there is the look of the men within the narrative which is structured so as to make women objects of their gaze. Finally there is the look of the male spectator which imitates (or is necessarily in the same position as) the first two looks (Kaplan 1983: 31). In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking was split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy on to the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote "to-be-look-et-ness". Women were displayed, as sexual object is the leitmotif of erotic spectacle: from pin-ups to strip tease, she holds the look and plays to and signifies male desire (Mulvey 1999).

According to Kaplan (1983: 30) the gaze is not necessarily male (literally) but to own and active gaze, given our language and the structure of unconscious is to be in the "masculine" position. It is this persistent presentation of masculine position that feminist film critics have demonstrated in their analysis of Hollywood movies. Dominant Hollywood cinema is constructed according to unconscious of patriarchy ideology and movie narratives are organized by means of a male-based language and discourse. Women in movies thus do not function as signifier for a signified (a real woman), but as sociological critics assumed, signifier and signified are elided into a sign that represents something in the male unconscious.

1.2. Women as Victims for Male Pleasure

According to Kuhn (1985 cited in Süllü 1988:100), feminist discussions are mainly based on the stereotypes of women in women's magazines, television, advertisements or in the other mediums. In these mediums women are represented with ideal properties of a female such as, body, dress and

make-up. Kuhn and other feminists criticize these images because they represent women as objects. Kuhn argues that, through the mediums that are calling the male spectators, women are reduced to a victim position for male pleasure.

As Kuhn (1985) argues, the way of reading and criticizing a movie is to analyze the story and the characters. While doing this, cinematic vision, lightening, story and movements of camera should be added to analyze. She mentions that meaning of every movie is constituted by the indicators that are brought together. Kuhn mentions about the codes that produce the meaning of the movie; photographic vision, “mise en scène”³, moving environment and the narrative. Cinematic vision uses its own special codes such as, distant record, close record and detail record. Kuhn uses “mise en scène” term in order to define the construction of the vision in the frame, such as, stage, costumes, etc. According to Kuhn these constructions produces the meaning of the film with the other codes. The third code that Kuhn defines as moving environment is the camera movements and zooms. Long records, cuttings, chained, embark, zoom ins, zoom outs help producing the meaning in movies. The forth code is editing. Editing brings together the fragmented pieces. Another property of the movies are, the relation between the spectator and the movie itself. The spectator takes and understands the meaning of the movie. Kuhn uses psychoanalysis to analyze the movies which woman is shown as the signified (Süllü 1988:117).

According to Kuhn (1985: 20), pornography is particularly interesting in this context because it has a frank obsession with sex and its construction of sexual difference is relatively transparent. The production of woman as “other” is meaning that pornography speak both to and from a masculine point of view. Kuhn also mentions that pornography is exactly a commodity; it is produced, bought and sold. Porn is often, profoundly disappointing to its consumers. There is always the hope that it can be assuaged by trying (and buying) again although pornography consumers often argue that pornography is repetitive and boring (Kuhn 1985: 23). Kuhn also argues that pornography is not just related with sex. It is also representing the social historical context. Pornography indicates to spectators that, “this is actual”, “this is how it is”, “you need make no effort to understand this”, “you only have to recognize it”, “isn’t this just the way you see it out there in the world?” (Kuhn 1985: 27).

Looking may turn into contemplation, even into voyeurism. The voyeur’s pleasure depends on the object of this look and the victim is being unable to see him. To this extent, it is the pleasure of power and the look as controlling one. What is in the image combines with the fact that it is of course actually not there and one can look as long as he wants because the circuit of pleasure would never be broken by a returned look. In soft-core pornographies, women are by their own, but in the hardcore pornographies, women are never by themselves. In either ways, women are the ones that are represented (Kuhn 1985: 28).

According to Kuhn (1985: 33), masculinity is not same as maleness. Men may derive pleasure from images of women but if women enjoy these pictures, it is possible that they are adopting a masculine subject position in doing so. However, there is another possibility. The photo might evoke memories or fantasies of similar pleasures enjoyed with the spectator. Kuhn also suggests that, in soft-core pornography women are always by their own and the relationship between the image and the spectator is private. The image of women in soft-core porn is unaware and doing things just for the spectator. She also mentions that, lesbian scenes are for men who evaluate that it is the thing that women do when men are not around and again it is only done for the male spectator.

In pornography, the whole body is cut into pieces and the screen image is composed of the particular body part. These parts are generally the signifiers of the sexual difference such as genitals, breasts, and thighs. It is hardly impossible to find fetishized representations of male body, whereas it is mostly women’s body parts that are treated as fetish. The subject’s face is included into the image

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³ Stage construction of theatre.

because facial expression provides some possibility of promoting the sexual meaning (Kuhn 1985: 36-37). Pornography also conflates femininity with femaleness, femaleness with female sexuality and the female sexuality with a particular part of the female anatomy (Kuhn 1983: 40).

1.3. Women's Representation in Erotic/Pornographic Movies

Pornography comes from a Greek word “pornographos”, which is composed of “porn”, which means prostitute, and “graphy”, which means “writing”. In this context, the meaning of pornography is writing about prostitutes and the literature of prostitution (Özgüç 2000: 176). According to Özgüç (2000: 177), we have to distinguish pornographic movies from erotic movies. In erotic movies, female bodies are shown in the standards of esthetics. In another words, it can be said that the women's bodies are like a poem according to romantism. On the other hand, the subject of the porn movies are just women's body parts and the function of the porn is to instigate consumption. For example in American cinema, soft-core porn does not include the sexual intercourse. It is shown on the screen as it is happening. Whereas, in hardcore porn, the sexual intercourse is shown in details. We can see every detail of a vagina and the “cum shots” from the erected penises. In these movies different kinds of lesbian relations, masturbation and anal sex are shown and women are always look like they are enjoying from these acts but all these acts oppress women. Men are shown as aggressors and women are shown as sexual victims. Women are also shown as nymphomaniacs in those movies.

Andrea Dworkin (1988: 266-267) argues that, the sexualization of subordination in pornography, which makes it an important component of women's oppression, has four main parts. These are:

1. Hierarchy: a question of power with “a group on top (men) and a group on the bottom (women)”.
2. Objectification: when “a human being, through social means, is made less than human, turned into a thing or commodity, bought and sold”.
3. Submission: acts of obedience and compliance become necessary for survival. Members of oppressed groups learn to anticipate the orders and desires of those who have power over them, and their compliance is then used by the dominant group to justify its dominance.
4. Violence: when it becomes “systematic, endemic enough to be unremarkable and normative, usually taken as an implicit right of the one committing the violence”. The first three conditions make violence possible.

Dworkin argues that sexual subordination in these four ways above, is one of the main component of the women's oppression by men (Dines and Jensen 1998: 66). All sexualized images are harmful for women and should be regulated as representing not correct attitudes towards them. Pornographic images of women usually depict women as sex objects with vast and insatiable sexual appetites (nymphomaniacs) and as enjoying sexual violence and being part of degrading acts such as, being tied up, chained, whipped, beaten, sodomized, as well as being subjected to brutality, restraint, powerlessness, semi or unconsciousness, penetration using foreign objects and having sex with animals. Also in some kind of pornography, women are portrayed as passive and submissive victims, totally dependent upon or at the mercy of men. In addition, many pornographic images reduce women in to parts of their bodies, such as breasts and/or sexual organs (Peach 1998: 124).

On the other hand, some feminists argue that pornography is a form of art and should not be censored because it has a potential to liberate as much as oppressing women. Some others also argue that, pornography can be as pleasurable for women as for men, whether they identify themselves as female or as males exercising power and domination (Peach 1998: 126).

2. Erotic and Pornographic Movies in Turkey between 1974 and 1979

In 1970s there is an upheaval in Turkish cinema. On the one hand, there were movies that tend to give social messages and on the other hand there were movies that were counted as erotic in that period. According to Evren (1995: 21), in 1970s, television became widespread entertainment medium for the people living in Turkey and Yeşilçam pass through from a very difficult era. Yeşilçam was the cheapest way of entertainment until 1974, but it lost its power when compared to the TV. The families that were choosing the cinema for entertainment left going to the cinema and preferred watching TV series at their home such as, “Dallas”, “Charlie’s Angles”, etc. Cinemas started to be closed one after another especially in metropolis. Then, Yeşilçam tried to get over this crisis with its own methods. The only way was to make new types of movies, which were unable to be shown on TRT⁴ screens. These “new” type of movies were erotic and violence movies. The first reaction of the audience (male only) was positive and the erotic movie period started in Turkey. According to Evren, this was the only way that Yeşilçam could stay alive. Before this period, the cinema audience was composed of families but mostly women who were staying at home and going to cinema for fun. After 1974, movies in the cinemas address men in the streets who were “hungry for sex” (Esen 2000: 35). Same crisis were also in the theatres and these movie players were mostly from Yeşilçam and as well as unemployed stage actors / actresses (Evren 1995: 23).

The audience wanted to laugh, hear about light issues and want to involve and hear slang language in the movies that were not shown on TV. In these movies, which can be described as “cheap comedy”⁵, relatively “cheap” stars of Yeşilçam played, such as Ali Poyrazoğlu, Aydemir Akbaş, Bülent Kayabaş, Mete İncelel, Metin Akpınar, Zeki Alasya, Kemal Sunal, Alev Sezer, Arzu Okay, Figen Han, Ceyda Karahan, Zerrin Egeliler, Nur Ay, Mine Mutlu, etc. (Evren, 1995:24). In later years, comedy-erotic movies were not enough for Yeşilçam and they started to produce pornographic movies. The first pornographic movie in Turkey is “Öyle Bir Kadın Ki...” (1979), in which Levent Gürsel and Zerrin Doğan makes all types of sexual intercourse in front of the cameras (Evren 1995: 26). This movie is also included as a case into this study.

Before 1974, there are different periods of Turkish cinema. After 1940s, the period is named as “tear period”, after 1945 it is called as “belly period”, between 1965 and 1968 the period is called as “excellency period”, after 1974, it is called as “sex period” and after 1980s, the period is named as “arabesque period” (Karatekin 1998: 59). According to Özgüç (2000: 180) in this period a new term emerged like “dönme” (converted) movie, which identifies the movies that were produced in Turkey but includes foreign movie scenes in the same movie, in order to compose a new movie. Zerrin Egeliler is one of the first stars of the “dönme” movies.

This period was ended by the police attacks to the movie theatres through denunciations. In those years, police took 40 movies from the saloons and also Zerrin Egeliler was in the list of the stars that were taken to interrogation (Özgüç 2000: 181). In sum, in this period women were used as sex objects especially and mostly for the male gaze, movie theaters were no longer a place that families gather together, but places for men, who were “hungry for sex”, which in other words, forbidden for women.

According to Evren (1995: 44), the scenes about masturbation were used in movies not to represent the neutrality of the masturbation, but to make possible of the ejaculation the spectator together in Movie Theater. Although these movies were ordinary and cheap, they had demolished the taboos that are made through women.

⁴ The first state channel in Turkey, which means Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Institution).

⁵ As it is mentioned before, these movies could not be identified as pornographic movies, but as comedy movies with erotic scenes in some parts of the movie.

3. Selected Movies

According to Soykan (1990) in this period 200-300 movies were produced in one year. Because these movies are very old and nearly impossible to find, 5 movies were chosen among the list (totally 59 movies is listed) in Agah Özgüç's book, which is titled as "*Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi*" (2000). By "purposive sampling" method, "Öyle Bir Kadın Ki", "Ye Beni Mahmut", "İsmet Bu Ne Kismet", "Horoz Gibi Maşallah" and "Çukolata Tarlası" were chosen and by "content analyzes" technique, these movies were analyzed.

3.1. Case Study 1: Çukolata Tarlası

Reproduction: Burç Film, Director: Günay Kosava, Actor: Tugay Toksöz, Actress: İlknur Taçbaç, Total Length: 58:15min., 1975.

It is a story of a female tourist hitchhiker and a shepherd of a village. The woman and the shepherd met in the village and begun to make love immediately. The hitchhiker woman was coming from Sweden and working as a psychologist. In the story, woman is shown as a nymphomaniac. She makes love with the drivers of the cars that take her while hitchhiking and she says in the movies that rape is something that can be pleasurable. In the story, we can sense that the shepherd was not experienced in sex and relationship with women. The hitchhiker woman teaches everything about sex to him and then he became a man who thinks nothing else but only sex. He dreams a fantasy of a group sex with the women who work in the agricultural field and also a fantasy is about a girl who is wearing just a headscarf. At the end of the movie, because a detrimental intercourse was happened, the hitchhiker woman died.

In this movie we do not see a naked man image, only the women are naked. The shepherd is always wearing a long frost, whereas we always see the woman naked or with briefs. In the intercourse scenes we can see how woman's body is fragmented, as Kuhn argues and the camera zooms into the breasts and the thighs of the woman. Also in the rape scene, there is a camera shooting from top that shows the woman helpless. We can argue that in this movie, the body of a woman is used as a sex object. For example, as Mulvey argues, in the sunbath scenes we can clearly see the shepherd is peeping the woman. This is also a visual pleasure for the audience, because we are looking through the shepherd's eyes to the woman. Although we could watch a group sex scene in the movie, this is still an erotic type of a movie because in erotic movies, the intercourse is not shown, as Özgüç mentions.

In the movie, we observe that the economic and social status of the woman is higher than the man but still she is at the shepherd's disposal. She is working as a psychologist and also we can understand that the education level of the shepherd is very low, because the woman is talking about the religion and she teaches him a lot of issues about religion and science. The mise en scene of the movie is constructed well. From the environment we can understand that the story happens in a village, the dresses of man, the dresses of the women, who work in field, and the environment, the ships, donkeys are well created.

We can observe that an oppressed language used against women, like "kancık" (slang - cunt) but also she uses bad words to men like "eşşek" (slang - donkey) and "hıyar" (slang - dickhead). This situation may happen because she is a tourist and not a Turkish woman, in this way she may use these kind of words towards the man. We cannot observe many fetish objects in the movie; the most common one is the long nail with red nail polish. As mentioned before, facial impressions in the sexual intercourse scenes are very important to explain how woman takes pleasure from the activity. There are many zoom-ins to the women's faces.

The woman shown as nymphomaniac who likes rapes, who is ready for everything every time, deal with the man during sex nothing more than that. There is also a subliminal message that, because the main female characters is from Sweden, in other words, because is a not a Muslim woman, she seems to be ready every kind of relationship unlike Turkish begot women that men have at their home, like

their wives, mothers and/or sisters. We may also see this kind of misrepresentations of non-Muslim women such as free and easy in other movies in that period.⁶ For example, in one scene the shepherd says “I think I fell in love with you” and the girl says “don’t fall in love with me, just want sex from me nothing more”. She is like a sex slave with consent.

3.2. Case Study 2: Horoz Gibi Maşallah

Reproduction: Fanatic Video, Director: Semih Servidal, Actors: Tamer Yiğit, Tarık Şimşek, Actresses: Emel Aydan, Nur Ay, Total Length: 58:00 min., 1976

This movie is based on a burglary story, which is shown in the first scene of the film. The jewelry of business brothers were tried to be stolen by the thieves, but they were stolen by someone else, Cengiz (one of the male characters of the movie). This character is working with the brothers and makes an escape plan with his secretary Hale (one of the female characters of the movie). Cengiz is living with his wife and his sister-in-law (both are housewives) and Hale does not know that he is married and still making plans to trip Paris and marry him there. But the thieves that wants the jewelry began to follow him and caught him in Hale’s house. But he escapes from the house and went to a coffee house. There was a man who can fight very well and looks exactly like Cengiz. His name is Yaşar and works as a “driver”. Cengiz wanted him to change identities for one week. Cengiz became Yaşar and Yaşar became Cengiz. Cengiz wanted this situation because he thinks Yaşar is a good fighter and may beat those guys who are following Cengiz. Cengiz just wanted from Yaşar not to touch real his wife but besides that he may do whatever he wants to Cengiz’s sister-in-law and secretary. Cengiz started to live in Yaşar’s home and hide the jewelry under the bed. Cengiz was killed in the coffee house fight and the real Yaşar tried to explain that he was not Cengiz but he could not and was sent to mental house. The real thieves followed him and went to mental hospital because they also did not believe Yaşar was not Cengiz. In the end police came to the hospital and locked all the men to the jail because they found the jewelry under the bed of Yaşar.

In this movie if some erotic scenes are taken out from the movie, like strip-tease or a fetish scene this can be an ordinary action movie, which has a lot of guns and fight scenes in it. As Mulvey mentions, gun=phallus=power, which can only be used by men. In the movie, women never use gun and when they tried, they were incapable of doing so because they do not have penis. In this movie a strip-tease scene is used. As Özgüç (2000: 118) mentions, the actress of this scene is Nur Ay, who really works in a strip-tease bars in real life. In this scene, the woman looks directly into the camera. According to Kuhn (1985: 41) this look is considered as a “come-on” look, which is aware of the spectators and invites them. Also in this scene, the camera shoots from bottom, which gives power to the image, but it is not because to give power, it is because to make shooting in details, in other words to focus on every private parts of the woman’s body. And when she is not looking at the camera, the body of her is fragmented into parts, such as breasts and her tights and the view zoomed in. Besides, in this scene, a red string was used as a fetish object. Another fetish focus that is used in the movie is the secretary image, who is sitting on the man’s lap and typing only with a skirt on her. Mini skirts and high heels are used many times in the movie. It is also remarkable that, all female characters’ nails are long and polished with red polish. Black underwear is used while Cengiz’s wife and sister-in-law were making aerobics at their sitting room. Also we can see a nurse with mini skirt in the mental hospital which can also be thought as a fetish object.

We may clearly argue that, patriarchal discourse is reproduced in the movie. When Cengiz and Yaşar changed their identities with each other, Cengiz wanted him not to touch her wife although he

⁶ After Turkish citizens started to migrate to Germany to work as factory labourer, many movies started to be produced on the issue. For example in “Almanya Acı Vatan” (1979, Director: Şerif Gönen) movie, German women were represented as free and openly get in touch with men, in short, different from Turkish women in many ways.

cheats her with his secretary; he mentions that his wife is his “namus” (honor).⁷ We do not hear any oppressive words against women but we can hear oppressive and slung words from stronger men to weaker men by using women’s feature. For example; Yaşar says to Cengiz “karı gibi kırıtma lan!” (“Don’t trot like a woman!”) to express his subordinate position because Yaşar is richer than Cengiz and because Cengiz cannot fight like Yaşar and this puts Cengiz in an inferior position in manhood. By referring women in the insults, they support and reproduce the subordinate position of women in the movies.

3.3. Case Study 3: İsmet Bu Ne Kismet?

Reproduction: Fanatic Video, Director: Müfit İlkiz, Actors: Hadi Çaman, Kazım Kartal, Actresses: Necla Fide, Meral Deniz, Total Length: 55:35 min., 1978

This is a story of an unemployed men, whose name is İsmet. This man has a girlfriend who is the daughter of the owner of the house that he rented. He was looking for a job and finally found one. After some time, the manager calls İsmet and asks if he is married or not and where he lives and if it is possible he wanted the key of his house for a private work with his secretary. İsmet gave the key. While the manager and his secretary were making love the voices of the lovers went to İsmet’s girlfriend and her family and they thought the one that makes love was İsmet. While the mother and the father of İsmet’s girlfriend listening and having pleasure from the sexy voices, she was crying. Manager and the secretary made love in İsmet’s house like three or four times and every time İsmet’s girlfriend got offended and did not want to talk to him for a while. But this favor that İsmet did to his boss made him promote in his business and he came to a higher position in time with his key of the apartment. He changed his apartment he moved to a better residence and at the end of the movie we see that İsmet and his girlfriend got married, İsmet became the manager of the company and started to cheat his wife with his secretary in an apartment that he took the key from a man who had just started to the work.

In this movie, we see four secretaries and four managers. All managers are married and above the age of 40 and the secretaries are relatively young from them and single. In the intercourse scenes we cannot see any of the man naked but again we can see every part of the women’s bodies. As in every erotic Turkish movie in that period, we can see some funny images such as in one scene, one of the managers has just his underwear and tie on him. In the movie, secretary image and the typewriting are used as fetish objects again. In almost every scene of the movie, the typewriter is in the frame.

In this movie, there is masturbation scene of İsmet’s girlfriend while she was hearing the lovemaking voices coming from İsmet’s apartment. We may analyze this situation with voyeurism concept of Mulvey. Although she is angry to him because she thinks he is cheating on her, she could not took herself from listening the lovemaking voices and indulged from them. In this scene, the woman does not look into the camera and she seems like she is unaware of the spectators. As we can understand from the facial impression of her, she seems like getting pleasure from this sexual activity. The camera zooms in to the white underwear of the woman and we can clearly see the red long nails of the woman moving on her genitals. This is again can be explained by the concept of voyeurism of the spectator, according to Mulvey. While the masturbation scene goes on, the secretary starts to take her clothes off in front of the manager, again unaware of the spectators and starts to make masturbation in front of the manager with her long-red-nail hands simultaneously.

In this movie, zoom-ins of the camera is again striking. Some parts of the secretaries’ bodies such as breasts, genitals and thighs are focused. Because male characters are businessmen and female

⁷ Honor is an important issue in Turkey. Especially women and their sexuality is under a strict control in order to protect their and their families’ honor and the protector of this honor is men. Honor is also supported by İslam religion by indicating “sin” mostly. Honor crimes are exercised towards especially women if they cheat on their male partners, deny to get marry, want to get divorced and/or are raped by claiming that women are against the rules of family/society honor and deserved to be punished.

characters of the movie are secretaries, it can be argued that there is subordination against women by referring to the occupational gender segregation. In one scene of the movie, the secretary is sitting on the manager's lap with her typewriter and says "do I have to work now?" and the answer of the manager is "this is a double work, first you write then I write, first your keyboard key, then my bird" (bir senin tuşun bir benim kuşum).

At the end of the movie, we see İsmet's girlfriend with her bridal veil and the camera goes to the bottom and we see that she has an underwear; also we can see İsmet with his jacket and bow tie on him. By this scene, we understand that they are married. İsmet takes her underwear off and the camera records her in this position. Taken off underwear is used as a fetish here and also we can clearly see how patriarchal ideology is reproduced. Although İsmet was living with his own, they were dating at a park, which means İsmet and his girlfriend did not make love before marriage. We can only see them making love after the marriage. The message is having sex before marriage is inappropriate and the family is a holy institution although it is possible for men to cheat on her wife.

If we look at the mise en scene of the movie, we see that the office that İsmet works is a typical governmental institution and the first apartment of İsmet small with a few furniture in it, but the second apartment is relatively bigger and had more furniture in it, whereas İsmet's girlfriends house seems like a middle class home. In other words, mise en scene is well constructed and suitable for the situations.

3.4. Case Study 4: Ye Beni Mahmut

Reproduction: Fanatic Video, Director: Semih Servidal, Actors: Hadi Çaman, Mete İnselel, Actresses: Emel Aydan, Feri Cansel, Total length: 56:27min., 1975

Selma is a housewife who is poor and fell in love with a rich man Tanju. She got pregnant from him but Tanju did not want to marry her because Tanju's father wants him to get married with another girl, whose father is also rich. Tanju married with this woman who has a rich father and Selma had to get an abortion with the help of her own mother. Then, Selma got married with another man from her neighborhood, whose name is Mahmut and who is very ugly and stupid. Selma's mother gives her a little bottle of red polish for her to pour on the bed on the first night, as if she was a virgin. Mahmut is also a very clumsy man. He stole a bag of money from the thieves by mistake and unwillingly. After Selma and Mahmut got married, the thieves followed them to the holly moon hotel. Tanju and his wife were also in the same hotel. Tanju and Mahmut got sick at the hotel and had to lie down in the same room. The thieves kidnapped Selma and wanted to learn where the bag was but Mahmut was unaware of the bag, which he throws away unconsciously. While Selma and Mahmut were escaping from the thieves, they found the bag and went to the police station and the thieves were captured.

In this movie, it is shown that if a girl loses her virginity before the marriage, it is impossible for her to do a "successful" marriage. In this period and after the erotic movies were banned with the 1980 military coup in Turkey, most of the movies had a direct or subliminal message of virginity is the honor of women and she has to keep it until she gets married.⁸ While Selma was crying because she was pregnant and her boyfriend left her, Selma's mother asks her daughter that "is there any stupid man to marry her?" and we understand that, it is the only chance for her to get married with a low-class man. When this erotic movie had shown on the cinemas, the audience, almost all of them were male, got the message of not to get married with a girl, who lost her virginity, if you are not stupid. Patriarchal norms were again reproduced in the movie by using women's body.

We again see a lot of scenes with guns and fights. If the striptease of the nurse scene is cut off, this movie can be counted as a comedy movie. As it was mentioned, these movies are "rough sex comedy" movies but the directors defended themselves as they were producing educational movies for

⁸ "İffet" (1982) movie, directed by Kartal Tibet is one of the most known movies that has this direct message.

the uneducated people in Anatolia.⁹ A lot of silly scenario was made to make the movie funny. For example, Mahmut literally eats the rose which Selma throws from the window and when Selma put the bottle of the red polish between her breasts to pour on bed after their first intercourse, Mahmut accidentally swallows the bottle, etc.

We do not see naked women or men in this movie. They are seen only with their underwear. In the bath scene of Selma we can see Selma is having bath with unaware of the spectators, enjoying with her body and water by herself. Again the spectator is the voyeur as Mulvey mentions. Also in the striptease scene we can see the faces of the men who are looking with pleasure to the woman. As Kaplan (1983: 28) mentions, the observer is the male and the act of observe is owned by men. Again in this scene we can see that the striptease look at the camera and the camera again records from the bottom of the woman, which do not only give power to the men but also record every detail of the woman's body.

In the movie, there are lots of fetishes used. The most common one is long nail with red polish, red underwear and string underwear of the striptease girl, a nurse (which can also be used as a fetish), who has syringe in her hand and wears black underwear. The mise en scene is constructed very well in the movie. We see Tanju lives in a very big house, whereas Selma lives in a dirty low-income neighborhood. But we cannot understand the occupations of men, Mahmut and Tanju, and again the women, Selma and Tanju's wife, are housewives. It is again can be interpreted as the lower social status representation of women. It is a reproduction of the subordination of women in the society. Especially in those years, working women was not approved and because of this women's representation in the movies are mostly in that vein. We cannot hear any oppressive word from men to women.

3.5. Case Study 5: *Öyle Bir Kadın Ki*

Reproduction: Fanatic Video, Director: Naki Yurter, Actors: Levent Gürsel, Yılmaz Şahin, Actresses: Zerrin Doğan, Perizat, Total Length: 54:35min., 1979

Two couples come to a hotel for a short holiday. One of the couples is happy (Nur and Metin) but the other couple (Oya and Ali) is not happy like their friends. In the same hotel, one lesbian couple and two single male friends are staying. The lesbian couple falls in love with these young unmarried male friends. Metin and Ali left their wives at the hotel and went to İstanbul. Metin came back first and started to make plans to kill Ali because Ali is very rich and works as an engineer but we do not know the occupation of Metin. He wanted help from Oya. One of the lesbians heard about this plan that Oya and Metin talked and Metin first kills this lesbian woman. When Ali came back, Oya thought that she loves Ali and decided to start their relationship with a new beginning. When Ali is in the balcony, Metin tried to push him but Metin himself fell down. In the last scene we can see that Oya and Ali left the hotel hand by hand.

We can clearly say that, this movie is the most pornographic one among five movies. In the other movies, we cannot see the intercourse is happening but in this one we can clearly see the intercourse. Again in this movie, we can see a bathing scene of Oya when her husband watches her. She is aware of his husband's look and takes pleasure from being watched. But when husband left the bathroom, the camera took place of the husband's look. There is again record of the camera from bottom and shows again every detail of the body. There are zoom-ins to the parts of the body in this scene the most zoomed part is the genitals.

In this movie we can see a lesbian sex scene and the most zoomed parts are the faces. This can be because men cannot identify themselves in these scenes but wants to see how women take pleasure. In the heterosexual intercourse scenes we can see that camera mostly takes place of the mens' look.

⁹ Şen, M. T. (2011). "80'lerin Erotik Türk Sineması ve Dönemin Kadın Oyuncuları". <http://www.cinedergi.com/2011/04/27/80lerin-erotik-turk-sineması-ve-donemin-kadin-oyuncuları/> (accessed on 04.08.2018).

There is also a masturbation scene where the woman again was unaware of the spectators. In this scene there are zooms to the genitals and we can see the woman masturbating with red polished long nail hands. Besides, the lighting of the masturbating scene is red, as Kuhn mentions the red light means pleasure and orgasm.

In this movie, we see a naked man from his back, just his thighs. In the other movies, there were not any naked men. We also see how women are subordinated orally in Turkish erotic/pornographic movies. In one of the scenes Metin says “bitch” to Oya. Although we can understand there is a romantic relationship between Oya and Ali we do not see any sexual intercourse between them. Also in the masturbation scene Oya imagines her own husband. So we can say that although it is one of the first pornographic movies in Turkey, “holy family” ideology is very well protected. In other words, from women’s subordination to the attempt to protect the family institution, it is clear that patriarchal ideology is very influential.

According to Özgüç (2000:224), the directors tried to escape from the repetitions and tried to make new fantasies, but these fantasies became ridiculous and look like patch in the whole movie. We can see an example of these fantasies in this movie. In one scene we see Metin and his wife Nur at the top of a tree and making love. But it seems like very uncomfortable and the impression of the woman is seems like her body hurts.

4. Research Findings and Conclusion

As it is seen from the explanations of the movies, they are all composed of absurd stories and away from erotic or pornographic contents. There are some erotic scenes that may be considered as “seduction commerce” (Özgüç 2000: 177). In the study, Turkish erotic and pornographic movies are examined between 1974 and 1979 and I argued that patriarchal discourse is reproduced by subordinating and oppressing female characters. According to the findings of the study, the subordinate position of women is clearly seen in the movies. Demographic properties of female and male characters are as following;

Table 1: Demographic properties of the female and male characters in the movies

	Female (n=16)	Men (n=15)
Occupation	Housewife: 7	Criminal: 1
	Nurse: 1	Businessman: 3
	Secretary: 4	Shepherd: 1
	Psychologist: 1	Manager: 4
	Strip-teaser: 1	Driver: 1
	Unknown: 2	Engineer: 1
		Unknown: 4
Marital Status	Married: 5	Married: 8
	Single: 11	Single: 7
Residence	Rural: 0	Rural: 1
	Urban: 16	Urban: 14
Religion	Muslim: 14	Muslim: 15
	Non-Muslim: 2	Non-Muslim: 0

As it is clear in the table 1 above, when the occupation of female and male characters are considered, we can say that women in erotic/pornographic movies are socio-economically in inferior than men. Generally we can say women are not shown as workingwomen in these movies and if they are they work outside house, they are in an inferior position relatively to men. Just one woman is characterized as a psychologist, but she is not Turkish. For example, if they are not housewives, women are mostly shown as secretaries under a male manager. Using secretary image is for both representing

women in inferior positions and also used as a fetish for the audience. Whereas male characters in the movies are mostly managers and/or businessmen.

According to their marital status, we can see in table 1 that, although there are more single female and male characters in the movies. It can be argued that, it is again from the prevalent patriarchal structure of the society. We see that married and single male characters' numbers are nearly equal, which in other words, it does not matter if the male character is married or not to have sex other than their wives. But female characters should be single because it is inconvenient for married women to have sex with a man if he is not her husband. In this context, in the movies, we cannot see any married women having sexual intercourse except their husbands but the married men are having sexual intercourses with any women, their wives or not.

Except "Çukolata Tarlası" all movies' stories are taking place in urban areas. Although all men are Muslim there are two non-Muslim women in the movies. It is acceptable for men to have sex with a non-Muslim woman but for woman, it is not bearable. The spectators may take it offensive for all the women in the nation and their national feelings may be hurt from a patriarchal point of view. It could have the same feeling as the land is occupied by the enemy soldiers. From the appearances of women, we can say that they are younger than male characters. There are some actors above 40, having sexual intercourse with young women. For example managers with young secretaries. This is also a reflection

of the prevalent conservative ideology of Turkish nation. Women must be younger than men to get married. This is also another fetish of men, young women are frequently used in the erotic/pornographic movies worldwide.

We do not hear oppressive words to women frequently; there are only two words in five movies. The first one is "kançık" (cunt) and the other one is "bitch", whereas we see a lot of oppressive scenes using the record techniques of the camera. According to Kuhn, in pornographic movies, women's' body parts are fragmented and the piece is focused and emphasized. In all movies women bodies are fragmented and zoomed for the pleasure of the male spectators. If it is an erotic movie the thighs and the breasts are zoomed, but if it is a relatively pornographic movie, the genitals of the women are added to the zoomed display. Also the facial impression is emphasized very much to explain the spectator that the women are having pleasure from whatever the man does, as a partner or as a spectator. Facial impression's importance is mentioned by Kuhn (1983) as expressed above.

In these movies we cannot see any naked men interestingly, whereas we see every detail of the women's bodies. Just in one scene naked body of a man is shown from back in "Öyle Bir Kadın Ki..." movie. This can be again agued as the subordination of women and the movies are for male audience.

According to Mulvey fetishism "builds up the physical beauty of the object turning it in to something satisfying in itself" (cited in Kaplan, 1983: 30-31). Another point is focused by Kappeler (1986: 262), "fetishism implies a refusal or halting of the unfolding of the narrative as logic of cause and effect in favor of a fixed knowledge and it requires repetition without difference". According to these explanations some objects are identified as fetish in line of Özgüç's (2000: 134-136) explanations. According to him, fetish object is something that makes the sexual feelings awake and provides orgasm. In this respect, red, black and white underwear, high heels, mini skirt, red nail polish, big breasts, typewriter (implies secretary image) and nurse are identified as fetish objects of the movies.

Table 2: Fetish objects in the movies

	ÇUKULATA TARLASI	HOROZ GİBİ MAŞALLAH	İSMET BU NE KİSMET	YE BENİ MAHMUT	ÖYLE BİR KADIN Kİ...
RED UNDERWEAR	-	+	-	+	+
BLACK UNDERWEAR	-	+	-	+	-
WHITE UNDERWEAR	-	-	+	-	-
HIGH HEELS	-	+	-	+	-
MINI SKIRT	-	+	-	-	-
RED NAIL-POLISH	+	+	+	+	+
BIG BREASTS	+	-	-	-	-
TYPEWRITER	-	+	+	-	-
NURSE FIGURE	-	+	-	+	-

According to the table 2 above, we see that, most frequently used fetish object is red-polished nail, which is used in all movies. The second common used fetish object is red underwear, used in three movies, the third most common used fetish objects are high heels, typewriter, black underwear and the nurse figure, each of them is used in two movies. The last common used fetish objects are, white underwear, miniskirts and big breasts, each of them is used in one of the movies. From the fetish objects we see that all of them are about female bodies. In this regard, we can clearly say that these five movies are made for male and/or lesbian-bisexual spectators, but not for heterosexual women. Although some movie critics argue that women can also enjoy erotic/pornographic movies, we cannot see any fetish objects for heterosexual women in them.

In these movies we can also see how women are used as gaze objects both for the spectator and for the actor in the scene. There are a lot of scenes used in the movies that men are watching women. For example the secretary is taking her clothes off when manager is watching in “İsmet Bu Ne Kismet”, the bath scene of the woman in front of her husband in “Öyle Bir Kadın Ki...” and the sunbath scene of the hitchhiker girl when the shepherd is watching her in “Çukulata Tarlası”, these are the basic examples of peeking. According to the peeking scene distribution in the movies, the findings are as following;

Table 3: Peeking scene distribution in the movies

	ÇUKULATA TARLASI	HOROZ GİBİ MAŞALLAH	İSMET BU NE KİSMET	YE BENİ MAHMUT	ÖYLE BİR KADIN Kİ...
BATHING SCENE	-	-	-	+	+
MASSAGE SCENE	-	-	+	-	+
STRIP-TEASE	-	+	-	+	-
SEXUAL INTERCOURSE SCENE	+(not detailed)	-	+(not detailed)	-	+(detailed)
ORAL SEX	-	-	-	-	+
ANAL SEX	-	-	-	-	-
CUM SHOT	-	-	-	-	-

According to table 3 above, the most common used scene is the sexual intercourse. This scene is not used in two movies “Horoz Gibi Maşallah” and “Ye Beni Mahmut”. In these movies, strip-tease scenes are used instead of the sexual intercourse. Masturbation scene is used in two movies “İsmet Bu Ne Kismet” and “Öyle Bir Kadın Ki...” but the quality of the scene was different in these two movies. In “Öyle Bir Kadın Ki...” camera was showing and zooming every detail of the genitals of the woman, whereas in “İsmet Bu Ne Kismet” movie, we cannot see anything except the breasts and the white

underwear of the female character. We also cannot see the genitals of her. The underwear of the female character in “İsmet Bu Ne Kismet” movie is white because she is from a low-income family and relatively a pure young lady, who was fooled by her boyfriend with marriage promise. In short, she represents a woman from a moral family by her white underwear. Oral sex scene is used only in “Öyle Bir Kadın Ki...” movie because it is pornographic and hard-core scenes can be used. It was an oral sex from man to woman. We do not see any oral sex scenes which is from woman to man. Also we cannot see the men’s genitals, anal sex or cum shots in the movies. Pornography and eroticism had limited in those years for Turkey, as it has a conservative and a Muslim community. Men were hungry for sex movies in those years, but they were acceptable to some extent, especially when the actors and the actresses of these movies were also mostly Turkish and Muslims.

There are two different situations of women while masturbating and doing strip-tease. In strip-tease scenes, the women are aware of the spectator and look directly in to the camera, according to Kuhn this is the “come-on” look. This gives both the feeling of embracement and pleasure. The second situation is when women are masturbating in the movies. In these scenes, women are seemed like unaware of the spectator and his look. According to Kuhn this gives the pleasure of voyeurism.

The editing of the movies supports the subordinate positions of women according the status and the story and also the mise en scenes of the films are supporting the editing. The environment, the clothes, the accessories, etc. Women are always relatively poor, from low-income families, from low socio-economic status, they are less educated, work relatively lower status jobs than men or they are basically housewives. They are represented as purely sex objects. Although these are erotic/pornographic movies and pleasure is the only goal, the inequality between female and male characters in the movies reproduce the patriarchal ideology of the society once again and also it is dangerous especially for younger male generation to have a misconception as women are ready for everything every time and whatever men do, women get pleasure from it, even it is rape.

Generally it could be said that, the media is used as a tool to protect the subordinate position and reproduce the patriarchal discourses. Movie is a channel, which helps this situation. But in pornographic movies the condition is worse. Because in these movies women are represented in subordinate positions according to men, like in any other movies. But in pornographic movies the women are also represented as the sex objects who do not say enough to sexual oppression and had violence and gets pleasure from every act those men do to them. So we can say that there is a double oppression to women in those movies. As Kuhn argues (1985: 23) pornography is a commodity that is brought and sold and in another where she mentions that “pornography confutes femininity with femaleness, femaleness with female sexuality and the female sexuality with a particular part of the female body” (Kuhn 1983: 40).

In short, in the movies, we may clearly examine that women are misrepresented as the feminist theorists argued, who are ready for sex every time, nymphomaniacs and getting pleasure from every sexual act of men, including violent acts. In this regard, the representation of women in the erotic movies is stereotypical and different from the women that the audience knows from their small society. These movies also represent men as ready to cheat on their girlfriends and wives. By doing so, the patriarchal ideology they put women in a subordinate position is also reproduced by these kinds of movies in 1970s. That may be one of the reasons of never-ending nightmare, violence against women and female femicide in Turkey. Besides, the appearance of women and the language (mostly slang) used in these movies are also supportive for the subordinate position of women in the society.

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