

**GENDER ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY DISCOURSE  
IN TWO NOVELS: THE CASE OF GREECE AND TURKEY**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GENDER ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY DISCOURSE IN TWO NOVELS: THE CASE OF GREECE AND TURKEY**

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This thesis study analyzes the construction of a common national self, which bears the characteristics of a dominant male figure, over the mirror image of the other nation's women. It is believed in this thesis work that without examining the complex gender relations and gendered identity politics within national projects, it is not possible to understand the concept of nation. Accepting that nation is an -imagined- product of modernism and gendered identity construction takes place in the core of the creation of nation, it is believed that novels constitute an appropriate field of analysis because of their imagined structure and because their subtexts enable the researcher to focus on the identity production. The cases of Greece and Turkey as two nation-states that construct their national selves over the reflection of the other provide a proper base for a comparative analysis. The main aim of this thesis, in this context, is to come close to the understanding of nations and the oppressive gender relations within the nation-states focusing on the creation of the male national common identity.

Keywords: Nationalism, feminism, Turkey, Greece, discourse analysis.

## ÖZ

### ULUSAL KİMLİK SÖYLEMİNİN TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET AÇISINDAN İKİ ROMAN ÜZERİNDEN İNCELENMESİ: YUNANİSTAN VE TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma egemen eril bir nitelik taşıyan ulusal ortak kimliğin öteki ulusun kadınları tarafından aynalanarak oluşturulmasını incelemektedir. Bu tezde savunulan görüş uluslar içindeki karmaşık cinsiyet ilişkilerini ve ulusal projelerin cinsiyetçi kimlik siyasetini incelemeyi ulus kavramının anlaşılabilirliği için amaçlamaktadır. Bu tez çalışması içerisinde ulusun modernizmin – hayali- bir ürünü olduğu ve ulusun yaratılmasında cinsiyetçi kimlik siyasetinin merkezi önem taşıdığı kabul edildiğinden, romanların, kurgusal yapıları ve araştırmacının kimlik üretimine odaklanmasını sağlayan alt metinlerinden ötürü, analiz için uygun bir alan oluşturdukları düşünülmüştür. Kendi kimliklerini birbirlerinin yansımalarından kuran iki ulus-devlet olarak Türk ve Yunan örnekleri karşılaştırmalı bir analiz için gerekli temeli sağlamıştır. Bu bağlamda, tezin ana amacı ulusal ortak eril kimliğin oluşumuna odaklanarak ulus-devletlerin içindeki baskıcı cinsiyet ilişkilerine ve uluslara daha yakından bakabilmektir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Milliyetçilik, feminizm, Türkiye, Yunanistan, söylem analizi.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION: HANOUMAKI AND MADAM.....	1
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
2.1 Introduction: The Invention of the National, Gendered Identity .....	10
2.2 Nations, Identities and Novels.....	12
2.3 Gender and Nation.....	27
2.4 The Birth of Greek and Turkish Nations.....	40
2.5 Conclusion: The Sexual National Discourse.....	62
3. THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS .....	66
4. ANALYSIS	
4.1 Introduction.....	76
4.2 Analysis of the Novels.....	90
4.2.1 Honor of Nation Discourse.....	90
4.2.2 Discourse of Feminization.....	113
4.2.3 Woman as Land Discourse.....	126
4.2.4 The Dangerous Other.....	141
4.3. Analysis of Women’s Position Within the Nation-State.....	151
4.4 Conclusion: Women, Honor, Land and Nation-States.....	168
5. CONCLUSION.....	176
REFERENCES.....	192
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: LIST OF BOOKS ANALYZED IN THE THESIS.....	201

APPENDIX B: DIFFERENT FORMS OF OTHERNESS ANALYZED IN THE THESIS.....	202
APPENDIX C: LIST OF CHARACTERS IN THE NOVELS.....	205



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: HANOUMAKI AND MADAM

The Greek word “hanoumi” or “hanoumaki”, similar to the word “hanım” in Turkish is used for Turkish and Muslim women in Greece. As a matter of a fact, the definition of “muslim” in Greek life, still, is used to describe the Turkish identity. The Turkish word “madam”, also the pronunciation of French word “madame” in Turkish, is the name given to non-Muslim women, especially to women citizens from minorities of Turkey and in the past, the Ottoman Empire. Choosing the two words, *hanoumaki* and *madam* as the name of the introduction chapter of this thesis study because the representation of these two categories has a point in the representation of *the other* in the Turkish-Greek conflict. The categories may seem to oppose each other, however in the appearance of the other in the nationalist discourse, as this thesis work aims to reveal, femininity’s subjection to masculine values within the nation creates a similarity in their experiences of femininity under the national burden.

This thesis study assumes that there is a close relation between *nationalism* and *masculinity* which externalizes women from the main discourse and makes them a representation of the national attachments, and therefore, by being the subject of the discourse who does not have the right to create its own discourse within this structure *hanoumaki* and *madam* no more represent opposite sides. Here, it should be stressed that the above statement does not only refer the position of women within the nation-states but mostly the construction of national self according to male self in the *unconscious realm*, which is seen in this thesis study as the starting point of the hegemony of the nationalist discourse. There is close resemblance between the male construction of self over the will of being *a whole* (resulting from the castration complex) and nationalist discourse’s will to unite the

members in one absolute, unique identity. Therefore, a parallelism can be constituted between the hegemonic structure of nationalist discourse and the *law of the father*, which gives the object the language and the rules of the existing system (including patriarchy). Women's role in both of the structures –nationalism and patriarchy- becomes to be the other of men. Femininity appears in nationalist masculinist ideology as a reminder of man's wholeness in opposition to the *sense of lack* created from the *rule of the father*, the ideology itself. Consequently, in the masculinist nationalist discourse, hanoumaki and madam become neither the national nor the other; but a space, a signification of *lack* in the masculine national discourse to stress the male properties.

As a result of this construction of male self women are positioned in the *otherness* which is the key concept of this thesis study. It is believed in this work that even otherness is a product of the patriarchal discourse; it is also the reminder of the impossibility of a union within the identity and therefore becomes the *deconstructive* element of the discourse. The other examined in this thesis work has a dual otherness, both as woman and as woman of the other nation. The emphasis given to this dual otherness is an outcome of the value of the other woman to represent otherness by stressing them two times in her identity. In this respect, it is believed that femininity; even women take responsibilities in national movements, still remains isolated from the brutal -and fearful at the same time because of the male fear of feminization- structure of nationalist discourse. For this reason the two categories brought together rather than creating a distance between them.

The aim of this thesis study is to draw attention to the articulation of masculinity, national movements and writings to create a male identity without receiving the affects of lack. The starting point of the particular aim comes from Afsanah Najmabadi's asking and conceptualizing in a different way the famous question of Benedict Anderson:

For such an imagined community<sup>1</sup>, what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? (Anderson, 1991:7).

Najmabadi approaches the same question from a rather unquestioned point of view in the nationalist discourse: from the superficial presence of women in the nationalist structure.

The role of gender relations in the perception of the national identity and the issues of national production and reproduction processes are neglected subjects in ethnicity studies because of the general claim that humanity is a unitary category and the general representation of humanity from men. Women are subjected to represent the national attachments and as such are not present in the nationalist domain. She answers Anderson's question by giving reference to the need of analysis of the complex gender relations, which should be examined in the light history and context (Najmabadi, 2004: 130).

Adopting her point of view, the research question of this thesis is determined as "How does the other woman character influence the construction of the national character in the case of comparative Greek and Turkish literature?" to come close to the understanding of *otherness* created by gender relations within the national discourse. Even though the nationalist ideology tries to fill the gaps in the common identity of its male members, as it is attempted to be depicted in this work, it fails to reach a perfect whole sense of identity because of the very tools it uses. The tools are the women as the complete others of men. To understand, resist and deconstruct the force of nationalism, which divides people in its complex and troublesome identity politics, and reduces the differences into a lack to maintain its stable identity *otherness* as the very product of sexual national discourse becomes the key to reveal the unquestioned and unanswered aspects of this particular ideology.

However, when the focus is shifted from men to women, the questioning of inner dynamics of nations brings more questions to answer.

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<sup>1</sup> Imagined community: nation, Anderson claims that nations are communities that are imagined through the modernization process rather than being eternal facts.

After observing that women's presence is subjected to men within the national sphere, it is seen that the result challenges the claim of nation-states on the liberation of women. In discourse of nationalism femininity is accepted as a liberated category from the oppression of the previous regimes. The feminist analysis approaches the same problem from a different side and interprets the end of the previous patriarchal structure as the beginning of a new one articulated with the demands of modernity. In the nationalist discourse articulated with patriarchy, women's being out of the discourse but being also a metaphor dedicated to national men's construction of a common male identity brings the questions that are referred by feminist scholar Sylvia Walby: "Is women's lesser militarism a cause of lesser nationalism?" and "do women less often think war for nationalistic reasons is worth the candle because they have fewer real interests in 'victorious' outcome, since it would make less difference to their place in society than that of men?" (Walby, 2004:247, 248). Adopting Anderson's and Walby's questions, this thesis work ask one more question about women and nationalism: "Is women's passivity destiny in the national area?"

The theoretical chapter includes three sections to give an adequate basis for the questioning of nationalism according to the questions above. After the introductory section, the "Nations, Identities and Novels" section approaches the nationalism over the works of modernist scholars such as Anderson, Gellner and Hobsbawn who examined nations as products of modernity. The main work referred in this second section is the "Imagined Communities" of Benedict Anderson who gives the key importance in the imagination process of nations to cultural artifacts. Parallel with his analysis, the second section makes the reading of the *invention* of nations over the influence of cultural artifacts yet; it is believed that without mentioning the psychoanalytic development of self, the importance of the cultural artifacts cannot be understood entirely from the aspect of the strong relations between the individual and community. Cultural artifacts, in this sense, are seen as the creators and supporters of the national *prototypes* with their strong relation with the unconscious realm. As a result of this parallelism, the

section also examines the same theme over the use of metaphors for the development of a united sense of identity in the psychoanalytic sense.

Briefly, starting from the research question on the construction of male national identity over the figure of other women, this thesis study essentially aims to emphasize the different ways of construction of otherness. It is believed that making a methodological study on gender differences and discrimination within the nationalist discourse, this thesis work while stressing the important points on the previous feminist studies on nationalist discourse once again, also will come close to the clarification of the blind areas in the nationalism studies. At this point the following questions appear since the emphasis is directed in the construction of otherness because of a feminist concern on women's subordinated status within the national sphere. As a way to challenge the existing oppressive discourse, it is believed in this work that the existence of a counter discourse is necessary. Yet, the problem is women's existence out of the dominant discourses. The questions on women's belongings with nationalism are directed to the possibility of such a feminine potential of a challenging discourse. In relation with all the questions above the last question will be answered on the data found in the analysis chapter.

The examination of the above issues cannot give an adequate answer to the questions directed in this thesis work because of the unique representation of communities' members. The third section, the "Gender and Nation" tries to achieve a more broad area in the study of nationalism adding the gender perspective to the subject. As the feminist research on nationalism depicts, nationalism cannot be completely examined without adding gender relations within the society. The section, while filling the gaps remained from the mainstream studies on nationalism, on the other hand concentrates on the gendered structure of the nationalist discourse in addition to the subject of previous section. Psychoanalytic perspective is also revised in this section by giving reference to the feminist scholars' works on the construction of self focusing on the resemblance between the access to

the gendered identity and the access to the system which ties the individuals self to the common properties of the system.

To examine the above issues, the area for analysis has been chosen as novels. The literary works of Greece and Turkey, as the artifacts of two nations that create their national sense of identity over the other's reflection, provide the basis of such an analysis, by being a reflection of the wider nationalist discourse. The fourth section, "The Birth of Turkish and Greek Nations", is an attempt to approach the establishment of Greek and Turkish nation-states from the perspective obtained from the previous two sections of the theoretical chapter. However, the main aim of this thesis work is not to limit the subject with case of Greece and Turkey but to achieve a general study of nationalism by making a methodological examination of the texts from these countries.

The analysis, as it has been indicated above, is a rather methodological analysis since it is believed in this thesis that the importance of gender relations is to be stressed by studies done in the light of the feminist analysis. The case of Greek and Turkish literatures is taken as an example of the relativity between *text* and *context*.

Since the birth of nations are written on texts (such as maps, doctrines, treaties) it is impossible to regard the importance of text in the creation of nations. Moreover, the main characteristics of a nation are based mostly on the assumptions in texts and the literary heroes in narration. In the re-writing process of nations, in order to extend the nation in the history, national literature becomes the *unconscious* of the nationalist ideology. In other words, national literature is the area where it is easier for the researcher to analyze the symbolism that the nationalist discourse uses and the possible roots and essences that the symbolism reveals. It is claimed that the relativity between *text*, *discourse* and *context* in the research question can at best be analyzed through the specific methodology of the *discourse analysis* in which main points in the methodology are the importance of the use of method rather than the method itself and to investigate the construction of social reality via language and reflexivity, which offers

collaboration with other bodies of theoretical works (Phillips & Hardy, 2002:5). In addition to the use of discourse analysis, this thesis work also utilizes the *poststructuralist approach*, which on the analysis of meaning and relationships of power crosscuts the subject of this thesis study. The emphasis given to language, discourse, difference and deconstruction in the poststructuralist approach enable the feminist analysis to challenge and deconstruct the oppression on women by evaluating the very oppression from its construction and function within language and discourse. Since it is seen a parallelism between the construction of self and national object, on psychoanalytic development of self will also be one of the key elements of the analysis of the novels.

To analyze the formation of male identity production in the selected novels, **Kapetan Michales** by Kazantzakis and **Devlet Ana** by Kemal Tahir, the methodology of Phillips and Cynthia Hardy has been adopted, which demands from the researcher (a) to establish what the novels constructed and (b) to examine how the construction from binarities between gender relations related to the formation of (male) national identity (ibid: 76).

To search the male national identity production with the mediation of varying forms of otherness, the first step is to (a) find out which common objects have been constructed in these two novels. According to the findings of the first step, the objects represented in two books are summed up in four categories as *man*, *woman*, *nation* and *land*. All categories have also two distinct subcategories, which are divided between the *national* and the *other*. The emphasis on the otherness and the different shapes the concept of otherness takes within the texts brings the necessity of a detailed explanation on the different versions of otherness within the analysis, which will be examined in Appendix B. Since the otherness is created according to masculine notion of femininity over different characters, a list of characters that are mentioned in the analysis will be placed in Appendix C to prevent complexities.

After the description of what the categories constructed, the second step is to (b) analyze the novels in terms of the way in which the four objects

have been constructed. The relation between the objects and the way they take place in the books will be analyzed under four themes which are:

1. Honor of nation Discourse
2. Discourse of feminization
3. Woman as land
4. The dangerous other

The analysis, because of the specific importance given to novels within this thesis, involves also the methodology of *comparative literature*, which is essential in such kind of a literary analysis. Even there is not a distinct methodology in comparative analysis of literary works, the four basic fields, which are: influences and analogies; movement and trends; genres and forms; and motifs enable the researcher to build an analysis appropriate for the subject. The use of *motifs*, which is composed of a fundamental element, conventional situation, interest or incident (Jost, 1974:21), provides this thesis an appropriate area to examine the role of the other woman figure in the novels.

The analysis chapter includes two sections. The first section is the domain where the research question is directed. On the “honor of nation” discourse is to find the intersecting points between the honor, nation, woman and land, and the ambivalences that categories carry in their structure. As a complementary section of the previous analysis, the “discourse of feminization” deals with the repressed feminine destructive power which flows from the stable structure of nationalism as a threat to the unified vision of national men. In the analysis of the third discourse, “woman as land” in which the woman and land represent each other, the goal is to achieve the perception of the lacks in the male national identity tried to fulfill from the sexual national discourse. “The dangerous other” can be considered as an early conclusion chapter, in which the main emphasis is on the ambivalence resulted from the positional structure of otherness. The masculine national discourse while creating an other for itself, varying its meanings in order to



reach its desire to create national manhood without lack; also creates its destructor because of the unconscious fear of maleness from women.

The question's on women's bonds with national projects and the possibility of a counter discourse of women take place in the second section of the analysis. In this second section, the results of the previous section of analysis are questioned in the second section to represent the oppression of women in the social life to make the understanding of the previous section better. The section includes the questioning of two issues, citizenship and militarism, which constitute effective examples to show both the male dominance within the nations and the ambivalent structure of nationalist discourse.

In the light of the evidence founded in the end of analysis, it is aimed to stress the importance of gender relations in the studies of nationalism and the different constructions of otherness for the sake of the wholeness of the national identity. The emphasis given to the ambivalences within the structure of nationalist discourse is to reveal the "imagined" structure of nation-states and the patriarchal construction of self. After finding out how the national character is constructed in the very discourse, this thesis study aims to develop a perspective on the reasons of the women problem in the nation-states and the possibility of an emancipation project for women within the national borders.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Introduction: The Invention of the National Gendered Identity

*National identity* is a contentious concept in the research on nationalism, which becomes more complex with various approaches on the essence of nations. To understand how the national identity is constructed requires a specific emphasis on certain concepts such as the establishment of nations, the use of *cultural artifacts* in the creation of national myths and the construction of self from a psychoanalytic perspective. These three important steps to analyze the construction of national self are closely related with the side this thesis work takes among the various approaches on nationalism.

The claim on the imagined structure of nations in this thesis study adopted from the perspective developed by the works of three scholars – Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawn- which deconstruct the mainstream understanding of nations as eternal facts. The central point of their work is the parallelism between the start of modernism and the access of nations as a new way of leading communities. The change in the knowledge on the concept of nation, which is started to be seen as a product of modernity rather than an antecedent structure brings the question on how the strong affiliation between the member and the nation is constructed regarding that it is a new and rather imagined structure of authority.

The second section of the theoretical chapter, the “Nations, Identities and Novels”, includes the questioning of the very problem. From the way that the works referred in the second chapter and especially the work of Benedict Anderson, the “Imagined Communities” opens, the second section examines the reasons under the strong affiliation that nation’s member feel for their

community. The key concepts in this examination will be the role of the cultural artifacts as Anderson stresses their importance and in addition the psychoanalytic parallelism between the self and national self. The psychoanalytic perspective, in the second section focuses on the importance of the symbolic elements to create a community base on the sameness of the members, which create a close resemblance with the construction of male self of identity in unconscious realm. However, since the particular section refer only the works and point of view of male scholars; it shares the same problem with the *gender-blind* studies on ethnicity to develop a complete understanding of the complex bonds and identity politics of nationalist discourse.

The third section, the “Gender and Nation”, aims to fill the lacking points in the gender blind analysis on nationalism by giving reference to the works of feminist scholars. The starting point of this section includes a similar concern with that of the scholars referred in the previous section on the bonds of that tie the existence of members to a group people –who do not know each other- under the extensive structure of nations. The main point that the third section adds to the works of mainstream scholars will be basically the impossibility to understand what a nation is and how its discourse operates without giving reference to its gendered structure and the gender relations within the complex identity politics of nations. In the particular section the main emphasis will be on the difference between male and female members’ adoption of nationalist projects and male domination within the particular projects. The analysis of the dominant discourse of nationalism will be examined in relation with the influence of the psychoanalytic construction of *hegemonic masculinity* and the impact of literature’s role, which supports the hegemonic masculinity with the symbolization of femininity.

The fourth section of the theoretical part, “The Birth of Greek and Turkish Nations”, will try to approach the construction Greek and Turkish national identities over the influence of cultural artifacts and their metaphorization of feminine identity. The necessity to add the particular

section to the theoretical chapter comes from the will to understand the context that the two novels analyzed in this thesis study produced through. Even this thesis work includes a general examination on nationalism, it is believed that the novels essentially belong to the national tradition of their countries and without giving any reference to the national history of Greece and Turkey, the point of both of the novels on the construction of national identities will not be fully understood.

## 2.2 Nations, Identities and Novels

What a *nation* is and what its origins are have been central to the analysis of different approaches. Even the broad explanation of a nation as a group of people who assume to have a solidarity based on common characteristics have been accepted, the problem has become to decipher the reasons under the intersection of national identities, the perception of the bonds and the factors of nation (territory, state-or a similar political status, language, culture, history). While the primordialists<sup>2</sup> view national attachments as givens, the instrumentalists<sup>3</sup> focus is on the socially

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<sup>2</sup>Primordialism tends to see the elements of ethnicity (religion, language, culture etc.) as the givens of a group of people like the spots of a leopard. Primordialism first brought into the scene by Edward Shills (1957) who has observed in his inquiries that group dynamics are held together by solidarity to primordial ties (kin, territory, religion) (McKay, 1982:396). His ideas has led to the construction of a body of literature on ethnicity which suggests that these bonds are similar with that of kinship so ethnic groups find themselves from birth in a strict sense of solidarity and the givens because they are attached to individual by emotional bonds direct individual's whole life. Geertz who is influenced by Shills' thoughts points out in his analysis on ethnicity that primordial ties are the drives that tie personal identity to the dynamism of modern state (Hutchinson& Smith, 1996:8).

In the primordialist point of view ethnicity is taken for granted as a static and naturalistic given. The components of ethnicity are seen as initial structures that come before the construction of complex political developments and since they are static and natural a separation between people from different ethnic groups according to these givens is unavoidable (Smith, 2002: 34). Myths have a vital role in the approaches of the group called "ethno-symbolists" such as Armstrong and Anthony D. Smith who explain ethnicity as an artificial belief about continuity of a group based on nostalgia that has been forgotten and recalled (Hutchinson& Smith, 1996:10). Such kind of an analysis, even it has been highly criticized, has some advantages like the perspective that shows the great emotional strength of primordial bonds which cause the death of thousand men or the murder of another thousand man to defend a nations territory, honor, freedom. However, this approach remains limited if focus is shifted from emotions to economic and political interests.

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to primordialism, instrumentalist approach sees the sense of belonging unstable in relation with different needs of one group. Whereas primordialists focus on the long-term emotional attachments to the givens, instrumentalists interpret ethnicity as a short-term economic interest

constructed structure of the nation and on the effects of modernization on the formation of nations. In each approach, the problem of solidarity and identity take place in the core to determine the essence of the mutual relationship between the individual (or a group of people) and the community. The characteristics of a nation, even the approaches interpret the essence of it differently; remain the same as the building blocks of the ties between national identity and the community. These characteristics, which do not only constitute borders but also the national identities, are:

A common proper name to signify the community,  
A myth of common ancestry that provides the idea of a common origin and a sense of fictive kinship,  
Common historical memories of a common past,  
Elements of common culture that includes religion, customs and language,  
A common territory, a homeland which they live or which they have symbolic attachment like Diaspora communities,  
A sense of solidarity (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996:6-7)

What these factors make up or according to which political concern they function, as a sum, create a complexity when it comes to conceptualize the individual's adoption of these values. According to Bauer "*the question of the nation can only be approached from the concept of national character*" (Bauer, 1996: 41) The national character's importance lies in the difference *he* creates from the other nations' members even they share the same

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through which the affiliations retain so long they are useful for interests of the group (Bentley, 1987:26). The ethnic symbols are mobilized by conscious efforts of groups. It has been pointed out by van den Berghe that ethnic symbols, which the affiliations are directed to the continuity of the roots, are parts of an *ethnic game* with their help to the continuity of the existing political and economical system (McKay, 1982:399). While the general emphasis remains on the socially constructed structure of ethnicity, this approach shows varieties for different scholars. For scholars such as Brass and Cohen, competition of higher classes to gain the support of the masses and the achievement of political goals become the initial reason in creation of an ethnic group. According to this way of analysis the actors join ethnic communities in order to gain wealth, power and status. Some other scholars tried to develop alternative traditions of enquiry on ethnicity. Barth's *transnationalist* as one of these new dimensions suggests that ethnic groups are units of ascription that are perpetuated by social boundaries. Another scholar Horowitz approaches to ethnicity through cultural kinship myths and a sense of group honor in interactions of different groups (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996:10). The criticisms for instrumentalism focus on the generalization of the world as a whole, their neglect on emotional power of ethnic bonds and oversimplification the relationship between class and ethnic factors by theories of economic or cultural determinism (McKay, 1982:400).

economical, social standards and in the common features he has with the members of his nation in spite of the individual differences. The national character is created in the era of national projects as the marker of a nation who appears as *an autonomous historical power* (Bauer, 1996:58). Accepting the common features, which construct a homelike unity, a kinship between his nation's members, he is also the eliminator of the differences within the society. However, the autonomous representation leads to a fetishism of the national character, which obstructs the realization of the fact that the relationship of a nation with its members, through the history, the memories of past generations, determines the desire and action of the national people. In this sense, regarding the ties between the individual and the community, national identity exists at two levels: the individual sense of self as national and the identity of the collective whole in relation to others of like kind (Verdery, 1996: 229)

To form a nation or to belong to a nation, as Miller points out, is not simply a matter of criteria but also a matter of people's beliefs about themselves (Miller, 1999:18). In this process of perception of national people's past through a selective stressing of certain positive values about their forebears, according to Epstein, history plays an important role, which prevents them providing an authentic, objective record (Epstein, 1978: xiv).

The problem of identity and perception in researches on nationalism is mostly constructed on the *natural/artificial duality*, which cause a debate between the two camps - primordialist vs. instrumentalist. According to which factors (given or by-product of system) people perceive their relationship with their community and on which base they construct their identity have been studied from these approaches to solve the problem about the essence of a nation.

The main idea of the primordialist thought is the nation's continuity from earlier periods –the golden ages-, which inspire members of the nation for their belonging to the nation. Individuals attribute primordiality to the ties of religion, blood, language, region and custom, which create long established givens that cannot easily be renewed. The concept of

primordialism can be summarized in three distinct ideas, according to Ellner and Coughlan: The first one is the perception of primordial ties as given and underived attachments, which are accepted as natural rather than *sociological*; the second one is attachments' being a direct result of belonging to a group which makes them ineffable; and the last one is the explanation of the primordial bonds as emotional (Ellner and Coughlan, 1996: 45). Briefly, the primordialist thought challenges the evidences on the modern structure of nationalism both as doctrine and political action. The critiques of the primordialist thought aim at the psychological reductionism inherent in this perspective, the insufficiency the primordialists have in explaining how some people act differently in terms of their ethnic bonds during the times of social change and what elements of commonality are embodied in different symbols like name and religion (Bentley, 1987:26).

Anthony Smith offers a more different and more acceptable version of the primordialist approach drawing a bond between *ethnies*<sup>4</sup> of past centuries and modern nations, claiming that both the ethnies and nations are based on shared myths of ancestry, histories, cultures in association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity (Smith, 2002:30). Trying to illustrate the transformation from ethnies to nations on the issue of the importance of the continuity in the myth-symbol complex for modern nations, Smith can be considered in an "in-between" status which is neither instrumentalist nor modernist. However what nations has offered and still offers to a certain degree, is not only the continuity of myths and symbols but also the production of modern myths and symbols assumed to have continuity from the past (Breuilly, 1996:151). Modern myths -such as the claim of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, on the Sumerian roots of Turkish nation (Anderson, 1991: 12) - is an underestimated subject in Smiths work showing that even the myths of ancestry are vital for the nations this does not prove the "objectivity" and "ancientness" of particular myths but weakens the primordialist approach's stress on the golden ages.

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<sup>4</sup>*Ethnos* is the Ancient Greek word from which the term ethnicity is taken from. The common idea of several meanings of *ethnos* was of a number of people or animals that share some common characteristics, which were different than those of Greeks ((Hutchinson & Smith, 1996:4).

On the other extreme the instrumentalist approach shifts the focus toward circumstances and transformation, taking ethnicity as a social, political and cultural resource for different interest and status groups. Ethnic tension and conflict are seen by the instrumentalists as the result of the conscious effort of individuals in pursuit of their interests. Briefly, this approach suggests that the notion of nation is not a natural and necessary component of society and history but a *by-product* of modern developments like capitalism (Smith, 2002:30).

Aspects of modernity appear mostly in the later works of the instrumentalists and differentiate from the previous works by offering new dimensions on the process of being a nation. New dimensions in studies on nationalism, such as those of Anderson, Gellner and Hobsbawn, start the appearance of nations from 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe as a result of particular historical developments. According to Anderson and other modernists such as Gellner and Hobsbawn nations are not universal and eternal facts, but modern formations as direct results of particular developments in European history. After a major and distinctive change in the social conditions of the mankind, a brand new formation, which consists of neat and homogenous political units that successfully differ from each other by *culture*, has come into being (Gellner, 1996:98). The idea of modernization and being a nation, which has been developed in these works as closely connected with industrialization and nationalism is mostly linked with the concept of *invention*. According to this perspective, nations are invented through an ideology of *cultural homogeneity* that can cope with the differences between social groups. When the old structures of authority lost their unitary power in the years after 1789 the problem was to find a unit for the exercise of popular sovereignty, and thus the *nation*, based usually on language, was the only solution (Seton-Watson, 1977:13). In this respect, as Gellner points out, nationalism has not been a part of the pre-modern societies, because the elites and the peasants have been separated from each other with strict cultural boundaries, which cause the impossibility for such kind of a society to develop an ideology which could cope with this division (Smith, 2002:32).



Cultural homogeneity, as the success under the continued existence of nations, lies in the core of the analysis in Anderson's work. The greatest achievement of nationalism, mostly as we see in his work, is to create a *homogeneous, empty time* (Anderson, 1991:24) for its citizens in which the idea of a *solid community moving down (or up) in history* is formulated (Anderson, 1991:26). His argument on the *imagined* structure of nations is supported by Gellner's well-known phrase: "*Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist*"<sup>5</sup> (Anderson, 1991:6).

Anderson analyzes the creation of nations as a result of important changes in the perception of the world and humanity. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Anderson stresses, all the classical communities have been held together by the *sacred language*, which is assumed to have a bond with the absolute and eternal power of Lord. The decrease of Latin as a result of the exploration of the non-European world (creating a comparative field), the decrease in the power of nobility, and the appearance of print-capitalism (Anderson, 1991:12-22) has led to a new perception of solidarity to appear in the European world. The achievement brought by print-capitalism was basically creating a *horizontal time* for all the citizens who have never met and probably would never get together. The members of one nation assumed to be effected from the same national political events who can read the same news everyday assumed to belong to a group of people who have same interests and thus live in the same *horizontal time* of the nations. Since a nation is communal and controlling; welcoming and warlike at the same time, print-capitalism played the role of equilibrium to manage the ambivalence that nation holds.

However, it is inevitable here to stress the objection directed to the Western oriented structure of his work. Even Anderson tries to analyze nations' coming into being as a universal fact, he fails to discuss the impact of great powers on their colonies in the process of modernization. As Partha

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<sup>5</sup> Anderson excerpts Gellner's phrase from: Gellner, Ernest (1964) *Thought and Change*, Weinfeld and Nicholson, London, p. 169 (Emphasis added)

Chatterjee argues, nationalism, in some cases such as the Indian case, is not an inner force, which invents nations; some nations have to be invented by challenging the directions determined by outer forces. Hence, the result of such a project creates not a similarity but a difference with the modular forms of the Western national society (Chatterjee, 2005:407). Another point about being a nation is that nationalism does not have to occur under the same circumstances, nor is it static. It transforms at the same with the transformation processes of nations. Chatterjee gives the example of the transformation brought by the bilingual elite of Bengali, who affected from European tradition but also tried to formulate their own Indian tradition as a response to the state and European powers (ibid: 408). Still, Chatterjee's important argument does not reject totally the importance of cultural artifacts in Anderson's work.

Accepting the objections made to its being Western oriented and neglecting the gender relations in the nationalization processes (which will be mentioned in detail in the next chapter), Anderson's emphasis on the importance of cultural artifacts in the invention of nations is the motivating power of this thesis study since the primary aim in deciding this particular subject depends on calling attention to the relation between writing and nation in the emergence of the dominant ethnic identities and the subordinated others. Basing on the Anderson's work, to make a start for the emphasis of this thesis study on how we became *us* and how the *other* emerged in contrast to our identity, it is important to perceive why a nation is an *imagined community* and the modes of the rationale behind such an imagination.

One of the major tools of the imagination process, as Anderson points out, is the foundation of the print-capitalism Anderson examines the importance of print-capitalism for the formation of national consciousnesses in three steps: Print capitalism, firstly, managed to create solidarity between people in the same language field and the *embryo* of the nationally imagined community was formed in the *secular, particular, visible invisibility* of people who were connected with print. Secondly, language gained a new fixity,

which supported the idea of antiquity as one of the nation's components. Lastly, it created the languages of power, through the elimination of the other dialects of languages (Anderson, 1991:45)

To fully understand this very contribution of an endless time from past through present and the assumed simultaneity of citizenship, Anderson gives the example of the novel and the newspaper that form a *national imagination* (Anderson, 1991:26). In this respect, the creation and transmission process was materialized with the impact of the cultural artifacts. The idea of a nation has been shaped as a continuous narrative of national progress, which gives a nation a horizontal and eternal structure; which crosscuts the different interest, class, and gender effects within one community and forms an image of their communion in the minds of people who actually do not know each other.

It is a re-establishment of national identities, which are simply the individual level of defining oneself from a culturally defined collectivity through the inheritance of ancestors (Miller, 1999:5) that writing of nation through the myths, heritages and symbols offers to nationalism. This process, since it should alter in relation with the new dimensions taken by industrialism and modernity, do not only produce but also *reproduce* national identities over and over again, which is required by the complex identification politics of nations. Nations' fictive structure, written continually from a *perfecting memory*, can produce new identities in which the former national character can turn into the *other* in one critical moment of change of borders. In Rubina Saigol's work on militarization, nation and gender, the case of Bengal and Pakistan is given to exemplify this ambivalence of nations. East Bengal, which was a part of Pakistan, later became the enemy and many soldiers from Bengal died for defending Bangladesh, their new motherland against Pakistan, their former motherland (Saigol, 2004:246).

In such a critical identity problem, for the benefit of the solidarity of nation, we see the significance of the arbitrary signifiers, which by separating language from reality and by stressing some events and not stressing some

others, edit the reality, such as newspapers that can be seen also a novel/one-day best-sellers, do everyday (Anderson, 1991:35).

Novel, as a genre, which is directed by political tasks such as the creation of the *folk character*, *national language*, takes a definite place in the formation of nations, not only by standardizing language or supporting *national* print media, but also by representing the image of nation:

It was the *novel* that historically accompanied the rise of nations by objectifying the 'one, yet many' of national life and by mimicking the structure of the nation, a clearly bordered jumble of languages and styles (Brennan, 1993:49).

Nation, an *impossible unity* as it takes place in Homi K. Bhabba's writing, is an image accomplished as a result of the attempt to produce the idea of a continuous narrative. The historical necessity of a nation proves itself with arbitrary signs and symbols that signify the effective life of the national culture in which the narration becomes a signifier of the *nationness* and the modern society becomes the site of *writing the nation*. The nation becomes a metaphor to gain reality and as a metaphor it can turn into: *Amor Patria*, *Fatherland*, *Pig Earth*, *Mothertongue*, *Matigari*, *Middlemarch*, *Midnight's Children*, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, *War and Peace* (Bhabba, 1993:293)–or **Kapetan Michales** and **Devlet Ana** in our case.

Novels, giving the nation its fictive reality are tied to the national time by the tool of nostalgia which renders the national life parallel with the needs of modern times:

Nations make use of nostalgia in the construction of national identity. The myths of any nation appeal to the national nostalgia and encourage identification with such nostalgic images as the nation's 'founding fathers', or some 'golden age', or decisive events in its history and the culture of the people. Nostalgia is a particularly useful tool for nations at times of crisis, despair, urgency and transition (Steinwand, 1997: 10).

Nostalgia, which owes its viability to cultural artifacts and especially to the novel, as the incomplete but more perfect representation of what is

longed for, enables this thesis study to be written. A nation's nostalgia and undying faithfulness to the past make possible the formation of national identities in the core of a frozen, idealized moment from the past. From the spatial and temporal distance it necessarily has, the subject, separated from the object of its longing (Steinwand, 1997: 9), is established and re-established continually in the process of memorizing and perfecting the previous images.

Through this process of writing the nation, we reach the national identities, which are tied up to each other and the clarified, oversimplified image of the *other* to construct a 'perfect' representation of the national. On the other hand the *other*, as fictive as the *national*, becomes the inseparable half of the national.

### **The development of self**

The duality between the national and the other requires a specific stress to the identity production, if the main focus of a research is to understand how and why people create their sense of belonging to their communities. The importance that lies beneath the necessity to decipher the complex identity politics in nations is disclosed in Anderson's unanswered question:

For such an imagined community, what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? (Anderson, 1991:7).

The utterance of the term "complex" is a result of the self's incomplete structure for which a basic comparison between two opposites remain insufficient to explain the inner structure of identity. Epstein; in his interpretation of Leach's observation on self and other within a particular context adds the plurality of identity: "*none of us has just a single identity*" (Epstein, 1978:100). Giving reference to Paul Schilder's phrase "*there is no sense in 'ego' when there is no 'thou'*", Epstein argues that the self takes

shape in response to the presence and reactions of the others, which is mainly connected with the unconscious:

(...) identity, by contrast (to the variety of social roles given to a person P.K), is essentially a concept of synthesis. It represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self. (...) Finally, it may be observed that because identity touches the core the self, it is also likely to be bound by powerful effect; cognitive in one of its aspects, it is also fed by taproots from unconscious. The more inclusive the identity, therefore the deeper its unconscious roots and the more potentially profound the charge of effect. (Epstein, 1978:101)

Here the problem is how to mediate between the construction of national identity and the psychoanalytic approach on the self. As a beginning it is useful to remind that, what national projects as imagined –artificial in one sense- communities need to build their structure on symbolic elements since the aim is to create an *order of the same*: an ostensibly homogenous organization. The exigency of this sameness is the difference of the other side, which gives the nation its uniqueness among the others. There is no national hero, no national success nor victory, which has not encountered with the other. The symbolic elements represented in the formation of national identity allows the researcher to create a relationship between the *self*, *nation* and *other* to perceive how one ties his fate to that of the nation unconsciously, basing on the national projects' goal to achieve a unified male sense of national identity version. For this thesis study, as a result of the "other"s necessity for the male national identity production, it is inevitable to mention some important points on the development of identity as it takes place in psychoanalysis.

Following Lacan's interpretation the key concepts to understand the formation of national identity based on unconscious roots are basically lack and Desire. Ragland-Sullivan in her reading of Lacan stresses the importance of four principles in the formation of cultural and subjective knowledge, which are (1) a taboo of incest between the infant and the

mother; (2) a lack in the center of being resulted from the loss of the first love object (mother); (3) objects of desire to recover the lack created by the loss; and finally (4) the attempts to relieve the experience of loss by depending language and identity myths that constitute subjecthood (Ragland-Sullivan,1989:42).

The concept of *absence*, which begins in the mirror stage, resulted from the impossibility to see a whole self in the reflection is the starting point of inside and outside, subject and object, self and other and some other binarities of this kind (Grosz, 1990:35) and the search for a unified identity:

It takes as its own an image which is other, an image which remains out of the ego's control. The subject in other words, recognizes itself at the moment it loses itself in/as the other. This other is the foundation and support of its identity, as well as what destabilizes or annihilates it. The subject's identity is based on a (false) recognition of an other as the same (Grosz, 1990:41).

The self passes from two important phases. In the first one, the primary importance is on the sameness and in the other it is on the difference. The realm of the mother, the *Imaginary*, grants the infant a unity between it and mother, which would be destroyed by the access to the *Symbolic* order, which is governed by *language* and the *Law of the Father*. In the Symbolic realm the imaginary unity of the infant with the mother shifts into difference, which lacks the previous unity and since it lacks it desires continually to fill the lack. The Symbolic order is the realm where the infant becomes a speaking subject by its access to the language and culture; however it is also the order in which to become 'I' means at the same time to become 'I am not':

The desire for our mother which reappears in the language we speak is returned to us in the spaces between words, in the hesitations and stumbles which frequently gives the lie to the meanings our words try to convey though never where we see can know it directly. So our identity in language, which at first sight seems so seductively stable, is always potentially de-

stabilized by our unconscious desire and loss, the part of us that feels a sense of longing, *an emptiness lying like a shadow behind the confidence of the 'I' we use in our sentences*<sup>6</sup>. (Minsky, 1996:142)

*Lack* and *Desire* then, become the constitutive parts of selfhood and culture created by lacking and desiring individuals in the *reign of Power*<sup>7</sup>. The reign of Power, the *Phallus* in other words take place as the organizer of the system. In the particular new system of language and paternal law father takes the oppressive role, which fragments phantasies in order to maintain the system:

The father is experienced as the source of all authority (...) The Oedipus Complex represents for Freud the beginnings of morality, conscience, law and all forms of authority. The father's real or imagined prohibition of incest is symbolic of all the higher authority to be later encountered; and in introjecting this patriarchal law the child begins to form what Freud calls the 'superego', the punitive voice of conscience within it (Sarup, 1992:5).

In this awakening to a new social world with dual relationships the experience of the boy and the girl is different. The interpretations of the effects of the access differ among mainstream and feminist psychoanalysts, which will take place in the next chapter.

For this chapter the two important points are infant's access to gender and the reflection of the subjecthood to the culture.

The beginning of a gendered identity appears in the first repression caused by the father's role of separating mother and infant, which leads the beginning of the unconscious. Father as an influential signifier of sexual difference with his proximity to Phallus becomes an example for the child that there is a difference between the sexes in which *those who 'have' rather than 'lack' it are privileged* (Minsky, 1996:150). The transformation of the infant into a gendered subject makes s/he a part of the system of Phallus in which

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<sup>6</sup> Emphasis is added.

<sup>7</sup> Reign of Power: The Symbolic Realm



the sexes are evaluated by their closeness to the Phallus. Phallus is not a sexual organ indeed; it is rather a signifier of power or an *empty symbol of castration and loss* (Minsky, 1996:154). Entering into a new system requires the adaptation of the child to a structure in which things gain their meaning according to the difference they have with the others. It is also the point, where a parallelism between the operations of difference in the culture can be drawn, in order to examine the differences in which nationalism operates.

The understanding of the difference is the point of transition to the culture that create a gendered based difference at the first step between the male and the female and the representations attributed to them. Women's role in this very system is to be created only with reference to the male sign since they belong to the group that 'lack'. Individual's progression in the new order –in society and in family- with the third term -phallus- *depends on its unconscious recognition of difference, exclusion and absence* (Minsky, 1996:151).

### **National Identity and Otherness**

Looking back to the formation of nations in relation the effects of lack and desire, what nationalist projects brought via the unconscious chains of communities become visible in their fictive structure. The aforesaid effects add another *imagined* dimension to the structure of nations: a dimension with unconscious and sexual roots operating over the idea of *sameness* and *superiority* and between differences among others. National characteristics can only be built in contrast with the other nations since the notion of identity exists only in context of oppositions and relatives (Tonkin, 1996: 24). The others are perceived as the opposites, if not enemies, that a nation constructs itself over their negative reflection. The notion of 'other' in this sense is the complementary factor of the absolute and whole identity of the national character, which seeks continuously the unity of its identity over the lack of the other and in the representation of its national time strengthened with nostalgia.

Here, it should be mentioned that the *national character* created in novels is a male and also a *hypermasculinized* character. However in the case of the “other” we can talk about another *Janus-faced*<sup>8</sup> characteristic of nation. One of the biggest ambivalences questioned in this thesis study is the determination of nation both as one and divided. It is divided since it needs an other not only outside, but also inside and it is again divided since it loses its identity in every critical political stage and tries to fill its lack by re-writing the national identity. The “other”, which is stressed in this work, is both the other nation and the natural other of man: The Woman. It is not a coincidence but done for the sake of creating a homogenous, horizontal community that, in national novels the plot owes much of its meaningfulness and nationness to opposite characters, which is described with their sexually inadequate, feminized characters. Through this devaluation and feminization process of the other, women take place both in and out of the national borders. They are *national* since the national unconscious use them as a metaphor of possessing the land but they are also *out* because of the feminized representation of the other and masculinized representation of the national.

Turning to Chatterjee’s objection, can we establish a parallelism between the colonized other, which does not take place in Anderson’s work, and with the woman or gender relations, which are not stressed in this study, either? If the representation of the national is masculine, then what is the place of women inside the nation and the national novels? Whose imagined community is this, which is imagined over the other and tries to possess the other? To answer these questions, the complex and gendered identity politics of nations and the role women played in the formation and continuity of nations will be discussed in the following chapter.

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<sup>8</sup>Tom Nairn in his work *The Break-up of Britain* (London: Verso, 1981) names the nation as ‘the modern Janus’ because nationalism both includes progression and regression under the effect of capitalism and claims that it is by nature ambivalent.

Janus: A Latin god represented with two faces looking in opposite directions.  
Janus Faced: deceitful

## 2.3 Gender and Nation

The literature on nationalism, especially after the Second World War, has revised its previous stance through a more critical one, which tries to create a distance between itself and nationalist movements. After the publication of three important books –“Imagined Communities” by Benedict Anderson, “Nations and Nationalisms” by Ernest Gellner and “The Invention of Tradition” edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger- a new paradigm for this area has appeared. According to the common assumptions of these books, “nation” is perceived as an invention of modernity, which in close articulation of capitalism and industrialism. The invention process includes as an inseparable part of it, *the invention of tradition*, which turns new communities from groups of people into old nations. To perceive nationalism with all its aspects, the focus has to be shifted from the political area to the cultural area to see it as a sum of the leading ideas behind the social, economic and cultural structures. The analysis of such kind of a cultural area should focus on the fact that nation, rather than a formation of a significant period, is a *narrative*, which requires a continuous description period.

The general tendency of such research on nationalism is to find the articulation of different social groups to nationalist projects to uncover the components and unifying reasons behind formation of nations. The analysis of this perspective, generally, concentrates on the equality that is created between groups from unequal social, cultural and economic standards. Even these steps are extremely clarifying to understand the formation of nationalist projects, since gender has not been regarded as an important factor for the creation of such projects; the conclusion has failed to illustrate the whole. Different ways of adoption of nationalist movements of women and men remain as an invisible, unidentified area. Anderson and other authors of that period examine the nationalists (also pre-nationalists and anti-nationalists) without considering their gender, which leads nationalism studies to conceptualizing the emergence of nation simpler than it is. Parallel with this false simplicity, the amount and diversity of the power relations behind the

structure of nationalist movements can not be seen entirely (Enloe, 2004:207). With the help of the second wave<sup>9</sup> feminist scholars a new reading for the previous *gender blind* studies on nationalism becomes available. In the light of the feminist research, it becomes clear that the participants of the invention process and the members of the communities that are invented are not genderless. On the contrary, according to the feminist stance the whole process of becoming a nation is established on the gender dichotomy and the superiority of one gender over the other as one of the basic elements of nationalism. *Women are not imagined to be national citizens* (Wilford, 1998:11). With the rise of feminist studies on the subject, the previous research on nationalism has been criticized by feminist scholars because of the masculine structure of them:

Political man. In the light of a quarter century of 'second wave' of feminist scholarship, the title of Seymour Martin Lipset's classic treatise on politics seems almost quaint in its masculinist exclusiveness. The same can be said for Ted Gurr's *Why Men Rebel* or for the ungendered, presumptively male discourse of T.H. Marshall's *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* or Karl Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication* or Barrington Moore's *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* or Samuel N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan's *Building States and Nations* or Perry Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. Even Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* is a tale of one gender: men and the making of modern France, Russia and China. (Nagel, 1998: 242)

Feminist scholars perceived this gender exclusion -at best - as gender blindness or -at worst- as gender chauvinism. Feminist responses to the absence of women in works on nationalism have been developed in two dimensions: The first attempt was to make women's participation and leadership visible in nationalist movements and the second attempt tried to put out the mechanisms that keep out women from political institutions,

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<sup>9</sup> Beginning in the early nineteen sixties, Second Wave Feminism focused generally on the sexist structure of power and the politicized structure of personal lives.

movements and decision-making processes (Nagel, 1998:243). As a result of these attempts, one of the biggest contributions of feminist analysis to research on nationalism is to determine that the formation of nationalist movements includes more complex power relations than it has been illustrated in non-feminist studies. Yet, these contributions, since they focus mainly on women's presence or absence in nationalist movements, cannot fill the remaining gaps in complex formation of nationalist unities adequately.

That is not to neglect, however, the presence of important feminist analyses on this area of study. Scholars such as Enloe, Jayawardena, Pateman, Kandiyoti, Anthias and Yuval Davis approach the same subject with a feminist concern different than the previous feminist studies. These approaches principally focus on different masculine and feminine formations in the core of nationalist projects, which bring new questions and survey areas in analyses on nationalism. Rather than aiming to show that women were also there marching with men in the establishment of nation-states, latest studies discuss the rationale under women's presence in such projects and in what circumstances women has been included in the fiction of nationalism. In the core of this modern fiction, some feminist researchers see the masculine effect as the establisher of a fictive feminine essence and focus on the assumption that women are the indispensable biological, symbolic and cultural reproducer of the concept of nation (Yuval Davis, 2003:19).

Aiming to find out the reasons behind the exclusion of women from the theories of nationalism, and to highlight the relations between ethnicity and gender relations, feminist scholars approach the problem from different aspects, which created a *conceptual and political minefield* according to Wilford (Wilford, 1998:1). In spite of their importance for the continuity of nations, theorists have questioned both the public/private dichotomy, where the women are located in the politically unimportant sphere of private (Pateman, 1988) and the foundation theories of Hobbes and Rousseau that create a parallelism between civil society and male characteristics such as intelligence and aggressiveness (Grant, 1991). During the process of

examining the role of women in nations and nationalisms, feminist scholars' researches create an alternative explanation for the reproduction of nations, which challenge the roles dedicated to intelligentsia in the building of nations. This claim takes its most obvious shape in Yuval-Davis' work where she suggests that it is not only the intelligentsia but also women that reproduce the nation (Yuval-Davis, 2003:19). Yet, as feminist scholars point out, the problem is not being included in a movement or not but the circumstances of the inclusion. This very point leads us to analyze the link between masculinity and nationalism as well as the women's place in the male-dominated movements.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis conceptualize what women mean for a nation under five major categories:

As the biological reproducers of ethnic collectivities,  
As reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic groups,  
As transmitters of culture in the ideological reproduction of collectivities,  
As signifiers of ethnic and national differences as a symbol and focus in ideological discourses for the construction, reproduction and production of ethnic and national categories,  
As participators of national, economic, political and military struggles. (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:115)

The focus on reproduction in the five categories (if the last category is taken as the reproduction of the struggle itself by participation) above enables a reading of nationalism on its eroticized and gendered structure. Even the fifth category seem to be out of the gendered structure by carrying women to the political area, Anthias and Yuval Davis state that also as active participants, women invariably are left holding the wrong end of the citizenship stick, which is itself gendered and racialized (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992:127).

The representation of women, which constructs them as the *mother* of the nation and also the nation as a female leads the reader to ask the possibility for the women to adopt the nationalist projects as the men do. Without rejecting women's presence in the movements, this thesis study

accepts the assumption of the feminist theorists that there is a masculine structure in national(ist) movements. That is to say, women's presence in movements does not change the fact that the roles of women inside the nations and national projects are written by men. The feminine essence in the making of nations is an artificial structure designed for women to support the making of nations and men in relation with each other:

It is to say that the scripts in which these roles (*of women as participants of national projects*, P.K.) are embedded are written primarily by men, for men and about men, and that women are, by design, supporting actors whose roles reflects masculinist notions of femininity and of women's proper 'place'. (Nagel, 1998: 243)

There is a parallelism between the building of nations and the building of the hegemonic modern masculinity. Nagel calls attention to the general description of man by giving reference to what he is not. Being a man means at first *being not a woman* and it is created in contrast to other class, race and sexuality based masculinities (Nagel, 1998:247). Inside the nationalist movements the hegemonic masculinity takes the first place as an actor and there are strict bonds between the modern masculinity and nations. (Ibid: 249). Because of the male dominated structure of nations and the nationalist projects, this thesis study aims to stress the impossibility of perceiving the complex gender politics of a nation or a national movement without examining masculinity. That is not to neglect women's importance to understand the creation of national ideologies but to believe that the fictive femininity created by masculinist notions can be understood better by such an examination. What masculinity illustrates for us, in this respect, is the parallelism between the manhood and nationhood which constructs, according to Pettman *the nation as female and women as mothers of the nation, responsible for its physical, cultural and social reproduction* (Pettman, 1996:187).

The *masculinist-nationalist ideology* describes the bonds of ethnic and national categories in a familial language which turns countries into

*motherlands*, homes and the relation between members into *kin* and *blood*. The familial metaphors that are imagined in modern nations create the spirit of nationalism focusing mostly on *fraternity*, which excludes women from the social contract (Najmabadi, 2004:129). Women are supposed to take place at home as the *mothers of the nation* and men play the role of the *fathers* who protect their mother country and the mothers of their country. In this nation-family, children become the kin. In other words nation becomes the stage where the conventional roles are represented and re-produced. The bonds of fraternity, the importance of protecting the women and what they symbolize, and the focus on maternity are supported by myths and lessons from the past. According to Enloe, this return the past occurrences belong a particular period, after mobilization, which happen in every national movement (whether they manage to be a state or not). She proposes that these myths and lessons, which are highly gendered, constitute a basis for the strategies directed to interests and for the national identities (Enloe, 2004:213).

Gendered myths, eroticized lands, symbol bodies, family-like nations: The gender relations and inequalities influence the nationalist projects in an indispensable way. The borders of nations are drawn with gender relations and inequalities, which needs a specific focus on the unconscious roots of nationalism once again. Yet, the difference in the perception of gender differences between the mainstream and the feminist scholars in their conception of gender, requires a re-reading of the terms cited in the previous chapter. The binarism constructed between the male and female poles is seated in the core of feminist analysis in contrast with the biased psychoanalytic approaches, which equalize women with *lack*. The main problem in the specific gendered view is the approval of one gender's authority over the other:

Lacan insists that the power symbolized by the phallus is unjustified because it is based on *symbolic castration*. He reminds us that within the sexual sphere, sexual difference, our gender, is achieved only at a devastating price for the boy, the one who possesses the phallus. (...) Likewise, the girl's achievement of her gender identity is only gained at the price of



a catastrophe-the acceptance of a lack of what her mother wants and what bestows cultural/social identity and power. The girl therefore, as *the lack*, is constituted, as it were, as a negative. (...)

It is because it is so easy to confuse the most he most obvious sign of difference for the child –the visible, physical penis- with the phallus, the cultural sign of power, that the construction of ‘femininity’ can never be on the basis of anything other than lack, of ‘not having’ and therefore ‘not being’. (Minsky, 1996:154)

Feminist analysis examines such a classification under the same category with its subject of examination. According to feminist analysis the researchers are affected in their research from the same unconscious identity problem, which stipulates a “have and have not” discourse:

The theory of the masculine Oedipus complex is a theory of male dominance. Contempt for women as penis-less creatures, and identification with his father in their common masculine superiority, are normal outcomes of the masculine Oedipus complex. (Chodorow, 1989:169)

Always being conceptualized with respect to masculine parameters, the manifestation of female sexuality’s own language has been prevented according to Irigaray. A language different than that of men, a plural language, not one but not a zero, not a lack as it has been dictated in patriarchal psychiatry. Representing a horror, *the horror of nothing to see* for phallogentric culture, women have been situated in the status of a lack, a *black hole*, a use value, a commodity (Irigaray, 1985:23-31). Depicting the female sexuality as inferior and more problematic than male sexual development, mainstream psychoanalysis, as Irigaray suggests, is a reflection of masculine fantasies into the realm, a mapping of the patriarchal situation and a misreading (Irigaray, 1985:65), *a prescription rather than a description of patriarchal culture* (Minsky, 1996:195). As a commodity, which is not able to create their place in the market, women are to be represented as the opposite:

Women's social inferiority is reinforced and complicated by the fact that woman does not have access to language, except through recourse to 'masculine' systems of representation which disappropriate her from her relation to herself and other women. The 'feminine' is never to be identified except by and for the masculine, the reciprocal proposition not being 'true'. (Irigaray, 1985:85)

Within this perspective, there is a direct relationship between women's being out of the discourse, being spoken and being a subject of masculinist nationalist discourse. The woman stereotypes taking place in the emergence of national consciousness as dutiful, honorable mothers and daughters of a nation and as step-daughters, mistresses, prostitutes or empty subjects of other nations waiting to be conquered are the mirrors of a search for sameness, which to be a whole should be dominate over the subjects out of discourse.

This thesis study's subject is generally related with the fourth category described by Yuval Davis: *Markers of ethnic and national distinctiveness*. This category mostly stresses that women have a *symbolic value* for the nation. Yet, the women in this thesis study are not the national women but women from the other side who symbolize the lacks of the other nation and the wholeness of the nation which she mirrors. However, being from the other side does not change their symbolic role since they are still the metaphors of the land, nation and men's honor. The sexualized structure of nationalism, while creating a distance between the women and the men, replaces the other woman and the national woman together since being from one side or the other does not change the roles required from the side of the women. The women in both cases constitute an *otherness* for men to construct their manhood as superior and whole. On the one hand the construction of *patriotic manhood and exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology* (Nagel, 1998:242) stigmatizes women's bodies with honor and obedience and on the other it does not restrict their roles by borders of one nation. The difference is in the masculinist notion, which

considers one as the honor of nation and the other as the danger for a nation:

But only the national women are the Beautiful Ones. other men's/nation's/state's women, especially those who have been racialized or otherwise othered, may be exotic, licentious, tempting, dangerous, inferior, but they are not Beautiful like the home/national woman is. (Pettman, 1996:189)

As it is assumed in this thesis study, nationalism does not only make a difference between the two sexes but, it is also a *masculine idea*, which by nature dominated from one sex:

Nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope (Enloe, 1990:45).

That is why, in the complex identity politics of nations and national projects women's bodies serve as battlefields to be protected from rape of the other or to be raped to defeat the other. In nationalist narrative this very system remains the same, which will be examined in the analysis chapter of this thesis work. What this system offers can be categorized under several titles, which includes rape, race, military and family planning, a social, political, economic encirclement that illustrate the creation of a nation inside the unconscious realm as well as in the conscious realms. In Chodorow's words, *our being sexed and gendered (our sexuality and our gender identity) is built right into social organization* in which the gender classification and social, political and economic domains or psyche and society cannot be separated easily (Chodorow, 1989:168) .

In the unconscious realm, which is supported by the images highly connected with desire, nation becomes the object of desire (Saigol, 2004:231). In this complex sexual ideology the nationalist discourse is constituted on women's bodies in which the women take place as the signifier and symbol of country, nation and home. The primary actor of this sexual-national discourse is man and his desire that also constitutes the male

identity by possessing, protecting and loving the woman-nation. By eroticizing the nation and the land, the nationalist discourse takes women's presence under control in both the conscious and the unconscious realms. The most powerful key of this discourse is the creation of national honor from sexual honor and vice versa.

In such a system of representations, it becomes harder to differentiate the women's actual bodies and the representations of their bodies. This complexity leads the policies focus on women's bodies and their relations with other men and women (Pettman, 1996:192). The primary duty of women, to reproduce collectivities, in accordance with varying circumstances, is controlled by different population control policies. Since birth is the most important way to be a member of a nation or ethnic group, in times of war where rapes occur very often, it is also a danger from the inside of the nation that may lead to the loss of the *purity* of the nation. The reproduction policies during Nazi Germany (while forcing German women to accept German soldiers to bear child from them, sterilization and abortion policies for Jewish women were being developed) constitute a good example for the importance of women's bodies in the nation building process (Yuval-Davis, 2003:69). One of the best examples for the relation between feminine sexuality and male honor reflecting to the policies is the situation stressed with the idiom *child of the barbarian* which means the child of the violated woman. In many countries, as Pettman exemplifies in her analysis, even their reproduction policies are against abortion, the general tendency is to bring new policies that allow abortion of the child of the barbarian. Pettman gives the example of the violated French woman whose rape has been translated as the violation of the France's (a feminized France) national honor and whose babies' abortion has been perceived as a national duty (Pettman, 1996:189).

Colonized nations constitute an important base to see the power relations inside the gendered politics of nationalism where rape is perceived as a way to construct the imperial power. This perception leads women's bodies easily to become a signifier of resistance against the colonial power

such as the Algerian women during the resistance against French colonialism. Algerian woman took place in the independence war both as the symbol of the struggle and the target of the colonial power. Their ethnic clothing (the veil) marked the cultural differences between the east and west. The meaning of being a symbol resulted from the struggle's primary aim: to protect the honor and the reproductive source (mother) of the nation. As a response, to defeat the resistance, the colonial authorities stressed the necessity to open the veil of women, which can be seen as a metaphor of violation (Yeğenoğlu<sup>10</sup>, 1999:115-116).

Violation seems to be directed towards the women to assault the male/national honor, yet, it is not only limited with women's bodies; in different violation cases the translation of violation into the male and national discourse is related with feminization and women's bodies. That is to say, not only women are violated during the wars; men may also be raped or suffer from sexual humiliation. Since being a woman is to be inferior in the male unconscious, sexual humiliation and rape are effective weapons against men and their state. In this sense the nationalist discourse makes itself clear: Regarding the relation between the symbolic and the real in the national unconscious, men who are violated become feminized and this way their right to protect and possessed the woman/nation is taken from them. It is "simply" a matter of honor that surrounds, controls and oppresses women in the building of nations.

The gendered politics of nationalism are reflected into the military discourse as we see in the cases in Nagel's work. As she exemplifies, rape, penetration and sexual contest are not only used as actual male weapons in wars but it also takes place in the names of the weaponry. The masculine imagery creating a distance between other side's feminine weakness and his masculine power become visible in the case of US missiles targeted on Iraq during the Gulf War, on which the phrase 'Bend over, Saddam' was written:

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<sup>10</sup> Yeğenoğlu quotes this example from Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*: New York, Grove Press, 1965

Such sexualized military discourse is very much from a heterosexual standpoint, as is clear when we consider the imagery of rape during the 1991 Gulf War: attacks that needed to be defended or retaliated against were cast as heterosexual rapes of women ('the rape of Kuwait'); attacks that were offensive against the Iraqi enemy were phrased as homosexual rapes of men ('bend over, Saddam') (Nagel, 1998:258).

As it is seen in this case, eroticizing the woman/nation has a reference to sexual danger as well as control, which has concrete results such as rape or hidden meanings such as victory or defeat that has a connection both with the women's bodies and with men's honor. The gendered politics of nationalism and its 'sexual subtext' are formulated through *feminizing* or *hypermasculinizing* men (Pettman, 1996: 188).

In the domain of national literature these codes are as effective as in the real life of nationalism. As Najmabadi points out, the woman is perceived in two ways inside the heterosexualized national literature of men: as mother and as beloved woman. The discourse, which establishes the country as a woman's body, in the case of Iran, is formed by the articulation of classical literature of love into nationalist poetry (Najmabadi, 2004:133). Thus the beloved-Iran in the literature of patriotism becomes the mute subject of male desire (Najmabadi, 2004:58.)

National, patriotic literature does not only include the national women, it needs a *counter figure* to prove the necessity of the sacrifices for the nation. Hence, *the image of the other woman* (which can be used both as a negative and positive metaphor) is mostly a very common figure in literature. The other woman is, also in national literature, evaluated by the same criteria on honor and eroticism. As it is believed in this thesis work, in these cases the aim ascribed to the national man seems to have two parts. The first one is to create a national-male identity over the lacks of the other woman/nation and the second one is by taking other woman into the national borders or extending his masculinity until he takes the lands she symbolizes (by marriage, by love or by rape) to bring this national identity to a higher stage than before.

The matter of honor (both masculine and national) which is obvious in the cases but neglected by earlier studies, can give the answer of Anderson's well-known confusion on nationality:

For such an imagined community, what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? (Anderson, 1991:7).

Najmabadi, brings an alternative solution for Anderson's answer as 'cultural roots of nationalism'. According to her, the answer is the complex gender relations, which should be examined in the light of history and context (Najmabadi, 2004: 130).

Becoming a woman in the national area mostly means to become a metaphor or a passive supporter of a nation or an ethnic group, as it is seen in the case above such as Iran and Nazi Germany. Hence, the gendered structure of nationalism uses the representation of women to create its masculine discourse as a whole. The equality gaps inside nation-states can be examined in the frame drawn by this very relation between male desire and nationalist movements. Women's liberation problems as citizens of nation-states create an ambivalence between their rights and their roles as the beloved country of national man and as the mother of nation. In the gendered process of becoming a nation, which is a continuous process, they are to remain under the protection/control of men for the creation of a whole-male identity.

Anderson, in his important work, creates a similarity between having a gender and having a nation: in his explanation having a national identity is the necessity of modern times: everyone "can", "should", "will" have a national identity as he or she has a gender (Anderson: 1991:5). The aim of this chapter, by using the cases above, was to show there is more than that simple similarity between gender and nationalism. Everyone can, should and will have a national identity in view of the fact that the way of building nationalities passes from the imagined absoluteness coming from the creation of man. Since the possibility of a nation's formation depends on the

differences between gender (which exist in every layer of the society) and the symbols of gender differences that are used for filling the blanks in the concrete areas such as borders, lands and the reasons behind protecting them, having a gender role within the community is one of the obligations to have a national identity. From this respect, everyone can, should and will have a nationality in the limits of their gender. Furthermore, gender does not take place only in a comparison in the dynamics of nationality but it is an inseparable part of it.

#### **2.4 The birth of Greek and Turkish nations**

Before starting to summarize the establishment of Greek and Turkish nation-states, there are particular terms and concepts to be described to prevent misunderstandings. First of all in both countries, although the structure of the communities has changed when their nation-states were established, the term “nation” was taken from the old terms that described communities based on religion. In Modern Greek the term *ethnos*, which is the ancient Greek word to signify the groups other than the Greeks corresponded to the term *nation*. In Modern Turkish *millet* describes both the communities under the Ottoman rule on which the main factor of division was religion and the modern term nation. In this text *millet* will be used in its earlier meaning to define the religious communities, which divided Ottoman society horizontally—according to their religions-. In this sense, *Millet-i Rum*, the largest community after the dominant Muslim community was not composed of only Greeks but of all Orthodox Christians (Clogg, 1997:23). On the other hand, the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman period has always been Greek until the foundation of national churches after the rise of nationalist movements (Clogg, 1997:23).

Another point to be stressed here is the position of Turks under the Ottoman rule and after the constitution of a Turkish nation-state. Since the rulers of the Empire were Turks, the Turkish *millet* had legal, economic and



social advantages when comparing with the other communities. This is what makes any assumption that attempts at drawing a parallelism between the emancipation projects of the Turks and the other communities burdensome. The identity problem of the modern Turkey in which the two challenging political formation (empire and nation-state) have been accepted by sympathy and in which Ottoman Empire still take place as the Golden Age of Turks in a continuous notion of Turkish history, an analysis which assumes an equality between Turks and other communities would be problematic. Actually this very problem appeared in the foundation stages of the Turkish nation-state, which led the founders to develop alternative narratives of Turkish history to stress the detachment from the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, the 19<sup>th</sup> Century appeared for Ottoman Empire as a threatening era. A part of the Turkish community have been affected from the new formations in Europe as well as the other communities and even they were the last community, they all the same organized a political movement to form their own nation-state (Ahmad, 2005:36).

In this thesis study, it is asserted that there is not an equality but a similarity between Turkish community and the other communities. The assertion of similarity results from the Turkish community's being also influenced by the idea of a sovereign state basing on national unity and their attempts' being resulted by the formation of a nation-state. The Turkish community of the Ottoman Empire who were accepted as a distinct, privileged community within the Muslim Community, with the decrease in ruling power of Ottoman society could not cope with the transformation processes and accepted nationalism.

To reflect on the facts behind the formation of the Greek and the Turkish nation-states, the cultural changes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire becomes an important field, where the ethnic identities as the primary distinctive value appeared and formed. Starting to lose its power in the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire tried to cope with the dynamism of the west, which delayed the end for a while. The necessity of new arrangements was the outcomes of the demands of the non-Muslim society that adopted the

ideal of nation-states with the impact of French Revolution. The emancipation of the Serbs and the Greeks from the authority of the Ottoman Empire was an important factor, which brought in the light the necessity of such reforms.

Within these circumstances the appearance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for the people of the Ottoman Empire was the appearance of new terms and identities. What has been brought with this new transformation process was not only a new definition of the state but also a new definition of human for all the communities under the Ottoman rule. Nationalism was in search of a new character, who accepts his national identity superior than his other attachments. A new way of perceiving the self in relation with a narrative of nation in which the literature, especially novel, becomes the field of building national identities was the modernization's great achievement. Literature's first role inside the nationalist movements was to tell a new story, which on the one hand enabled nation's identification with the land and the past and on the other carried the national symbols to the daily life of the community (Jusdanis, 1998: 228). In other words, it was the meeting point of the past and the present and the personal and public. In this respect literature was the first art, which has been collectively produced in order to serve for nationalism (Jusdanis, 1998:229).

In this thesis study, the founder and sponsor roles of literature will be analyzed over the cases of Greece and Turkey to reach the *other women characters'* key role for nationalist ideals of both countries. To analyze this palimpsestic subject, the appearance of national consciousness and the debates on the essence of each nation will be examined through their reflections on literature. The case of Greece which formed its national unity before the Turkish nation-state constitutes a less complex example in comparison with Turkey even there were disagreements on various subjects such as the name and roots of the nation. Being under a foreign rule formed an adequate basis for emancipation projects of the Greeks. On the other extreme, the Turkish national movement had to deal with various problems since their perception of the self was closely connected with Ottoman regime.

## The Foundation of the Greek Nation-State

Prior to 1750s, the idea of an emancipated Greek nation has not made its access to the Greek community. The Orthodox-Christian identity was traditionally under the protection of the Orthodox Church, which was ruled by the *Grecophone* elites. The role of the Phanariots was, on the one hand, recognizing the classifications of the Ottoman *millet* system, but on the other attempting to merge the nationalistic forces of *Hellenism* with the traditions of Byzantium and the Orthodox Church<sup>11</sup> (Roudometof, 1998:20). The mentality of Phanariots, since their worldview was principally directed from Orthodox universality and since they accepted the privileges by the Ottoman rule was not open to a change in the system. However, from this group raised some of the active patrons of the Greek emancipation movement such as Rigas of Velesino (Beaton, 1999:28). Phanariots were located in Vienna as rulers were the primary channels for the access of Western Knowledge inside the Ottoman borders and it was inevitable even for this conservative group to avoid from the impacts of revolutionary ideals.

With the increase in the commercial interaction between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe, two important factors became visible in the Greek community: Firstly the rise of a new Greek-Orthodox intelligentsia which came from Orthodox merchant class in Balkans and secondly a noticeable increase in the literary activity, which was funded by wealthy merchants (Roudometof, 1998:22).

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the emancipation and nationalization process for Greeks has been affected from two major changes: The access of Enlightenment ideals and the principles of French Revolution inside the Ottoman borders. The major support came from the Greek communities outside the Ottoman Empire who provided the conveyance of Western knowledge to the Ottoman country and the Greek merchants who spent their possessions for the national mission. European

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<sup>11</sup> Roudometof quotes this approach from: Runciman, Steve ( 1968) *The Great Church in Captivity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 378-379

education and ideas started to affect the community and growing numbers of Greeks from the Ottoman Empire started to study abroad, especially at Padua, Vienna and Leipzig (Seton-Watson, 1977: 112).

Their access to the Western knowledge enabled the Greeks to associate themselves with the Ancient Greeks and the Ancient Greek literature started to be translated into Modern Greek (Millas, 1999:47). Leaders of the Greek national movement came from a wide range of social groups. Intellectuals, language reformers and the economic support of small Greek businessmen were of great importance in the nationalization process. The local notables as the last complementary element of the movement, especially from Peloponnese, have also participated in the formation of a new system (Seton-Watson, 1977:432). Even the church has continued to deny the Ancient Greeks as non-believers, Greek intellectuals started to defend the existence of a bond between the ancient regime and the Modern Greek community. Accepting their successor role inside the Ancient Greek history, which brought the light to the entire world led to one of the most important steps in the imagination of the nation and the Greek community. During the period called *Greek Enlightenment*, which started in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and left an enormous effect in the emancipation project in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the impact of Western knowledge appeared in the efforts of the Greek intellectuals to build schools for a new Greek generation. There was a conscious increase in the number of books published in this period. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the foundation of Greek Republic in 1921, books with almost 1.300 different subjects have been published (Clogg, 1997:40).

A gaze at the textual production of the period shows that there were two leading writing skills in the *Greek enlightenment*: essay and patriotic poem. The access to the genre of prose fiction, which is one of the primary tools of drawing the lines of one nation, would appear later with the legal borders of Greek nation-state. Considering the leading impact of essay and poetry, the most important subjects to be discussed in this section within the perspectives of textual reproduction and ideological support, are the debates

between conservatives and the supporters of Enlightenment. The access of a unifying structure for the community -“ethnos”- inside the ideological structure of Greek intellectuals did not solve the oppositions between the elites; the criteria for the new understanding of Greek nation was still controversial. A common proper name, which would keep people under the same structure of authority was to be found, however different notions of the Greek history created a problem in finding the name for the nation. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire were identified with the name “Rum”, which came from the Byzantine name of Romans. The adoption of Ancient Greek heritage has been included the name “Hellen” to the discussion. Another argument appeared as a result of the increasing demands on a proper education and literature for the new nation. The particular demands led to another discussion on language to build the bases of the education and literature. Greek intellectuals of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the impact of the transformations in the West created a model of national community based on language in which the *Language Question* became the object of the debates. Generally known as *diglossia*, the Language Question was rooted in the Roman Empire. The reason of the long-term problem was the difference between the language of speech and language of writing. With the impact of modernism, it became a part of the intellectual struggle for the definition of a common identity for the community and naturally for an emancipated Greek state. The main problem was finding the appropriate standards of the language in unison with the new national identity, which later being a part of the left-right debate in the state continued till 1976. The main sides of the debate were the supporters of *demotikos* (the language spoken by the public) and the supporters of the “Ancient Greek”. The latter, that is the conservative wing of the debate including both the Phanariots and Hellenists, were defending the idea that returning to the original, pure language of Greeks would provide Greeks the proper place, which they deserved as being the successors of the Ancient Greek civilization, inside European borders. On the other side, the *demoticists* were stressing the importance of the transcription of the spoken language for the creation of a

common culture as seen in the case of foundation of European nationalism in which the nations accepted a modern language rather than their written language, that is Latin.

During this very period we see for the first time the term “nation” in the sense we use today. Fransiskos Skoufos (1644-unknown) in his writings about emancipation from slavery use the word “genos” in the sense of nation and Eugenios Voulgaris (1716-1808) take the ancient word “ethnos” to describe the need for the emancipation of the nation (Millas, 1999:50). The first political analysis for the Orthodox Christian community in Balkans came from a member of Phanariots, Dimitrios Katartzis (1730-1807). Katartzis’ writings are important signifiers for the contradictory approach of Phanariots towards the modernization process. He on the one hand developed an approach for the roots and language of the nation, but on the other denied the necessity of a political organization for the Greek community. In a series of writings between 1783-1791 Katartzis supported the argument that *Rum millet* constituted a nation, albeit lacking a political community of their own (Roudometof, 1998:20). Yet, his argument was based on the impossibility of constituting such a community: “*We have to admit that we are not a nation to establish a state on our own*”<sup>12</sup> (Millas, 1999:129). According to Katartzis the Greeks (that is the Romans according to his understanding) were not slaves, they were a nation, which was recognized and respected by the Ottoman regime. His contradiction lies in the opposition between the adoption of the existence of a nation and rejection of a state for the nation. As an actor of the early times of the emancipation project and as a member of the Phanariots, his stand is understandable. His approach on the identity problem unified the Orthodox Christians and the Greek community. This was a partially incorrect unification, because not only the Greeks but also the Bulgarians and Serbs took place in the same religious community. In any case, his approach bound together the emotional ties and the nationalist ideals, which contributed effectively to the cultural engineering of the nation. In most of his writings he

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<sup>12</sup> My translation

stressed the necessity and honor of sacrifice of the self for the nation and religion (Jusdanis, 1998:50). During the debate on the ethnic roots, identity and language, Katartzis completely refused to call himself Hellen because of the idolatry of Hellens and argued that the name Roman was the most efficient name for the *ethnos*. By refusing the Ancient Greek impact on his nation, he took side with the *demoticists*: “*It is not legitimate to ascribe a passion to a word [to revive a word] unless it is used by the public*”<sup>13</sup> (Dimaras, 2000:197).

Phanariots’ contradictory attitude towards the changes found a new shape in the struggle of Rigas of Velestino (1757-1798), who together with his political tendency, which became one of the most important figures in the emancipation movement, gave important shape to the national Greek literature. Rigas’ most famous work, the poem “Thourio” (Battle Hymn) is written in 1796 by a class based notion rather than a nationalist ideology and places him at the head of a tradition of patriotic Greek poem (Beaton, 1999: 28). The main idea of the poem is the necessity of the fall of the Ottoman Empire and in the poem Rigas calls for all the oppressed communities, without any discrimination between them, to unite against the regime. Even he had a consciousness on being Greek (Hellen especially), his work defends a multicultural structure. The “Battle Hymn”, within the changes in the Greek community, started to be the signifier of the emancipation project and maintained its importance for the history of modern Greece.

In 1797 Rigas prepared a constitution which can be seen as the melting pot of the Ancient Greek legacy and the ideals of French revolution. Rigas’ constitution aims to lead a rebellion like that of French and construct a new system giving an end to the dynastic regime of the Ottoman Sultan. It starts to call the sons of Hellens and turns into a call for every other *millet* within the Ottoman borders for the constitution of a Republic of Equal citizens like that of French, where the citizens would be governed by people from the public (mostly the Greeks) (Millas, 1999: 103).

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<sup>13</sup> My translation

In 1798, critical changes started to occur both in the Ottoman Empire and the Western World. While the French Revolution had still significant effect on the world politics, Ottoman forces were dealing with rebels without getting any success. For the Orthodox Greek community it was the year of a great loss since one of the most important theorists of the movement, Rigas of Velesino was killed by the Ottoman rule. The Phanariots' response to these changes was a negative attitude towards the emancipation by increasing the intensity of the debate by "Patriki Didaskalia" (The Doctrine of Priests) written in 1798 as a response to the Westernized intellectuals. The general structure of the doctrine was based on the perception of Ottoman governance as the law of the Lord and the denial of the Western impact as an evil interference on the Lord's order (Millas, 1999:134). In the doctrine the suffering of Jesus Christ was mentioned analogous with the circumstances the Orthodox Greek community suffered from: "(...) *In this world the life of a real Christian, if he desires the Heaven in the after life, should be like that of him (Jesus, P.K.)*"<sup>14</sup> (Millas, 1999:136).

Under the circumstances of the period, the challenge against The "Doctrine of Priests" became more powerful as a consequence of the increased demands for liberation. The first and most significant response came from Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), who played a key role by providing the Greek community a *notion of past*. Korais takes place in the Modern Greek history as one of the first Greek intellectuals who wrote about the necessity of the constitution of a nation-state for his community. His reaction against the Phanariots led him to write "Adelfiki Didaskalia" (The Doctrine of Fraternity), in which the main emphasis is on an independent state where a nation can have its commercial liberty (ibid: 36). The doctrine is also the first interpretation of the ancient term (which also passes in the Bible) "barbarian" as the Turk<sup>15</sup>. Korais asks the Church why they take the side of the Turks while still cursing the barbarians. The doctrine includes both

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<sup>14</sup> My translation

<sup>15</sup> Turk has a variety of meanings in the Greek literature. The word both symbolizes the muslim Ottomans which includes Albanians and Arabs as well as Turks and the Turkish nation. In his text, Korais uses the word Turk as the Ottoman rulers (P.K.).



the abandonment of the conservative customs and religious pressures taken and proposes the adoption of a new form of solidarity named as nation, which has strong relations with the glorious past of the Greeks. Korais focused mainly on the distinct language and tradition of the Greeks, which was inherited from the Ancient Greeks. As discussed above, the bond between the ancient and the Modern Greek community was a strategy he adopted to take support from the West by associating the history of Greece with the wider narrative of the West (Jusdanis, 1998:51).

Korais' role in the debates on the ethnic roots, language and the name of the nation has a decisive characteristic in the adoption of one particular approach on the history of Greek nation. His attitude towards conciliation was based on the construction of a new language named *Katharevousa* depending on the coinage of new words from ancient roots and the purification of the language from the Turkish and other foreign words (Jusdanis, 1998:72-73; Beaton, 1999:299-302; Clogg, 1997:41-42). However the attempts to find the proper language in relation with the Greek nationalist ideas could not bring a solution until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Within this intellectual sphere, the texts published in the same era by becoming the map of the emancipation project has addressed the identity problem in relation with language and the history of the golden ages and slavery. Examining the initial steps of the Greek Enlightenment through the written texts provides an adequate basis for understanding the purposes and tensions of the period. Different notions on the building blocks of the Greek identity appeared in texts aiming to create a distinct national space for Greek nation on paper, which would be the first signifier of the existence of the community.

In 1814 the movement had an important supporter and signifier that named *Philiki Etairia* (Society of Friends). The organization was founded by three Greek merchants and its main aim was to gather support from all the Balkan Christian communities and Russia. The Russian aid came in 1821 and the Russian Army crossed the border into Moldavia but the Tsar denounced the action and the Russian aid was ceased. However Greek

notables initiated an insurrection and this process continued between 1821-1827 in Peloponnese, Roumeli and in the islands. With the help of the Great Powers the insurrection proved successful. Russia's war against the Ottoman Empire in 1828 contributed to the successful results. By the London Protocol of 3 February 1830 Greece was recognized as an independent state whose territory was restricted to Roumeli, Attica, Peloponnese and the western Aegean Islands (Seton-Watson, 1977:114).

### **The Establishment of Modern Turkey**

The case of Modern Greece, in spite of some controversies in the creation of a common history, involves a less complex *awakening* than that of the Modern Turkey. Regarding the problems faced in relation with the identity politics of the era, it can be assumed that the formation process of Modern Turkish Republic represents the complexity of the "Turkish self", which started to be formed later than the construction of national unity of the other communities. As the case of Greek community exemplifies in the previous section, the Ottoman government considered the French revolution as a threat directed to the unity of the Empire. The fear of breaking up led the Ottoman elites into a superficial westernization, which later shifted into the adoption of the Western ideals. The idea of a nation-state came into sight with certain problems for both the center and the periphery. For the rulers the problem was to find a solution to unify the society in order to prevent a possible downfall. Yet, to unify the Muslim community in the same manner with the non-Muslim communities was as problematic as unifying the other communities. On the other hand, for the *millets* under the Ottoman rule, the problem was to find the common features that make each one a nation, which constituted an obstacle for any projects aiming to maintain a solidarity for the *millets*. Bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire participate to this scene as important motives of the transformation process.

The reformist bureaucrats were themselves a *product* of a reform made by the Sultan, who aimed to re-construct the authority of the center and

to create a direct connection between the center and the periphery (Mardin, 1991:47). The reformer bureaucrats, even they had to deal with the obstructions coming from the conservatives, contributed to the modernization process by trying to change the traditional Ottoman political theory and practice. They were aware of the necessity of a Constitution and granting the citizens the right to own private property, for the continuity of the Empire (Ahmad, 2005: 37). However the bureaucrats, as the product of the modernization projects also transformed into “national” bureaucrats, whose aim was to establish a modern state, from obedient elites (Mardin, 1991:47). The major modernization project of the era, the *Tanzimat* (1839-1876), was realized under these circumstances and initiated a change in the conception of the state and citizens.

The transformations brought by Tanzimat challenged the conventional methods of the regime and created new understanding of the relationship between the center and the periphery. The new dimensions in the political area reversed the function of the head shifting the main emphasis from the state into citizens. Alongside the difficulties emerged by the new dimensions in politics, the problem of finding *a new common self* for the Turkish community had a massive effect on the complexity of the period. The alterations of the era created a twofold character for Tanzimat, which became the reason of the frustration in the end. Duality of the Tanzimat resulted from the contradiction between its dependency to the religious structure and its will to replace the conventional Ottoman institutions with the Westernized ones (Mardin, 1991:181). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the reforms of the period on the legal, military and educational areas constituted an adequate base for further innovations.

Şerif Mardin in his enquiry on the bases of modernization in Turkey argues that the period has gained its importance with the shift in certain meanings and concepts. One of the most accurate changes in the relation between the center and the periphery occurred as a new definition of the “honor” (Mardin, 1991:184). In contrast to the earlier understanding of the concept, which required a special empty area between the powerful and

weak, depended on obedience rather than *honor* in its literal meaning, Tanzimat brought a modernized sense of honor. In this modernized conception, the citizens are kept under the protection of the law and in association with the very protection; they are also responsible to maintain the new understanding of honor in all the areas of the public life.

The innovations of the period continued with the demands of a parliament and a constitution both in the service of every class within the society. Especially one group called the *Young Ottomans*, who influenced by the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, adopted a leading role in the modernization process by forming a political opposition to the state. The Young Ottomans criticized the Ottoman regime because of its superficial stance towards the representation of the public and its politics on trade. Their critique of the superficial transformations of Tanzimat, with the help of the chaotic conjuncture of the world politics, resulted with the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution in 23 December 1876 by Sultan Abdulhamid. The establishment of the first parliament in 1877 followed the apparent success of the Young Ottomans. However, the protection of private property by laws led the landowners to strengthen and form a conservative authority, who would later oppose to the reforms (Ahmad, 2005: 42). During this period, the innovations occurred in the political and social life of the country, led to a confusion about the identity of Ottoman elites, which is reflected in the literary works of the period. On the one hand there were elites playing a leading role within the Young Ottomans movement such as Namık Kemal and Şinasi, whose work gave a concrete shape to the movement. Yet, on the other hand, there were elites whose confusion was considered by some scholars as cases of anxiety<sup>16</sup>. The literary production of the period includes both the hope towards a better political and social life and the fear of remaining fatherless.

In the patriotic poems, plays, newspapers and the early novels starting from the second decade of the century played an important role in the

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<sup>16</sup> See (Gürbilek, 2004:55-56)

conceptualization of the newly born ideals in the Ottoman borders. Lewis stresses the importance of especially three authors as the initiator of the new literature: İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871), Ziya Paşa (1825-1880) and Namık Kemal (1840-1888) (Lewis, 2004:136).

Being a politician, a member of the Young Ottoman Movement and a poet .Ziya Paşa's political belief can be categorized as nationalist since Westernism in his works depends on the acceptance of certain Western ideals only in relation with the properties of local culture. Moreover non-Muslims have not been accepted by him as legal equals (Lewis, 2004:138).

Şinasi, on the other hand, was the founder of the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* and a poet famous with his verse *Shows your law the sultan his place* (Lewis, 2004:137)<sup>17</sup>. Even he did not adopt a distinct political view; he still made his impact on the period. Especially his newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* became one of the political markers of the period as a new way of expression. *Tasvir-i Efkar* as the leading actor in the intellectual life of the country became the address where the patriot and libertarian Namık Kemal worked as a journalist. Namık Kemal as a literary and political author was one of the most important figures who transmitted the Western ideals to the Muslim Turkish community, adjusting them to the Muslim tradition and life style. Even he was affected from the Western Ideals his attitude towards the adoption of Western prototypes without any change for Muslim culture and his strong attachment with Islam has been interpreted by Lewis as *İslamisizm* (ibid:142). He adopted the role of a mediator between the Christian West and the Muslim East taking in the core the ideal of liberty. In his most important play "Vatan Yahut Silistre" (Motherland; or, Silistria) (1873) offered the Muslim Ottoman public a new ideal: patriotism. Man should love and protect his country. Naturally women occurred as a symbol of land and honor in the play with the female protagonist Zekiye's sacrifices for her country.

The impact of newspapers was clear and Namık Kemal and his friends attempted to create a public opinion using this medium. Newspapers published within this era of complex thoughts such as *Ceride-i Havadis*

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17 Translated from Turkish to English by Ulaş Apak

(1840), *Tercuman-ı Ahval* (1860), *Tasvir-i Efkar* (1862), *Mir'at* (1863) and *Muhbir* (1867) became the witness and supporter of a period on opposition and resistance.

However during Tanzimat, even there was an increase in the patriotic ideals, there was also a fear about the future. Not all the authors were as optimistic or at least determined as the authors of the newspapers. Tanzimat was also the era where the first novels appeared within the country and most of the novels of the period was stigmatized with a suspicion directed to the adoption of the Western culture by the leaders of Tanzimat. Obstructed from the description of the political life of Ottoman Empire, these authors choose to reflect the destruction coming from the innovations and resistances into their books as the stories of family members away from each other's world (Finn, 1984:215). The recurring theme was the loss of a father to unite the family (ibid: 115). For a community, who was accustomed to be directed by a superior force Tanzimat brought a fear –as well as hope- of loss of father, whose lack led the public into a deficient perception of the self.

For the father of the public it must also have been a loss of identity thus he paused the developments dissolving the parliament on 1878 and the process of modernization gave a break for thirty years. Yet, naturally the situation did not bear a pause in the intellectual development. The contradictory politics of the Sultan Abdülhamid aiming to create a literate public which would not tend to politics concluded with the occurrence of a generation with ideals on saving the homeland. Within this generation, the committee of *İttihat ve Terakki* (Union and Progress) played an important role in the reflection of the dissatisfaction resulting from the lacks within the modernization process. The establishment of the committee occurred in a severe differentiation within the politics of Young Ottomans. Throughout the break after the collapse of the constitution, two main tendencies, liberalism and nationalism, have made a distinction inside the Young Ottoman thought. The emergence of the idea of a central authority in which the Turkish community would dominate was a partial result of the nationalist movements of people of Turkish speech in the Russian Empire. The influence of Turkish

nationalism demonstrated itself in the shift from the *Panislamist* structure of the projects into *Panturcic* ones (Seton-Watson, 1977: 256). The Committee of *Ittihat ve Terakki*, which was the only organized power in the Muslim and non-Muslim communities, became the power behind the Young Turk revolution in 1908 as the nationalist wing of the Young Ottomans. Unlike the liberals, the Committee was not supporting the Ottomanist *laissez-faire* politics of the former agents of the constitution; to the contrary, their purpose was a change in the regime with radical reforms.

As Ahmad points out in his work, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century started in the Ottoman lands when the Sultan put the constitution of 1876 once again in effect in 1908 (Ahmad, 2005:44). The main character of the second constitutional regime in the Ottoman Empire was based on the question “*How can this state be saved?*” (Lewis, 1968:212). The committee was the manipulator of governmental decisions dealing with serious political debate between the conservatives and liberal aristocrats who were opposing the sub-middle class structure of the committee. *Ittihat ve Terakki*'s aims directed to the collapse of autocracy and the transformation of the regime became the object of serious oppositions and reactions deriving from the conservative side. The fall of Grand Vizier Kamil Pasa by losing the vote of confidence, while strengthening the power of the committee, on the other hand became the breaking point for the liberals and the conservatives and led an organized, extremist religious rebellion towards *Ittihat ve Terakki*. “The case of March 31<sup>st</sup>” as its well-known name happened in 13 April 1909 under the control of *Ittihad-ı Muhammedi* (Mohammadan Union). The general demand of the rebellion was returning back to *Şeriat* The Muslim religious Law. The world conjuncture once again helped the committee to keep their position. The power balance between the Axis and the Allies obstructed the anti-unionists purpose on destroying the effectiveness of committee by calling the English and French forces to protect Christians (Ahmad, 2005:50). The rebellion ended with the intervention of the *Kurtuluş Ordusu* (Army of Deliverance) in which the chief of staff was the future founder of the Turkish Republic; Mustafa Kemal (Lewis, 1968:216). The deposition of Abdülhamid

became the next step to reinforce the authority of the committee. The developments in this period, by the effects of nationalist ideals, brought a major change to the Young Ottoman thought, which had started to act to save the country in favor of the head and continued its way changing its particular aim into the collapse of the head in favor of the country. However, the conjuncture became the reason of a new understanding of the public that consists of a limited number of communities from the Muslim root, which later would be limited only with the Turkish community both because of the nationalist vision adopted by the committee and the nationalist emancipation projects of Christian communities:

Whatever the measure of sincerity that lay behind the promises of the Ottoman constitution, the march of events soon made those promises unrealizable. The spread of nationalism among the subject peoples of the Empire, and the final contamination, by the nationalist virus, of even the Turkish masters of it, ended forever the 'Ottomanist' dream of the free, equal and peaceful association of peoples in a common loyalty to the dynastic sovereign of a multi-national, multi-denominational empire (Lewis, 1968:218).

The nationalist vision adopted by the committee brought the necessity to decide the identity of the group that takes other communities under its hegemony. The identity problem resulted with a polarization between the Young Ottomans: the Westernists and the Islamists, which tried to find the appropriate attachment for the community. However their controversy was interrupted with the First World War.

Lewis interprets the situation of the Ottoman Empire after their defeat in the war as ready to accept all the demands of the winners with this single exception that a neighbor nation's (which was a *millet* of Ottoman regime previously) occupation an Ottoman city, Izmir (Lewis, 2004: 241). Greece's entering into Anatolia with the direction of *Megali Idea* can be seen as the starting point of the polarization between the Greeks and the Turks in their identity production for the Turkish side. Newly acquired their national consciousness the Turks now had a concrete *other* to create their identity



over its reflection. It was also the starting point of the Turkish reaction against the obedience of the Ottoman regime and the motivator of the Turkish Independence War under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The movement of emancipation soon gained the meaning of entering into the system of nation-states rather than empowering the weakened Ottoman regime and resulted with a division between the Caliph's army and nationalists. Nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal founded a new parliament in 1920 and the war continued until 1922, to the determining attack of the Turks by which they take back Izmir. For the political tension between Turkey and Greece, still, the very event has a double meaning, -catastrophe for Greeks and victory for Turks- which in both meanings becomes an important signifier to construct the national image over the other. The parliament abrogated the old regime and in 1923 a peace treaty was signed in Lausanne with Allies. In December 29 of 1923 the Turkish Republic was declared.

The creation of a new nation-state requires a naming process to determine the attachments of newly born nations. The creation of a national prototype in both countries came after a painful process of determination of the national self's place in the world. For such a process it was unavoidable to come across with confusion, resistance and opposition. The name of the challenging demands on nation and arguments on language problem continued the process of building new collectivities.

The identity problem, which appeared before the foundation of two nation-states, Greece and Turkey, led the founders to provide the required consciousness to the members of the nation with changes in vocabularies, educational system, institutions and literature, which is the main subject of this section.

In Greece, after the foundation the main problem was to create a stable identity in a place that does not have any infra-structure of state (Clogg, 1997:65). The reason's starting points have been seen in the first steps towards being a nation: to create continuity between past and present and also create a resemblance between the new state and the Western states:

Under the national sovereignty paradigm, Greek national self-conception coincided relatively harmoniously with Western philHellenism. The continuity thesis, which was formalized and popularized by the publication of Constantinos Papanigopoulos's *Istoria tou Ellhnikou Ethnou (History of the Greek Nation)* in the 1850s, posits a continuous Hellenic inheritance that stretches from antiquity through the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires into the modern era. It has played a central role in the process of nation building within Greece by providing a construction of Greek identity that simultaneously promoted internal unity and external respect by establishing modern Greeks as the contemporary representatives and guardians of the political, intellectual, and cultural legacy of classical Athenian society. (Hess, 2003: 47)

The leading ideology of the very aim became the Megali Idea that adopted the goal of reestablishing a Greek state as a homeland for all the Greeks of the Mediterranean and the Balkan world. The educational reform was based on the transmission of Hellenic History through the mediation of *Katharevusa* –pure language- supported by the literature.

In Turkey's case, the national discourse of Kemalists has been interrupted with the opposition of conservatives and those who support the idea of a mandate of United States on Turkey. Nevertheless Kemalists manage to keep the governance and supported it with revolutions. The adoption of a new alphabet of roman letters, the purification of language with elimination of Persian and Arabic words were signs of a turn towards the West as well as they are the signs of a break-off with the East and Ottoman memory similar to the case of Greece. Lewis cites the opposition of Turkish woman author Halide Edip Adivar. Her opposition also gives the basic understanding of the period as Turkey's locating its new being into the West:

We can perceive the Western civilization as a whole. That is to say, we cannot mark the Western civilization completely as English, French or Italian. Namely a new nation lately joined their civilization is not only their imitator but a part of them. 'Sameness' and exact imitation means to be the total opposite of the Western Civilization's essence. Especially those who

newly participated to this civilization should take into account the particular point.<sup>18</sup> (Lewis, 2004:278)

The efforts to increase the rate of literacy, the campaign of *national schools* were important parts of the process to create a community aware of their compatriots with the mediation of publications (Anderson, 1995:93).

Reading, in this context becomes the tool of communicating with the community and the rest of the world in a national sense. The universality of literature which, has been underlined so densely, in fact helped putting an emphasis on national attachments and identities:

Asserting the universality of the vision of the world offered by Jane Austen, makes England a very special place indeed, the site of standards of taste and behavior and, more important, of the moral scenarios and social circumstances in which ethical problems are worked out and personalities are formed. (Culler, 1997:37)

It is, in other words, the nationalization or localization of the world that Culler put an emphasis on. Here I mean a national reading of the world in order to verify that the national pieces inside one nation's literature belongs to the rest of the modernized world or vice versa. If we categorize the nations according to their establishment of national consciousness before or after the formulation of the doctrine of nationalism, as Seton-Watson does, we see that, even, being the "world" becomes the primary right of the first nationalized communities (English, Scots, French, Dutch, Hungarians); but it does not affect the situation of claiming universality for the second category (Poles, Greeks, Yugoslavs) (Seton-Watson, 1977:7) Using literature as a means of organizer of a monophonic cultural structure is nearly a necessary process for these second-category countries, which resulted from their delay in modernization.

## **The Creation of National Consciousness**

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<sup>18</sup> My translation

As we see in the cases of Greece and Turkey, the creation of a national consciousness progressed with publication and claiming to have a universal base. Anderson sees the first steps of Turkish nationalism in the appearance of a dynamic publication in the folk language during 1870's. Very similar to this example the appearance of the Greek national consciousness happened after the publication of Ancient Greek classics in Europe from where the Young Greek Intellectuals living out of the borders of Ottoman Empire acquired the knowledge of Ancient Greek and started to share the idea of an emancipated Greek society as the successor of Ancient Greek (Anderson, 1995:88). The nationalization of the world for Greeks and Turks as second category nations came into scene by claiming universality depending on their forebears or their universal culture to take place in the world of nations.

To reach the synchronic globalization and nationalization of national culture literary canons played an essential role by creating both a cultural area and its owners. Literary canons are useful mechanisms to put together the stories of a nation, to produce and represent the national identity and to serve as a bridge between a nation's past and present in order to preserve its continuity. It is a hierarchical, chronological, idealized anthology of nation's culture ready to serve as a stabilizer in times of severe social changes and transitions. The melancholic gaze of canons to the earlier periods of nations creates a *field of utopistic, continual textuality* where the citizens find an identity, which does not include individual or class differences (Jusdanis, 1998:95). Tekelioğlu refers to canons as the sum of the literary texts telling the story of the foundation of nation-states (in accordance with the discourse that the nation-state adopted). These texts do not have to be written during or after the foundation, such as ancient epic *Kalavela* which later became the canonical text of modern Finland (Tekelioğlu, 2003: 70-71)

The literary works written after the foundation of nation-state, in Greece and Turkey, became both the parts of the creation process and the witnesses of the identity production. The first examples of a distinct Greek national literature occurred with the creation of the other as Turk and women

as the symbol of the nation. Women's position in the literary domain was a reflection of their new place in the society as the mothers of the nation whose literacy became a signifier of the modernity of the newly constructed state (Avdela, 133). The protagonist of the works including a specifically Greek Historical context *is a hero of the recent Greek struggles against the Turks* (Beaton, 1999:43). Feminine metaphors such as land and honor mostly used in the period to describe the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks such as the Liberty who is personified as a goddess imprisoned for years and rises again from the bones of the Ancient Hellens (ibid: 35). After the end of the Megali Idea by Turkey's triumph, the memory of Ottoman domination and war against Turks began to occur in the themes as well as the social problems and the change in traditions, of the Greek novel.

In Modern Turkey the novels that appeared in the era of Tanzimat gain a new status of telling the story of the nation, which changed the theme from the anxiety of becoming artificially Western to the setting of the nations' essence and memories of war. The most visible difference was, however, the change in the description of East from the man ready to marry West, to an honorable mother from whose womb raised the Europe in the past. The works of Peyami Safa and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar exemplifies such change (Gürbilek, 2004:90). The change of the East to a woman, also symbolize the different roles attributed to women in the national domain. Entering in the national public sphere was to loose the feminine sexuality and becoming a genderless manlike being for women as an outcome of the necessity of a equilibrium between opening the veil and protecting the honor in spite of being seen (Kandiyoti, 1997:179). Women take place in the literary works as the receiver of the other's harm beginning with the opposition between the Turks and the Greeks in the earlier works. After the foundation of Republic, the nationalist discourse gains a distinct sexual property, which place Greeks as the ultimate other in the literary texts Sexual violence of the other becomes nearly an inseparable part of the other.

What has been achieved through this re-naming process with the help of the national literature was, for both countries, the accession of a common

identity. For a common identity the figure of the other was extremely important to create the bond between past and future of the nation. other was the mediator of the past sacrifices that leads the national men to sacrifice in the future. Here, the meaning of the other is dual: other nation's member and woman. In fact, other nation's member's otherness is a status created over the existence of the category woman. In the analysis chapter of this thesis study, the relations between women and otherness in favor of the national common identity's presence will be examined to develop a more appropriate notion of the nation, which cannot be fully analyzed without the effects of the gender discrimination in nation-states.

## **2.5. Conclusion: Sexual National Discourse**

Starting from giving references to different perspectives on nations, this thesis study adopts the view of modernist school, especially that of Benedict Anderson on the imagined structure of nations. According to this perspective the nation, contrary to the national mythology adopted by nationalist projects that adopt the concept of nation as an eternal fact, is a product of modernity. The nationalist projects' aim, overestimating the young age of nations, is to determine a national time in which the members of the nation are influenced from the same national events and share a common national memory which extends from ancient times to an eternal understanding of future in the order of sameness of the nation. To establish such an understanding nations are written continually from a perfecting memory, which challenges the varying circumstances.

Anderson gives the primary role in this re-writing process to cultural artifacts, which have a direct access to the members of nations. Since the access of cultural artifacts such novels are not evaluated with their ideological aim on the individual are adopted by the members of the community without doubt and they easily establish bonds between people and create borders constructing a common national memory. Yet, this effort

of cultural artifacts is not adequate to highlight the force of the national bonds on the members of the nations. The second section of the theoretical chapter, the “Nations, Identities and Novels”, focuses on the property of metaphorization, which gives the cultural artifacts their efficiency and directs the emphasis towards the psychoanalytic construction of self, which the metaphorization process aims at to construct as a whole. Being a whole in the psychoanalytic context is not possible since it is constructed as a challenge with self’s own lacks however it constitutes an important key for the researcher.

After that point starts the main emphasis of this thesis work, which is examined at large in the third section, the “Gender and Nation”. The third section includes the feminist analysis on the nation, which aims to approach the same theme from the point of gender differences within the nation. The gender differences according to the feminist scholars do not constitute only a part or an outcome of the nation but an indispensable, fundamental element for the creation of the nationalist discourse. In the core of the difference, lies the subordinate status attributed to women within the society. In this thesis work the subordinate status of women in the nationalist discourse is connected with the aim of being a whole of the national object –national men- and the properties seen as a lack directed to women.

The standpoint above supported by the studies of feminist scholars. In the works cited in the third chapter, the main emphasis given to otherness created from the lacking representation of femininity in the patriarchal discourse. In this sense, nationalism is considered in close articulation with patriarchy since the oppression of women is a necessity for also nationalism for the continuity of the system.

According to the studies referred in the particular section the formation of nationalist discourse over otherness includes the symbolization of nation and land as woman. The discourse functions by constructing the nation as a object of desire which leads to the oppression of women under the burden of honor. The erotization of nation gives the male actors the protector role. The very role, in the examination of the gendered structure of nationalism, is the

most appropriate role to give the answer to the question on the creation of strong affiliations with the nation. The men who are attributed to be the fathers of the nation/family, when they war for their nations, do not fight only for an imagined concept but for their own identity to reach the wholeness for which the most important thing is taught to prove their superiority on women by protecting them. The verification of the superiority does not only oppress national women but in times of with the encounter with the other it shows itself in the cases of sexual harassment for both women and men of the other nation. It makes women the target of the assault because of the metaphorization of nation and land as woman and it aims at other men to feminize, to castrate in one sense, the other to prove the power of the national maleness.

The examples examined in the third chapter such as state policies on abortion or sexual harassment cases during wars signifies the importance of gender relations within the discourse of nationalism. It is believed that without examining the nation by giving reference to the different adoption skills of women and men of the nationalist projects and without analyzing gender as a component of primary importance in the national discourse, the unexplained areas in the studies on nationalism cannot be revealed.

The fourth chapter includes the analysis of Greek and Turkish emancipation movements in the light of the perspectives cited in the previous two sections. The requirement of giving reference to the establishment of Greek and Turkish nation-states results from the aim to make the analysis chapter more understandable since it involves the comparison of two novels from these countries. The novels, **Kapetan Michales** from Greece and **Devlet Ana** from Turkey, in one sense are the products of the national history of these countries even the analysis will not be essentially on the nationalism of the two countries but on a general analysis of the nationalist patriarchal discourse. The examination of the establishment of Greek and Turkish nation-states with a specific emphasis on the influence of cultural artifacts support the main idea of the previous sections of theoretical chapter on the imagined and gendered structure of nations and national projects in



which the key concept is to build a unique identity over the suppression of feminine identity.

It is believed that the examination of above issues on the three sections will constitute an adequate basis for the analysis chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Taking in the core of analysis fiction, fictive personalities and their fictive relations in a non-fictive but lets say –by the author’s biased gaze towards the past- recreated historical context may cause some questions on the validity of the analysis when it is to be compared with an ideology or structure from reality such as nationalism or nation-state. It also causes some methodological problems based on text-context relationship. As a response to these confusions a brief answer would be the importance of how the relation between text and context is applied to analysis.

The research question of this thesis study is “How does the other woman character influence the construction of the national character in the case of comparative Greek and Turkish literature?” Asking the particular question it is believed that the case of Greek and Turkish literatures constitute an example of a larger context in which the patriarchy and nationalist views are articulated. As a result of this opinion, the aim is to interpret the relativity between text and context rather than analyzing the text as it exists in the smaller context of political relations between two countries.

In the analysis of the texts one important dimension appears with the effects of the *linguistic turn*, which brought a re-orientation of thoughts in the human sciences. Under the influence of *constructivism* and *deconstruction*, the new dimension in the human sciences has developed a stance against the positivist traditions in science and essentialist theories of truth and meaning. The focus in both of the approaches has turned on the historically situated and constructed structure of meaning and the knowledge, which takes its shape under the impact of the social context (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 2001:80). The connections revealed between the meaning and power reflected to the feminist analysis as a new dimension, which lead the analysis to concentrate on the patriarchal discourse and brought together a

new understanding of femininity, which is composed of the experiences of different women rather than a unique category of womanliness.

The constructions of meaning and relationships of power in the context of *poststructuralist approach* enabled feminist scholars a new way to *articulate alternative ways of thinking on gender without either simply reversing the old hierarchies or conforming them* (Scott, 2001:254). Scott cites the terms of central importance for feminist research within the poststructuralist approach as language, discourse, difference and deconstruction. To disclose the organization of institutions, the experience of relations of production and the establishment of collective identity *language* has a central importance (ibid: 255). *Discourse*, on the other hand, as the *historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs* enables the feminist scholars to examine *the fields of force* (ibid:256). The inclusion of *difference* into human sciences started with Saussure's<sup>19</sup> structuralist linguistics and developed by the notion of deconstruction by Derrida<sup>20</sup> provided the feminist analysis to analyze the meaning over its binary construction in which the *woman* becomes the oppositional and repressed pole of the *man* in a series of interrelated hierarchical oppositions (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 2001:95). Lastly *deconstruction* becomes an important phase for the feminist analysis to challenge and end the binary construction of meaning, which places women into the subordinated status within the society.

Accepting the importance of above issues, this thesis study believes that the aim to come closer to the understanding of complex identity politics in nationalist discourse can be satisfied at best through the specific

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<sup>19</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) Swiss linguist. His work *Course in General Linguistics* (1916) brought to light the notion that language can be analyzed as a formal system which operates basically with the construction of meaning through implicit or explicit contrast.

<sup>20</sup> Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) French philosopher. Derrida's most important contribution appeared with his use of the concept of deconstruction, which argued that within the hierarchy of binary constructions of meaning, the first term becomes the dominant and it subordinates the secondary such as in the case of masculine/feminine. He argued that the Western philosophical tradition bases on binary oppositions -presence/absence, unity/diversity- and offered the method of deconstruction to eliminate the binary oppositions. The method is composed of two steps: the reversal and the displacement of binary oppositions.

methodology of discourse analysis because of its focus on the relativity between text, discourse and context. Even it shares similar concerns with other qualitative approaches, discourse analysis differs from others in the point of interpreting social reality.

Traditional qualitative approaches often assume a social world and then seek to understand the meaning of this world for participants. Discourse analysis on the other hand, tries to explore how the socially produced ideas and objects that populate the world were created in the first place and how they maintained and held in place over time (Philips & Hardy,2002:6).

A given discourse is always related to others diachronically and synchronically (Sunderland, 2004:11), which for this thesis study provides the researcher to build the body of work on both the micro and macro levels of social reality such as the case of Greece and Turkey and their relation with the general patriarchal frame or the individual level of nationalism and its connection with the societal level.

From a feminist standpoint discourse analysis is a useful tool to understand the general patriarchal discourse with its micro-signifiers in the domain of discursively created social life in which *women's access to the important linguistic resources and possibilities of expression and to valuable material practiced* is problematic (Sunderland, 2004:16). The importance of the discourse analysis for feminist researchers is its ability to show the extent to which discourse is gendered and to challenge traditional essentialist and reductionist understandings of gender (Sunderland, 2004:20).

In such an understanding of the general structure, the main emphasis is on discursivity without which no social reality can be constructed nor understood. Exploring how the meaning of the text is created, it takes a *three-dimensional* shape since it connects texts to discourses, locating them in a historical and social context referring to particular actors, relations and practices, which characterize the situation under study (Philips & Hardy, 2002:4).

The methodology of discourse analysis includes both ways to conduct structure, qualitative research on texts and a set of assumptions concerning the constructive effects of language (Philips & Hardy, 2002:5). Main points in the methodology are the importance of the use of method rather than the method itself; to investigate the construction of social reality via language and reflexivity, which enables the researcher to consult also other bodies of theoretical works.

## **Fiction and Context**

Turning to the starting point of this chapter, it should be noted that even for discourse analysis, the transition from text to context or the ways of attachment the three dimensions (text-context-discourse) may cause some problems since the texts that will be analyzed in next chapter are novels. Jane Sunderland giving reference to the concern of validity of fictions in Stephens' work<sup>21</sup>; categorizes the particular concerns in four titles in which the first of them need to be discussed for the continuity of this thesis study:

Conceptual point of view in fiction is not self-evident. Unlike, say, a newspaper Editorial which expresses a particular political perspective, a fictional text cannot be assumed to have an 'axe to grind', and certainly there is no 'mechanical' way of recognizing ant such 'axe'. The narrator may clearly not be the author, or there may be several narrators. But even when there is just one omniscient narrator, she cannot be *neatly* equated with the author, or as straightforwardly representing in fictional form some 'argument' on the authors behalf.

(...) Fiction has a special status here, given that it's almost always dialogic. Dialogue allows for a range of alternative and perhaps oppositional discourses, as well as dominant ones, and for the former to constitute an implicit or explicit challenge to the latter (Sunderland, 2004:143).

In this work, contrary to the concerns above, the main idea is the strong relativity between textual representation and construction of reality; the direct relation between the identity production of the *fictive* self and the

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<sup>21</sup> Stephens, John (1992) *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*, Longman, London

*real* self. To make a clear understanding of the particular point of view it is necessary to stress once again the use of literature for the sake of ideology and the formation process of fiction as an artifact of modernity.

The idea of this thesis study on the relation between text, context and discourse, following the author's being surrounded by the political context consciously or unconsciously, which defines the frame of the fiction-in our case the nationalist novel- in which the narrator becomes straightforwardly the mirror of the particular political frame. That is not to say, however, the narrator is to support the situation with his/her character but to say he/she helps the transition of ideas of the author one way or the other. In "Ateşten Gömlek"<sup>22</sup> (The Daughter of Smyrna) by Halide Edip Adivar it is the passivity of the narrator that gives the reader the belief on the necessity of an activity in a nationalist project.

One important dimension in fiction is its availability for deconstruction because of the dialogical structure, which makes it important for this work. The dominant nationalist discourse of the texts, because of their range of characters and dialogical structure enable the researcher to deconstruct the text by questioning the nationalist dominant idea from a feminist point of view on their gendered and dualist structure.

The most important point appears, as it has cited earlier, when it comes to create relativity between phantasy and real. However neither in real life nor in fiction the two domains are that separate. The political reality has been created and transmitted via myths (old and new) and symbolism, (which ties individuals to groups and to the shared phantasy of nations) and has been perceived and adopted social life both consciously and unconsciously. Moreover fiction's context is not independent from the context of real life, it is situated in social reality as a producer (of political continuity) and a product of the political social context.

Catherine Belsey in her article "Constructing the Subject Deconstructing the Text", which interprets the text-context relationship giving

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<sup>22</sup> Ateşten Gömlek (1922) by the Turkish woman writer Halide Edip Adivar narrates the Turkish War of Independence by using woman as a symbol for the positive properties of Turkish nation.

reference to Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", stresses the shift from 'telling' the truth from 'showing' it with the rise of classic realist fiction. As a result of the change in the author's role, the reader exists in the triangle of author, text and audience as the *autonomous and knowing subject* who freely accepts his/her subjectivity and subjection in an ideological perspective created by classic realism (Belsey, 1996:599).

The reason of the particular shift towards the dissemination of a specific ideology lies behind the power of literature as an 'ideological state apparatus', which enables a direct relativity between text and context:

The argument is not only that literature represents the myths and imaginary versions of real social relationships which constitute ideology, but also that classic realist fiction, the dominant literary form of the nineteenth century and arguably of the twentieth, 'interpellates' the reader, addresses itself to him or her directly, offering the reader as the position from which the text is most 'obviously' intelligible, the position of the *subject in (and of) ideology* (Belsey, 1996:593).

The effectiveness of fiction comes on the one hand from its indirect relationship with politics, which enables it to transmit the ideology in a less explicit way, and on the other hand from *the space between fact and illusion through the presentation of a simulated reality which is plausible but not real* (Belsey, 1996:608).

The relation between the fictional world and real world therefore, is not -at least for classic realism- vague for the sake of the acquisition of ideology. Using Lacan's terminology it is to become 'I' for the reader in the social reality via literature's support, which is one of the most persuasive uses of language.

Looking at a more complex inner dynamic in novels, the power of literature coming from the intersection of myth and real can be observed. The use of elements or phases including phantasy<sup>23</sup> in fiction's reality is not an

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<sup>23</sup> The use of "phantasy" here includes a dream in which the character foresees the future with a divine inspiration, a fantastic narrative of the whole process or the whole process's becoming a phantasy; briefly any condition within the plot which breaks the reality.

unusual situation for the realm of literature. For instance in the novel “Osmancık”<sup>24</sup> by Tarık Buğra a dream scene, including the vision of a Greek woman, predicts the conquest of Byzantine lands (Buğra, 2003:239). The dream becomes real in the end and the woman seen in the dream is positioned in the harem as a symbol of the conquest. The “Ateşten Gömlek” by Halide Edip Adıvar ends with the realization of the fact that the whole story, which tells a soldier’s experiences in the Turkish War of Independence, is a phantasy of the narrator, yet the story’s being an imaginary sight does not make the reader to question the verity of the Turkish emancipation, nor devalue the effectivity of the novel. Another example seen in the “Aioliği Ye”<sup>25</sup> (Aeolian Land) by Elias Venezis, which includes a more similar notion of phantasy with the concept of phantasy in *Sundersland’s* work since it is written as a tale in style and includes a symbolical narration. Even it does not emphasize a nationalist aspect; the “Aioliği Ye” still has a certain point on nation. The death of the bear in one of the tales within the novel has a relativity with the oncoming war between Turkey and Greece (Venezis, 2003:238) and author’s choice to narrate the reader the experiences of the era via symbolism does not create any problem in the novels relation with the reality of the era. A novel from this thesis work, **Kapertan Michales** by Kazantzakis is also includes an example of the shift from reality to phantasy in Captain Michales’ hallucination of Saint Sophia<sup>26</sup>. When Captain Michales hears the song of Emine Hanum he sees himself in the Saint Sophia during the occupation (Kazantzakis, 1998:39). Briefly, the break in the reality of fiction in all the examples above does not cause a misunderstanding neither in the discourse which constructs of the national reality via novels nor separate the text from the context.

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<sup>24</sup> Buğra, Tarık (2003) *Osmancık*, Ötüken, İstanbul: The novel *Osmancık* narrates the same period with *Devlet Ana* by Kemal Tahir, however his focus on the nation’s imagination is more nationalist with a specific emphasis on religious identity.

<sup>25</sup> Venezis, Elias (2003) *Aioliği Ye*, Estia, Athens

<sup>26</sup> Saint. Sophia (Hagia Sophia): a former Eastern Orthodox Church dedicated to Holy Wisdom, which converted to a mosque in 1453 after the conquest of Istanbul (Byzantine Constantinople) by Ottomans.



In this thesis study the use of discourse analysis is towards the search of pattern in the data and linguistic evidence of two nationalist novels in order to show how gendered difference of the other woman is an important factor in the determination of nationalist values via fictional representation and the secondly the analysis of the linguistic evidence, which shows the effect of gendered nationalist discourse.

The comparative value of the subject will be tried t stressed with the methodology of the *comparative literature* as well as that of discourse analysis. Comparative literature, which is described briefly as an *organic world literature*; can be seen as an historical and critical account of the literary phenomenon (Jost, 1974:21). The critical methods used in comparatistic inquiry are contentious but essentially it is hard to mention methods developed by the comparative literature domain; it rather uses the same procedure of investigation with literary analysis. The inquiry can be made according to four basic fields, which are: influences and analogies; movement and trends; genres and forms; and motifs. Since the subject matter of this thesis study focus on the role of the other woman figure in the novels, the comparative analysis of the *motifs* would be the most appropriate category for the analysis. Motif in the terminology of comparatistic inquiry is explained as an element which serves as a basis for the narrative, which takes place in the plot as a conventional situation, interest or incident (Jost, 1974:21). Since the plot of the two novels -**Kapetan Michales**, **Devlet Ana**- will be analyzed according to the construction of the subject by the patriarchal and nationalist discourses, the analysis will include a focus on psychoanalytic development of self as well as the focus on discursivity.

To fully understand how the national identity has been constructed in both of the novels the methodology of Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy (2002:76) has been adopted for this thesis study which requires (a) establish what the novels constructed and (b) examine how the construction from binarities between gender relations related to the formation of (male) national identity.

It is believed these two phases would provide a sufficient basis to highlight the bond between the gendered nationalist discourse and identification processes as well as the text and the context that surrounds it.

To search the male national identity production the first step (a) will be to find out which common objects have been constructed in two novels. According to the findings of the first step, the objects represented in two books are summed up in four categories as man, woman, nation and land. In the first two categories the distinction between *actual* male and female bodies and their use as symbols can be highly vague, that will be the central point in the perception of the identity production. Another point is all categories' having two distinct subcategories, which are divided between the national and the "other".

As it has been stressed above, both of the authors, in relation with how they re-produced their national myth functions and how they re-produced the national myth, have created different representation ways for the objects of their books.

After the depiction of what the categories constructed, the second step (b) is to analyze the novels in terms of the way in which the four objects have been constructed. The relation between the objects and the way they take place in the books will be analyzed under four themes which are:

1. Honor of nation Discourse
2. Discourse of feminization
3. Woman as land
4. The dangerous other

As it can be understood from the titles of the themes, the themes are transitional since the woman as a metaphor of national honor, land and nation. The last theme, the dangerous other can be examined as a preliminary conclusion section where all the symbolism on woman take place.

The reason of the last theme is the emphasis of the thesis on the other-woman's importance for the national identity production.

The comparison of the books will take place in the dynamics of the textual representation on the four themes over the linguistic evidence, which shows the affect of sexualized discourse of nationalism in generating identities for its continuity.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

As it has been pointed out in chapter 2.2, there is a close relationship in the understanding of national honor via women's bodies and feminine metaphors. Body as the area surrounded by male protection also becomes the target of male dominance when it belongs to the other. As Enloe suggests in her illustrative phrase, the actor of the national projects, which *has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope* (Enloe, 1990:45) is man with his unconscious and conscious tendency of reaching wholeness from the image of the other.

Women as the primary and ultimate other of male identity production are held responsible from the continuity of stabilizing process of national belongings as biological, symbolic and cultural reproducers of nations (Yuval Davis, 2003:19). The construction of national male dominance over women can be categorized under several categories including rape, race, military and family planning. From the perspective of this thesis study it is believed that above-mentioned categories lead to the fetishisation of feminine bodies and oppression under the overall figure of nation, land and honor. According to the assumption adopted from this work the objects related with the theme are constructed as man, woman, nation and land each having two categories as the national and the other. The novels **Kapetan Michales** and **Devlet Ana** will be analyzed in terms of the way in which the four objects above are constructed. The relation between the objects within the two novels will be discussed over four discourses in a comparative way. The discourses aimed to be analyzed are "Honor of nation Discourse", "Discourse of feminization", "Woman as land" and the "The dangerous other" each exemplifying a different form of male national identity construction.

The election of the two novels is not fortuitous nor is it assumed that they represent the whole body of literature of their countries. Without their flags, however, they represent a particular ideology, which carries similar characteristics in the nationalist literature and because of their flags; they constitute a good example in the mirror image of the other for a nation, which constructs its identity over the other because of the well-known debate between Greece and Turkey.

Another reason for their selection is their availability on such kind of an interpretation. In both of them there are not a wide range of national identities to compare, but basically two: Greek versus Turkish and vice versa. Even Tahir includes other communities into the subject in **Devlet Ana**, the target; the primary signifier of Turkishness becomes Greek community. In some other novels analysis becomes harder since other national identities (mostly Western), which involved the emancipation projects become actively visible in the story. That is not to say that there is not a huge body of literature, which can be read over this thesis study' research question, but it is believed that the particular novels offer a less complicated example for male national identity production.

## **Overview on Authors**

Both Nikos Kazantzakis and Kemal Tahir play an important role in the creation of a national voice in the literature of their countries because of their way of imagination of the national identity.

Kazantzakis (1883-1957), who-renowned mostly with his seven books<sup>27</sup>, after giving important works in drama and poetry, make a rather late entry to write novels in the 1940s. He influenced from Bergson, Nietzsche, Buddha and Christ, whose doctrines are highly dominant in his work. The aesthetic idealism, metaphysic orientations, an admiration of the effort of proletariat, self assertion and self sacrifice to a struggle or a cause take place

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<sup>27</sup> Zorba the Greek (1946), Christ Recrucified (1948), Freedom and Death (Captain Michalis) (1950), Last Temptation of Christ (1951), God's Pauper: St. Francis of Assisi (1959), Report to Greco (1961), The Fratricides (1964)

in Kazantzakis' novels as products of *a writer of truly vast ambitions* (Beaton, 1999:118, 249). Kazantzakis associated his perspective on above issues with a strong sense of national culture and folk tradition in which one of the main figures becomes the hero, with an affiliation with the concept of superhuman<sup>28</sup>, who devote himself to a struggle for the others and during his sacrifice he reaches his true self. It is believed that Kazantzakis's emphasis on a hero who is identified with his nation and on the representation of the other nation as a negative female character offers the researcher an important field to search in the context of this thesis.

The other author whose book to be analyzed is Kemal Tahir<sup>29</sup> (1910–1973) who as an important place in Turkish literature by his way of interpreting the Turkey's political, social and cultural structure in his novels to find an appropriate national leftist ground appropriate for Turkey. The impact of Marxism is seen in his works with the questioning of the problems between Turkey's facts and Marxist perspective. The problem of Westernization in Turkey takes place in his works within this problematic relation of facts and theories such as the difference he sees between the modernization of West and East. According to Kemal Tahir Turkey's experience of socio-cultural processes before modernization differs from the processes that the West experienced in accordance with the Marxist perspective. Because Anatolia did not experienced feudalism, the state does not base on economic classes but on organization (Avcı: 2004, 123). As a result of this difference, it does not seem possible to Kemal Tahir to apply the same structure in Anatolia in which the state does not belong to classes (ibid: 33). Kemal Tahir evaluates the national identity over the tradition of state in Asia Minor. The novel **Devlet Ana**, which will be analyzed in this thesis work, is the product of the questioning above. The novel's emphasis on different notions of the other

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<sup>28</sup> Superhuman (übermensch): a concept uttered by philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche in his book "Thus Spoke Zarathustra" (1883). The concept emphasizes the "will of power" and concepts such as "self-mastery", "self-cultivation", "self-direction", and "self-overcoming".

<sup>29</sup> Some of Kemal Tahir's most famous novels are: *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* (The People of the Slave City) (1956), *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu* (The Prisoner of the Slave City) (1962), *Yorgun Savaşçı* (Tired Warrior) (1965), *Devlet Ana* (Mother Devlet) (1967) *Kurt Kanunu* (The Rule of the Wolf) (1969), *Yol Ayrımı* (Difference of Ways) (1971)

and the hegemonic state dominated by a masculine stress on concepts such as honor and justice becomes important for the subject of this thesis study.

### **Overview on Novels**

The novel **Kapetan Michales** by Kazantzakis has many parallel stories that enrich the text by providing it new aspects. Roderick Beaton in his article on **Kapetan Michales**, "Of Crete and Other Demons: A Reading of Kazantzakis's Freedom and Death" points out that the novel is developed around a number of interrelated conflicts, which take place in Beaton's work as "demons" (Beaton: 1998:205). The main "demons" are Crete and erotic obsession. Yet, Beaton does not interpret the presence of interrelated conflicts as directed to a single ideology. In the context of this thesis study, the very situation is taken as a direct relationship between the text and the context of nationalist ideology because of the emphasis of the novel on the construction of the self and the other.

The conflicts seen in the basis of the novel can be summed up in three categories, which form the summary of the text. The novel opens in the course of a raising tension between the Greek community of Crete, which is under the Ottoman rule, and the Turkish community. In the nationalist movement of Crete, there is one person who can be considered as the head of the project, Captain Michales. As the main character of the novel, Captain Michales is also the male actor, over whose identity Kazantzakis represents the nationalist discourses aim of a unified masculine identity for the entire nation. Within the masculinist properties of Cretan men, there are also people like Mr. Idomeneas, who sees the result in the help of European lands. However when Idomeneas understands that no one will help Greece, he leaves writing to European leaders to help Greece. There are mainly four Turkish characters: seigneur Nuri Bey, the blood-brother of Captain Michales, the Ottoman Pasha, who believes that the power of the ruler comes from his sexual power on the ruled, the lunatic hodza Efendina and effeminate Ali Aga.

The first conflict of the novel occurs between Captain Michales and his blood brother, Turkish seigneur Nuri Bey. The two men, in spite of the conflicting past of their families, play the role of equivoque for their communities. However, when Emine Hanum, the beautiful wife of Nuri Bey appears in the scene the first conflict begins with Captain Michales' falling in love with her. When Captain Michales proves Emine Hanum that he is stronger than her husband by breaking the glass with his two fingers and Nuri Bey cannot, Emine Hanum chooses Captain Michales' side and the equilibrium between the two strong men of Crete breaks. This is also the starting point of the struggle between Cretans and Turks start.

The second conflict includes Captain Michales, Emine Hanum and Crete, which is represented in the novel as a woman. Captain Michales, who spent his life for the freedom of Crete, becomes deadlocked between his love for Crete and his sexual desire for Emine Hanum, who symbolizes the negative properties of Turkish community. Even does not choose Emine Hanum, his standstill position damages the national project. His controversial situation mirrored by the in between position of his nephew Kosmas, who by bringing his Jewish wife Noëmi to Crete considered as acting unfaithful to his national project. In both of the conflicts the figure of the father appears as a ghost condemning the son's actions. The father of Kosmas kills Noëmi since she is about to bear a child who carries the blood of an outsider and Nuri Bey's father curses him because of his friendship with Captain Michales. The pressure of his father and his wife's love for Captain Michales, leads Nuri Bey to take a vengeance from the Greek community and his anger finds a way to come out when Captain Michales' brother Manousakas insult the Turkish community. Nuri Bey kills Manousakas but before his death Manousakas castrates him. As a result of his castration, Emine Hanum, who estranged from her husband because of his weakness in front of Captain Michales, escapes with Captain Polyxingis, the fellow soldier of Captain Michales. Therefore, the third main conflict appears between Captain Michales, Emine Hanum and Captain Polyxingis. Taking an important role in the nationalist project similar to Captain Michales, Polyxingis is in love with Emine Hanum



and wants to marry her, however, Captain Michales, while keeping on desiring Emine Hanum, he challenges Polyxingis' decision because he considers it as a betrayal to his motherland.

The result of the above conflicts is tied to the narration of national project by the events started with Nuri Bey's suicide. After Nuri Bey kills himself for not being a man anymore, Turkish community attempt to take the revenge of his end and attacks Greeks to clean Crete from Christians. At the same time, Emine Hanum, in the eve of her marriage with Captain Polyxingis, is kidnapped by Turks to be killed her because she causes the death of Nuri Bey. Captain Michales as a result of the conflicts cannot fulfill his duties for his nation and he leaves the struggle to take Emine Hanum back from Turks. However, when he returns to the struggle, he learns that the monastery that his fellows killed to protect t it has been burned by Turks. Because of his regret, he kills Emine Hanum and returns to fight for Crete. With the death of Emine Hanum, the conflicts come to an end. He and Captain Polyxingis, even Captain Michales killed Captain Polyxingis' bride, make peace to fight for their nation; the conflict between him and Crete ends and Captain Michales dies fighting as a hero.

The novel **Devlet Ana** includes the story of foundation of Ottoman rule in the Byzantine lands with the author's specific interpretation of the Ottoman history. The novel **Devlet Ana** has been evaluated with its questioning of the meaning of "state" in the East because of its idealized concept of state, which belongs to all of the public rather than function for the interests of a certain class or group (Avci, 2004:125). Tahir's perspective on the eastern state divides the East and West basing on the function of the state. He people of the East, according to Tahir, cannot live with the norms of the West, which depends on feudalism. As the point above marks, **Devlet Ana** does not only narrate a conflict between Turks and Greeks but examines the Turkish identity in relation with the identity and governance problem of the people of East (living in a certain territory, Asia Minor). However, his emphasis on Turkishness, which is shifted from Turkmen to Turk various times in the narration of the novel, enables the researcher to concentrate on the issue of

nationalism in his work. The Turks take place in the novel as the primary characters, who materialized the requirements of the idealized state. In the materialization process the Greeks become the main target of the struggle.

The novel, because of its perspective on the division between East and West, includes many conflicts. The narration begins in time of economic depression for the nomadic Turkmen community, in which the Turkmens try to protect the peace.

The conflicts start with the appearance of a Frank<sup>30</sup> cavalier, Notüs Gladyüs in the novel. Notüs Gladyüs, his fellow soldier Uranha and Monk Benito, who lives in the territory to destroy the rule become the symbols of the Western intervention to East. In order to create inconsistency in the territory, they kill Demircan, a powerful man of Turkmens and the son of the head of women fighters Bacıbey, using the arrows of the proconsulate of Karacahisar. They also rape and kill the fiancé of Demircan, Greek Liya. Liya's and Demircan's murder create conflicts both in between the Turkmen community and between Turkmens and Greeks. In the community, the peace that is tried to be protected by the head Ertugrul Bey and his son Osman Bey is criticized especially from Bacıbey as a powerful voice in the community. Bacıbey forces her other son Kerimcan to take the vengeance of his brother and adopts the brother of Liya, Mavro, as her son. Mavro joins Kerimcan to find the murderers. The peace between Turkmens and Greeks is jeopardized and the Greek intervention to Turkmen's side started when Filatyos comes to an agreement with the Franks.

In addition to these conflicts, the love of Osman Bey's son Orhan Bey for Lotüs, the daughter of a Byzantine noble and the love of Osman Bey for Balkız, the daughter of the head of Ahi forces Edebali, complicate the situation. The proconsul of Bizantium Rumanos's marriage plans with Lotüs increases the tension between two sides and Alişar Bey's, the governor of Eskişehir, betrayal to his friend Osman Bey to take Balkız, leave Turkmen's alone in the territory.

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<sup>30</sup> Frank: European

The intersection of the conflicts and parallel stories occurs when Turkmen's attack and conquer Bilecik and take the vengeance of Demircan and Liya at the same time. The novel ends with Kerimcan's, after taking his brother's vengeance, proving his male domination in the household.

### **Comparison of the Books**

As for the comparison of the books, it should be noted that **Kapetan Michales** and **Devlet Ana** display differences in the formation of the gendered nationalist discourse. First, they can both be perceived as 'foundation' novels from the respect of the foundation of myths of ancestry but the historical periods narrated in them are different. **Kapetan Michales** narrates the period of emancipation for Crete -in relation between Greece-from the Ottoman rule; **Devlet Ana's** period is an earlier phase, the rise of Ottoman control over Byzantine lands. In spite of the difference, they both narrate the national myth and it is believed in this work, in order to show that nationalism requires *a continuous narrative process* (Bhabba, 1993:293) the specific difference is important.

Secondly, the representation of the 'other' woman is different, again in a useful way to underline the construction of gendered nationalist discourse over different circumstances. The specific distinction between two novels occurs in the distinctions between author's interpretations of the body/identity of the other. Since the understanding of the common history between Greece and Turkey varies, the approaches of the authors naturally differ in the point of understanding the power relations. For Kazantzakis, as a author from Greece who lived the experience of domination and emancipation, the other whose discourse is "dominance"<sup>31</sup>, becomes the danger to be emancipated from. On the other side, since Kemal Tahir belongs to a nation in which the 'discourse of tolerance' and the experience of sovereignty still have their own validity According to this view, the approach to the other becomes more

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<sup>31</sup> The other, for Kazantzakis, represents the Turks. In the period of the novel Crete was a part of Ottoman Empire in which the rulers were Turks. As a result of their position in Crete, Turkish community in Crete adopts the dominant, oppressive discourses in **Kapetan Michales**.

“tolerant” than that of Kazantzakis. At this point, the possible meanings of the “tolerance” should be explained widely in order to avoid from misunderstandings. The “discourse of tolerance”, which will not take place among the titles of discourses because it does not have a comparative value for the thesis, is one of the most well-known discourses in modern Turkey’s glance to the past. According to the particular discourse the attitude of Ottoman power towards the non-Muslim communities under its rule display a highly tolerant characteristic basing on its structure, which did not force the communities to change their religion. However, there are also many counter interpretations on the very structure especially coming from nations that were the subject of its sanctions.

Returning back to the main issue, it is important to note that the discourse of tolerance, in comparison with the discourse of dominance creates a different owner<sup>32</sup> relationship with the other women and what they symbolize. For instance, for the subject of the dominance other women’s bodies symbolize the lacks of the ruling power, on the other extreme for the discourse of tolerance they symbolize the vulnerability of the area to be conquered. In **Devlet Ana**, Kemal Tahir basically tells the story of foundation of the Ottoman Empire as a golden age in Turkish history, but the novel can also be read as the creation of the paternal authority on women. The parallel story of Kerimcan and his mother Devlet Ana<sup>33</sup> (Bacıbey) is both the story of being a national man and being the subject of a national man. **Kapetan Michales** also has that strict paternal voice, which directs the texts to be the story of being a national man and excluding women from the public area of nationalism. The Father is powerfully in and over the two stories not as only an actual father but mostly the Rule of the father, which defeat all the obstacles in front of the national man.

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<sup>32</sup> According to the ‘discourse of tolerance’ Turkish identity is constructed as the tolerant but also the dominant identity over the other national identities within the Ottoman Empire. The specific discourse on the one hand tries to approach the other in a liberal way but on the other it constructs the difference between national and other communities in its paradoxical structure.

<sup>33</sup> Devlet Ana (Bacıbey) as the woman from whom the title of the book is taken will be analyzed in the ‘Honor of nation Discourse’ chapter as the signifier of male power and the repressed feminine essence in the national project.

Both of the authors' emphasis on a distinct community, Cretans for Kazantzakis and Turkmens for Tahir; represents the positive and strong side of their nations rather than creating a difference within the community. In fact, the particular situation stresses the masculine superiority ideal within the national discourse. Kazantzakis, as a Cretan, unites the wider narrative of his nation with the smaller context narrative of his home country, Crete and chooses the Cretans as the ideal male actors in the narrative. But, still the wider national narrative dominates the book. The life of the primary national character, of Captain Michales, is tied to the memory of the warriors of Greek War of Independence:

The warriors of 1821<sup>34</sup> glimmered all around the walls with their weapons, their cartridge-belts and pistols. Their moustaches were twirled into needles, their hair fell to their shoulders... For a while Captain Michales forgot his own thoughts. He gazed at them and greeted each one. He was not sure of their faces, of where they had fought, which manly deeds they had carried out, and from which region they came -Rumelia, the Morea, the Islands, or Crete. One thing only he knew for certain: that all these men had fought against the Turks, and that was enough for him (Kazantzakis, 1966:42).

In the quotation above, in addition to the sense of national belonging the unifying effect of the other figure come on the scene. The image of Turk, the other, unites the regions of Greece. The novel includes another interesting point for the understanding of communities. Creating the other as feminine, Kazantzakis chooses the wife of the Captain Michales' friend and rival Turk Nuri Bey. Yet, the symbol of the lacks of the other side is not a Turk, She, Emine Hanum is a Circassian. The position of the Emine Hanum can be explained in two ways. The first one would be the relativity between the Turkish and Circassian identity, however since Emine Hanum does not see any such relativity between two identities this answer cannot be valid<sup>35</sup>. The answer given to that complexity from this thesis study is the subjection of

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<sup>34</sup> 1821: Beginning year of the Greek War of Independence.

<sup>35</sup> Emine Hanum mentions the lands he was born as her country where she was not forced to veil her face and being away from men (Kazantzakis, 1966:32)

women to men in the nationalist discourse. As wife of a Turk, Emine Hanum's identity belongs to the national ties of her husband. Being a Circassian, except from the determination of the roots of her will for men, does not intervene her being a symbol of lacking Turkishness.

In **Devlet Ana** by Kemal Tahir, the position of Turkmens against the other is more different than that of **Kapetan Michales**. Choosing the Turkmens as the first actor in his interpretation of national history, Tahir eliminates some communities that are considered to exist in the Turkish history such as Seljuks. The particular national position is not of great importance for the novel's reality. For this thesis study another point becomes complex since Turkmens, in **Devlet Ana**, have to fight with several others rather than one. However the complexity clarified by the author himself in the novel and Greeks are recognized as the main target: *Our incursions are directed to Greekness* (Tahir, 1967:577)

An assumed parallel position between two novels is their narrating a similar emancipation. However, as it has been uttered above, such difference that takes place between the novels of this work is more useful to examine the different ways of construction of the male national prototype. The analysis of the texts will mediate between the parallel stories in the books in order to figure out the broader discourse of sexualized nationalism.

The first discourse analyzed in novels is the "Honor of nation" discourse which can also be considered as an access to the general structure of both novels in spite of the specific stress on the concept of honor. To make a comparison between two fictional worlds, the particular presentation of features of second importance is useful and necessary. The necessity of an access results from the importance of certain formulations within the novels, which strengthen the comparison even they do not have an important comparative value such as the position of national women within the national sphere of both novels, which makes the role of the other more understandable for the analysis.

Within the limits of 'Honor of Nation' discourse it is aimed to achieve a reading of the unconscious bonds of the concept of honor, which in the

broader psychoanalytic context plays a linking role in the national area by creating divisions between national and other. The first question directed to the specific discourse is its creation in the novels related with two intersecting stories: a story of national project and a love story both interfered from each other. Through the questioning of the reason of their intersection, it is intended to make a deeper analysis of other women's and nations' becoming an object of desire in the national projects. Desire and lack as twin elements of identity process become supporters of the borders created with honor. The desire for a nation is reflected to the nationalist voice of both novels as a desire for other nation's women with several differences between the texts. Yet, otherness is not shaped in a unique way; it rather changes its shape –in both novels-.

As it will be discussed in the analysis, the directions coming from the particular discourse influence the construction of otherness in a contradictory way such as the other woman's becoming national and also becoming other for her previous community or more interestingly, keeping her otherness while she is accepted as national.

According to the answers found in the texts, the following questioning will be on the role of otherness to construct the distinctive characteristics of nations over the concept of honor. In this second section of the discussion, the main point is the differences between the aims that led the construction of male national identity and the results taken from the particular identity construction. Briefly, it is the questioning of phallic order of the novels' structure in which the male identity destabilized continually from the dominance of the father. In accordance with the analysis of the *reign of father*, it is believed that the access of otherness –constructed over feminine metaphors- to the national domain takes place as a result of the unstable grounds of patriarchy; other women become the stabilizing units of male identity production. Honor, in this context becomes one of the most efficient tools to make a distinction between two sides –the national and the other- because of its sexual roots and availability for domination as it will be examined in the analysis of novels.

Similar to the intersection of love stories and national projects in the novels, in the second discourse of the analysis, the “Discourse of Feminization”, there is again a dual formation of the subject, which also includes the honor boundaries. Yet, in the ‘discourse of Feminization’ male national identity construction is materialized over the concept of national and other men’s confrontation in the battlefield. The battlefield has a specific importance for nations’ coming into being since it displays interesting ways of creating the other of one nation. In the field of military struggle, the nationalist discourse’s goal to achieve a unified male identity collides with the threat of sexual harassment. As it is seen clearly in this situation, the main danger is directed not to national women but to the national men’s honor, which has direct influence on their sense of identity. Once the plot of novels shifted to the military struggle between two nations, nationalist discourse change the properties attributed to the other. The other, in this context created with male identity, stigmatized with sexual deficiency. At this point what differentiates the borders become national side’s sexual sufficiency and respect to issues of honor and other side’s sexual deficiency or deviance (castration, lewdness, pedophilia).

There are certain points, mostly contradictions, in this binary structure between two sides that the analysis will focus on. The first contradiction results from the aim of the authors to create the borders both with honor and sexual efficiency, which creates inconsistencies between the text and subtext. Yet, in such circumstances, for instance when the honored national man cannot balance his sexuality and finds himself in inconvenient situations, the discourse justifies him by accusing woman of behaving ill-mannered. Briefly, the national male characters’ gaze, in the subtext, constructs sexual possession on other women contrary to the claims of the texts on the sexually accurate attitudes of the national.

Secondly, the castration of the other signifies one important property of the national. The other is constructed as the mirror image of the self, which means the other cannot reflect anything that does not belong to the national.



In this context, the castrated character becomes the carrier of the national's anxiety of castration.

Lastly, the analysis will focus on the background of the other's representation, which clarifies the subject of the particular section. Regarding that the other woman's relation with the male national identity construction is the main issue for the analysis, the dialogue between men without any reference to femininity could be out of the limits of the thesis. However, as the analysis will display, the other's way of construction is mainly related with what femininity recalls in the masculine unconscious. This very point becomes the deconstructive element of the state-of-affairs in both of the novels and also of the wider nationalist discourse that they constitute a part of it.

From the point of perceiving the other sexually, the discourse of "woman as land" continues to ascribe otherness sexually based characteristics. The other in the 'woman as land' discourse seen in two main categories: a woman identified with land or a land represented as a woman. The main point in both of the categories is the construction of femininity in close resemblance with land symbolizing for both the national identity and other's identity a vulnerable point to attack.

The notion of femininity as a representation of land and vice versa causes a controversy between the previous discourse, "discourse of feminization" and the particular discourse. Contrary to the sexual weakness of the previous discourse, 'woman as land' discourse constructs the other as sexually powerful. The point is interesting yet understandable since the focus of both of the novels has shifted from national passivity to national activity and will to extend their lands. Both the national and the other women's role determined according to this context as being the passive symbols. However the very situation rather than representing a unified notion of femininity creates its validity over the differences between women. In both of the novels the main difference between lands given by using feminine metaphors.

Both Kazantzakis and Tahir, within this discourse, while describing the other male actors according to the 'the other as rapist' notion in the national

memory, their perceiving other women as lands to be conquered marks a masculine notion of sexual desire and possession for also the national side.

The main emphasis given to the discourse “woman as land” in the analysis is the ways that signifies the specific masculinity which takes its most exemplary shape in the use of gaze and desire and according to which the other male actors’ aim of assault has been created.

After analyzing the three discourses, the fourth discourse, the “dangerous other” deals with the intersecting points between the three discourses in which the other’s presence in all the cases signifies a danger for the community. Whether they be a ‘good other’ such as Liya in **Devlet Ana** or the “bad other” as Emine Hanum in **Kapetan Michales**; whether they are adopted from the community like Lotüs in the **Devlet Ana** or excluded in favor of the national project such as Noëmi in **Kapetan Michales**; other women’s presence marks a danger –at least for the continuity of the pure blood- towards the honor, lands, common identity of the nations.

The analysis of this discourse intends to find the reasons under the representation of otherness as a danger for the community on the one hand and to find the intersecting points in the creation of the other to reach the effect of femininity on the national discourse on the other.

## **4.2 Analysis of the Novels**

### **4.2.1 Honor of Nation Discourse**

In **Kapetan Michales** Kazantzakis tells the story of an emancipation project, a partial but important one after the foundation of Greek nation-state and by **Devlet Ana**, Kemal Tahir attaches to the national Turkish memory the starting point of the conquer of the Byzantine lands as a Golden Age, a keystone of Turkish history.

The interesting point is both of the authors' choice to narrate the stories by giving the main importance to love, not only love for nation or an idea of a state but a love for women. At first sight, they seem like stories of national experiences strongly articulated to the parallel story of love, which after one point takes over the main emphasis. Yet, a deeper analysis would show that there are not several stories but one: the story of the nation. By eroticizing the land and nation over feminine representations, the authors' point matches with that of the nationalist unconscious. Nation as the love object of its national men is both the desired and the escaping object. It continually escapes from the hands of the national men because it is also the target of the others (who lack and invaluable to conquer it). The Desire for a nation, to protect it and to possess it at most related with the issue of honor since the symbolic understanding of the threat against nation is the threat against the 'virginity' of a national identity such as the example given in the chapter 2.2, the example of the parallelism constructed between the French woman violated during the Nazi occupation and France as the 'actual' receiver of violation (Pettman, 1996:189).

Within this parallelism, women's primary role becomes to obey the rules of honor inside their borders with the protection of men. They serve as the metaphor of domination of one group over another through which *men mediates his engagement with the world* (Kittay, 1997:266). In such a system of representations, women's role becomes signifying the male power by the patriarchal emphasis on various lacks attributed to feminine identity. The metaphorization of women as the signifier of power, leads women to mediate between men and their perception of the outer world. As a vehicle of representation and of the conceptualization of the domain, which is aimed to be known by male identity, women are positioned into a variety of symbols from positive to negative:

She is subjected in language only to become a passive spectacle of male phantasy, contradictorily either denigrated as worthless, the male bad phantasy of himself – the witch woman, unruly monster or whore-, or idealized as the male

good phantasy of himself and destined to become the Absolute other, the site of all knowledge, wisdom and truth -The Madonna, the Wise Woman from the Mountains, the unattainable Goddess. Woman, therefore reflects back to men, like the Imaginary mother, a good or bad dimension of himself. (...) without her project onto he is nothing. She becomes a symptom of male lack. (Minsky, 1996:160)

The various meanings given to women from the wider nationalist discourse give rise to complexities and intersection points among the discourses to be analyzed in this chapter. The high symbolization causes vague borders between the actual women's bodies and what they represent causing also another problem for distinguishing the discourses from one another. As it will be analyzed below feminine figures do not only represent bonds of honor, nation or the land itself, in many cases the aforesaid objects can be personified. The contradictory metaphorizations directed to women find their most explanatory shape when they unified in the myth of Hellen the Beautiful<sup>36</sup>. Kittay's interpretation on Hellen helps us to perceive the intersection of representations on women's body. Hellen's mythic representation stands between the positive and negative metaphors dedicated to women as the woman who both becomes the reason of war – negative mediation- and the reason of the unity among Greeks –positive mediation- (Kittay, 1997:271).

In the two books to be analyzed in this thesis study there are more simple and sharper representations, however it is still difficult to examine at what point female characters' positive and negative mediations are differed from each other. Lotüs in the **Devlet Ana** and Emine in the **Kapetan Michales** are both actual women in novels' world and the symbols of their territories and national characteristics. Again, Crete in **Kapetan Michales** serves in the novel both as the land and as a woman; moreover if it is not an

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<sup>36</sup> Hellen the Beautiful: the beautiful daughter of Zeus and Leda who becomes the reason of Trojan War after leaving her husband Menelaus for Trojan prince Paris. Kittay uses her example since Hellen carries many of the positive and negative symbols of femininity. Moreover, Hellen herself is the complete example of women's identification of land and honor. She becomes signifier of both Greek and Trojan men's honor and she can be seen as a representation of the Dardanelles, which aimed to be taken from Trojans.

overinterpretation it could be assumed that the debate between Emine Hanum and Crete is a parallel story in the novel on a debate for one man who is owned by two women. Both Lotüs and Emine Hanum become the national woman but they are at the same time the other. National men bring them into his community and enable them a certain kind of recognition. According to the new identity they gain, their position for their communities (their own and that of their men) becomes questionable. In times of war, they are perceived as the member of both communities and become a battlefield but for times of peace or national crisis they are taken as the enemy for both sides. Their position is a usual outcome of the attachments tied to nation with bonds of honor. As a woman of their community they serve as the 'other in', the national other of national man; for other communities they are the 'other out' in times of peace and the 'dangerous other' in times of war; for their husband's or lover's community they can at best be the "useful other", not an enemy but still a signifier of borders.

### **Law of the Father**

To differentiate women's contradictory position (other in/other out, useful other/dangerous other etc.) in the "honor of nation" discourse, the main importance lies in the male side of the picture, which shifts the relationship between nation to an issue of Desire, which naturally direct the researcher into the analysis of Patriarchal order governed by the Law of the Father and the problem of lack.

Nation's being eroticized by male desire, as it has been indicated in the chapter 2.1, causes a relationship of protection and possession, which occur in both conscious and unconscious realms. In the system where *those who 'have' rather than 'lack' it are privileged* (Minsky, 1996:150), national women as the others with a lack are possessed and held responsible from the reproduction of nation while men are privileged to protect the borders created from feminine labor and feminine bodies.

The erotization of nation as an object to die and kill for results from its perception in the unconscious as a object of Desire, which as a runaway dream of union with mother, shifts continually in phantasy to abstract or concrete objects and own its validity in its impossibility to be owned:

Object a, which is not the partner in the couple but the object as cause of desire (...) This object as cause is not independent of the phallic problematic since it intervenes as a complement that compensates for the phallic lack resulting from castration. (...) It is a signifier, but one that paradoxically not in the other (Soler, 2002:106, 107).

In both of the novels object of Desire, becomes the nation: a feminine but abstract nation usually referred as “mother” or a nation embodied as a woman on which, in both circumstances, it is impossible to create a whole possession. The primary actor of the sexual-national discourse, man, tries to fulfill his Desire, by situating the nation in the core, directs its through from one woman/land to another, from one sexual relationship to other in which one woman may take the role of a lover but on the other she can be the who is violated killed or lose her value after being possessed such as the case of Emine Hanum in **Kapetan Michales** and Lotüs in **Devlet Ana**. The third term, the Phallus, is always visible in the whole plot of novels. As Minsky points out:

Fundamentally, the actual meaning of the phallus is therefore not power but powerlessness, that they defeat by the superior power of the father and the loss of the mother as an object of Desire as well as identification. (Minsky, 1996:153)

From the side of the novel’s male characters, it becomes a war against the lacking self of the hero, which in essence is a war between the powerful father and less powerful son: a claim of power. They try to reach the unity by giving an end to the oppressive affect of Father by proving their unity. In the Symbolic domain created by authors; the fathers and forefathers are always strong that prevents most of the acts of the characters or force them to act as

they want. In **Kapetan Michales** by Kazantzakis, the symbol of Father takes place both as a memory, which directs his son's life and as a forceful ghost, which is able to act in place of his son. For Captain Michales, he himself is a "worm" in comparison with his forefathers, the bold race of Mad Michales the Turk gobbler, (Kazantzakis, 1966:10), however, in his time, even his personal belief is in the opposite direction, he, now, is the man of his community who *swaggers along with his grandfathers bow over his shoulder* (Kazantzakis, 1966:9), in other words who continues his forefathers' mission. Only if he can continue living as them, they can live as well in the daily memory of their community:

(...) and his fear-inspiring grandfather 'Mad Michales' rose up in flesh and blood to his inward eye. How could he die, who had so many children and grandchildren? (Kazantzakis, 1966:9)

Michales lives almost in the past surrounded by old memories and narratives feeling a great respect to them even he does not know their actual stories:

The warriors of 1821 glimmered all around the walls with their weapons, their cartridge-belts and pistols. (...) He was not sure of their faces, of where they had fought (...) one thing only he knew for certain: that all these men had fought against the Turks, and that was enough for him (Kazantzakis, 1966:42).

The main emphasis here is the position of the Turks to the other side, as a complete, absolute other on which Captain Michales can achieve his true self. A different figure of other, whose existence is of key importance for the novel is the hero of the Turks, is Nuri Bey, who is described almost with the same positive characteristics with Captain Michales and who is Michales' both best friend and enemy. In his case also there is a father, a Turkish father, who tries to prevent him from his relations from Greeks and who became the reason of his son's acts:

He (Nuri Bey, P:K:) remembered now, perfectly clearly, his last night's dream; his father had stood over his pillow, shaggy, dirty and barefooted—her who never deigned to touch earth with his foot! He raised his long, blackened hand: 'How many years already,' he roared at him, 'have I been wandering around your damned konak? Since 1866. Count them! Twenty three years! I fondly believed my son, my only son, would think of me and night and sharpen the knife to avenge my blood...I glide about your miserable house, but all I hear is laughter and mandolines and song. And you abandon me, to wander in shame up and down the streets and fields! Why do we get sons? That they may avenge our blood. And you've not been ashamed to become blood-brother to the brother of my murderer! And you show him your wife without a veil! Damn you, you *giaour*<sup>37</sup>!' (Kazantzakis, 1966:87)

The fathers behind Captain Michales and Nuri Bey constitute the primary obstacle for their friendship which is at first balanced with their equality. As this point depicts, the problem between two nations has been exhibited by the author as an eternal fight started between forefathers and inherited to the next generations. In other words the symbol of Father, the unconscious oppression that directs male identity has constituted the rule of being a man, moreover a national man, as not to be the other, the lacking representation of self which created a difference in the realm of the sameness. It is being the most powerful man/community in the area as Nuri Bey tells to himself:

Shame on me! he said aloud. 'The earth ought to open and swallow me. Since you are no longer the best man in the land, what do you still want of life? Anathema<sup>38</sup> upon it!' (Kazantzakis, 1966:86)

When he loses his power and the control of his wife's honor, by showing her to Captain Michales, he is accused of infidelity from his father as his father's words above express.

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<sup>37</sup> Giaour: infidel

<sup>38</sup> Anathema: curse, excommunication



Nuri Bey's position as an almost perfect representation of Captain Michales, at first, does not suit with the proposition above, however Kazantzakis plays with the reader in his ascription of symbolic realm. He transforms Nuri Bey to a genderless, miserable, womanlike position to break the equality.

Father's authority continues to lead all along the novel, till the end of Captain Michales who killed but at the same time manage to identify with the Father and the souls of his ancestors. Another powerful father figure among the other fathers in the novel is Michales' dead brother, who intervenes his son's life even and because of he is a ghost. Ghosts are not powerless creatures in the world of fiction, they are rather the most dominant symbols of the third term, the phallus, which since it does not happen to be granted to any son in the world can only be obtained from a ghost, a soul, a myth who governs the symbolic realm. The ghost in Kazantzakis' novel kills his daughter in law to save his race from other's blood. When Kosmas brings his wife Noëmi to Crete, who changed her religion from Judaism to Christianity in order to marry him, his father's footsteps begin to be heard at night in the house, he stands behind the door of their room making them afraid of his undoubted power. Kosmas in his dreams tries to stop him but he manages to prevent the birth of a half-blood:

The longer she (Noëmi, P.K.) stared, the more strongly she felt the air in front of the bed thicken and take on a shape. At first two silver pistols gleamed in the air, and then a powerful neck and a black, waxed moustache and two eyes, lowering from behind thick, bristling brows...Between the two bedpost there came a visible man.

'Holy Virgin!' Noëmi screamed. 'Help! Drive him away!'

But he at once raised his hand, seized the coverlet and wrenched it inside. Then he struck at Noëmi's body with his fist. The poor girl gave a shrill shriek and rolled from the bed on to the floor. The mother heard her, ran upstairs and found the young woman in a pool of blood. (Kazantzakis, 1966:458)

In the situation of **Devlet Ana**, the fathers are alive or died after a particular point to stress their son's power, yet the problem of child's being

inferior than his father remains the same as it is in the **Kapetan Michales**. The head of Turkmen community, Ertuğrul Bey even he is ill, pass the power to his son Osman Bey since he cannot count on completely his abilities:

Like all the old men, he was afraid that there would be inexperience, mistakes committed, that those he left behind would be placed in danger. (Tahir, 1967:123)

Only after his father's death Osman Bey can express his future plans for the community:

No! If I told you this when my father was alive, you would have said, 'He is too young to realize the facts! Most of the time, fathers do not thrust their sons mind... You would understand my purpose when I was his deputy and would ruin my plans!' (Tahir, 1967:183)

After being the head, Osman Bey takes over the power of being a father and being faultless in front of his son Orhan Bey. When Orhan Bey aims to take Lotüs from under his protection, Osman Bey refuses his plan in order to maintain peace and to make Orhan Bey obey shows his frightening side (Tahir, 1967:512).

The primary characters in the novels, to construct their power in place of the Law of the Father need to build their unity against the others, the other men and their women. In such a structure women's role described within the fragmented area of honor and other men are evaluated by acts of women from their side and their acts against honor. For both of the authors to distinguish the sovereignty of the other nation from the national one is based on a simple and certain binarity: the national rulers are respectful to the concept of honor mostly related with chastity of women but the others are basically "other" because their Law formulate against the honor.

Father as an obstacle or righter of wrongs leads the appearance of another problem. Regarding that there is a classification between the Father's and son's power, which categorizes son as the secondary force, then how come a lacking one, under the affect of Father's wholeness,

become a national hero, a national prototype who symbolize the nation's specific superior character, its value for which its people should sacrifice? From this very point begins the women's role and oppression and other women gain a specific importance in comparison with the national ones.

### **Borders and Honor**

In comparison of the two novels, it can be observed that Kazantzakis's way of construction of the other is a more straight way basing on sharp binarities, Tahir, to the contrary, for the others within the community, chooses an in between way resulted from the discourse of tolerance, which stipulates a professedly union that essentially takes its power from the inferiority of the other. A good example for this complexity is the situation of Mavro, who changes his religion and becomes a Muslim in order not to be in the same religion of the killers of his sister. However, his position remains always secondary in comparison with Turkmens with innate Muslim identity:

(For Mavro's father) You can't expect an infidel to have such brains, can you? But your Father Kara Vasil... (ibid: 353)

To be accused of being an outsider is an efficient tool for sexual national discourse, which stresses in essence the distinction between the national and the other. Even it is announced, as it has been declared in **Devlet Ana**, that the others rights are protected from the national, there is still a sharp division between the two sides. It is proclaimed in the book that Turkmen rule protects non-Muslims and in cases of disturbance against them perpetrators would be punished, yet their identity passes in the related page as *infidel*, which stresses the point of difference (ibid: 103). Infidel has been used several times in the work in cases to put emphasis on the superiority of the national side such as in the example of insisting on an approval of a girl who resists obeying: "*Are you an infidel, an infidel concubine*" (ibid: 127).

Looking at the general structure of two novels on the issue of honor, it is seen that the plot formulates in **Devlet Ana** similar to that of Kazantzakis:

the national women become more honorable as a result of the other's attempts to violate. However the perception of other women dissimilates than that of **Kapetan Michales**. Rather than excluding the other woman as they are in Kazantzakis, Tahir constructs a different way of signifying the other. In **Devlet Ana** Turkmen's approach to other women as if other women were their own possession. Such an attitude on the one hand includes other women to Turkmen community but on the other classify them as secondary in comparison between national women.

Tahir's novel gives the researcher a good point for the analysis of the "honor of nation" discourse by adding two opposite names together: **Devlet** (state) and **Ana** (mother). Even "Devlet" is represented by masculine characteristics and "Ana" is by nature feminine, the formulation of the subject makes the reason of the particular naming clear. Devlet is the name of the *most powerful* (Tahir, 1967:28) woman in the Turkmen community, who is called Bacıbey after being the head of Turkmen women fighters. Not only being a name but a metaphor also, the state is used mostly with its parallel meaning the power, the power of honor, which fits women's role of supporting men's power. Within Turkmen community, as it is confessed from the "other" (from Greek Mavro), "*even the women are combative*" (Tahir, 1967:28). By attributing women a masculine power Tahir constructs the dominance of men in a way no one would question their power. Yet, the name **Devlet Ana** offers more than a simple supporting factor. Bacıbey as the head of the women of the community adopts the mission of protecting community's honor within the borders in a contradictory way of behavior. On the one hand she rejects her elder son Demircan's marriage plans with a Greek girl (Liya): "*To my house... An irreligious bride? I am not dead yet!*" (Tahir, 1967:117)

On the other hand she takes the side of Mavro, who after his sister Liya's and Demircan's murder calls on her help. She refuses to surrender Mavro to proconsul Filatyos claiming that she found a son in place of her dead son (Tahir1967:194). Her attitude is evaluated by the head of the Turkmen's as "protection of honor" (Tahir, 1967:195) meaning that Devlet

Hatun by protecting the weak against the powerful other secures the continuity of community's fair system, their masculine honor in other words. As a sum of the properties attributed to Devlet Hatun as the representative of the Turkmen women, it can be observed that she signifies both the honor and masculine power unifying the primary roles in her name which is also the title. As a signifier in a foundation novel Devlet Hatun is the messenger of a new system (Ottoman rule), which is rightful and honored.

The masculinization of female characters is not seen as clear in **Kapetan Michales** as it is in **Devlet Ana**, yet, femininity's "masquerade" of masculine attitudes to support male power still exists in the text of Kazantzakis. As the title of his novel **Kapetan Michales** signifies, he uses a more direct way to stress masculine domination over nations by attributing the whole power of a community in one, dominant national hero. In the formulation of the structure of **Kapetan Michales**, Kazantzakis gives the priority to man's power, his fight and his Desire. In such a system of symbolic realm, women's position becomes to stress men's power by being weak and passive. Still, as a novel based on the Law of the Father, the authority of the ancestors over the new generation is given by a positive reflection of paternal power from women's power:

Those were men still, snarled Captain Michales, frowning, those were giants not worms like us! So were their womenfolk-yes, even wilder. (Kazantzakis, 1966:10)

However, he does not continue to ascribe women male characteristics in the era of the novel which belongs to a time of political crisis in Crete, where Greeks are oppressed and should be emancipated. The emancipation process leads communities in a familiar picture of man fighting with the enemy with the help of woman carrying ammunition to the front-lines. War is for men who are responsible from the honor of the nation and from the lives and honor of women and children. Thus, **Kapetan Michales** passes in between men with no special presence of women except

that of Emine Hanum, which will be discussed in the last chapter “The dangerous other”.

To the contrary, Tahir’s novel **Devlet Ana** narrates a period of increase in the power of Turkmens; it is time for leaving the times of poverty and become the most efficient political power in the era. It is a difficult era in which male power is in front of the scenes, where *in the world of 1290 death was much more usual than life* (Tahir, 1967:196). In the world of 1290, the lands of Anatolia have been divided between several powers, which are either in decline or collapse and are not able to keep their power on the land: *land does not have state, state does not have master* (ibid: 207).

Nevertheless, women’s power is necessary to claim possession, authority in the era of Rising to create a structure in which the domination of men are unquestionable and Tahir’s choice to display it is to achieve it from the positive reflection.

In spite of the particular difference of choices, in general, national women’s status is being the “other in” of the national men. They can be combative or even powerful like men but not in place of men, they are still the secondary, passive sides of the binarity. It has been noted that one can read the **Devlet Ana** as men’s taking control over the feminine power. The most powerful woman within the Turkmens, who beat her son to make him a man, is whipped by her son to step back in the end of the book confirming that he at the end reaches the status of a man (Tahir, 1967:623). At the point the male power and order strengthen enough, there is no need for masculine women in the battlefield; **Devlet Ana** steps back and leaves her son to be what he wants. The difference between men and women within the national borders, which is clear in the structure of the novel, is transmitted to the reader in sentences as “*One, a woman's hair should never be dry, two, her eyes should never be dry*”, (ibid: 104) or, “*It doesn't become a man to lament like women*” (ibid: 111). A woman can’t complain about her husband’s having a second wife since it is not an honorable attitude:

How dare a woman get angry for that? What kind of a impudent she must be... (ibid: 222)

A structure such as Tahir's contradictory one in which women change position in between public and private domains does not take place in **Kapetan Michales**. In the work of Kazantzakis, women are completely out of public domain and discourse. The only role given to national women is the first category of Anthias and Yuval-Davis' five major categories: Being the biological reproducers of ethnic collectivities (1992:115), to bear new generations to fight for Crete and Greece. There is only one woman, who challenges the rules for women, Emine Hanum and her danger as other comes from the very property of her. In other words, Kazantzakis, to create a complete otherness for men of Crete, attributes her that position. Within the national sphere, women are subjected to an inferior position and opposite reflection of men. The only woman who is attributed positive properties is Crete; the others are "*factory*" of babies for the nation in a *bad time to have factories* (Kazantzakis, 1998:310). Within the "other in" position, there is a strong protection over women, however this situation changes when an interaction happens between two nations as the passage about Pasha depicts:

What's to be expected of life, when you can't misbehave anymore, when you can't do away with a man when you want to, or kiss any woman you want to? What sort of Pacha I am? (Kazantzakis, 1966:122)

In cases of other's sexual approach to the national women, the masculine nationalist discourse surround them with honor and the other women becomes the object of immorality:

Do as if you'd never seen her, Pacha Efendi. This is Crete. Here we shall have trouble. Don't sigh. Shall I fetch the Armenian girl? (Kazantzakis, 1966: 123)

For Pasha's situation, the honor of Greek women is mirrored by the other woman, the Armenian. She is to be the immoral to make the former moral. Pacha does not force her to be with him, he does not have to, because she is a woman who leaves the door open willingly *for it enchanted her, at the moment when strangers –Turks, Christians, Armenians, Jews- were embracing her, to feel her husband close by and to shudder with fear* (Kazantzakis, 1966:123).

### **Male Phantasy on the Other:**

Looking back to the subject of this work on other women's side, it is seen that there are two love stories, in which men fall in love with abstract concepts in shape of women. Not all the women in texts are representing the good phantasy however; there are also women from the other side. Two types of women then: national women and other women, both surrounded with honor, the two faces of Hellen. The role of the other women is harder than the national ones, since the most difficult charge belongs to them. For the determination of other's role, I'll use a quotation from Patricia J. Williams' sharp article on the male phantasy on the other:

White women are prostitutes; black women are whores. White women sell themselves, in implied Dickensian fashion, because they are jaded and desperate; black women *whore* as a way of being, as an innateness of sootiness and contamination, as a sticky-sweet inherency of black womanhood persistently imaged as overripe fruit – so they whore, according to the phantasy script, as easily as they will cut your throat or slit open said deep sweet fruit, spitting out afterwards a predictable steam of blood and seeds and causal uses. (Williams, 1997: 338)

What Williams deciphered is the only one side of the situation, there are also circumstances within which other women included to the national side empower the national men. In both situations it is clear that the aim is to strengthen and unify the image of nation's owner, men, and women are



positioned as “other in” and “other out”, to stress the particular power. As for the “woman out”, there is not only one binarity. They are at most the *whores as a way of being*, yet there is a second role ascribed to them: to show the inferiority of their side, the side of the other, by being good other women.

The particular role is interesting for it is complex reflection; hence it is useful to mention that these are mostly the chosen ones, the ones that the male phantasy possesses to verify his power such as the case of Lotüs in **Devlet Ana** and Noëmi in **Kapetan Michales**. Noëmi’s being the other in becomes problematic for the national discourse, even she does not generate any danger coming from her personality. She becomes the subject of patriarchal nationalist father to protect his blood and construct his descent in a whole-image of self. She is not immoral but deficient. Only after her death, her husband can completely devote his life to the primary object of desire: the nation. To the contrary, Lotüs, even at first the Father tries inhibit her inclusion to the national area, in the end she is welcomed as a result of what her symbolizes for the national discourse. She as a symbol of an omen of victory, national side gladly takes her in as a signifier of its power. First of all, she is an honorable girl, who refuses to marry the man her father wants her to marry. She symbolizes a virgin land under the control of a dishonored rule because of which the *honor, life and properties of the public are in danger* (Tahir, 1967:480), a virgin land which resists the assault of the wrong master. In the parallelism between her and her land, the master becomes the future husband of Lotüs, a very old man to take the responsibility of her honor under control. So, the “discourse of tolerance” adopts her with half pity half love. They, as the right identity save her and her land from wrong hands and since she willingly surrender her honored life to them, it also put an emphasis on their honor and a unified sense of identity.

What is the difference between Lotüs and Noëmi? They are both honorable women, who cannot harm the image of national men? Even they both have a different religion than that of the national; only one is adopted from the discourse. A possible reason may be the difference in the era of the two novels. For **Kapetan Michales** it is urgent to unify against the other, to

make war for the land and national honor, which means the adoption of an other for those circumstances is a step back, moreover, being a Jew, she does not signify any value for the national goal. A Turkish woman's being christened within those circumstances could be taken as a sign of victory such as the case of Emine Hanum, but she was only a useless addition, which being useless, also prevents her husband's devotion of the national case. So the Father tries to save his son and his blood from her prevention. Lotüs, on the other hand, is a signifier of a new period for Turks, a period of domination over extending lands. In the era of the novel, **Devlet Ana** she is the proof of a sovereignty that has to be changed and the rightfulness of the action of "saving" these lands because of her innocence. The difference is created because of the need of national discourse, for its re-conceptualization and re-production according to the changing time.

Being the subject of the honor of nation discourse women's position fragmented in the national area. In cases of the two novels the powerful discourse on honor makes itself extremely concrete by creating borders between the national and the other. In chapter 2.2 it has been stressed that the borders of nations are drawn with gender relations and inequalities. Mostly related with honor, women take the position of *symbolic border guards* by becoming the embodiment of the ascriptions on their nations. Within the limits of women's signification process of the nation's properties and borders, national women become the target of modernist and anti-modernist national discourse with the opposing arguments on such as women's clothing, women's education or women's right for vote (Yuval-Davis, 2003: 54-55).

A very interesting and Janusfaced formulation of "honor of nation" discourse is seen in **Kapetan Michales** in Emine Hanum's case. She symbolizes the total lack of honor of her side, Turks, and their danger as other. Because of her innate immorality, defiance and will for power, she brings the end to all the men fallen in love with her. Her primary will is to live with men in their atmosphere and she likes to smell scent of men shuddering *her nostrils like those of a hungry animal*:

By God's love, she had said one day, turning to her old nurse, by God's love, Maria, if they didn't stink, I wouldn't go running all over the place to see them. (Kazantzakis, 1966:32)

Her description as a hungry animal, gives notice to the reader in the first meeting with Emine Hanum as a man-eater, a black hole that can absorb them. She gives a false feeling of wholeness to men, which later would turn to their lack, her husband who thinks that he clasps the whole world when clasping her bosom (ibid:31) later loses his virility as a result of events caused by her. In the opposite polar, there is the Crete, *primeval and holy, bitter and proud, to have given birth to all those mothers, so often stricken by Charos*<sup>39</sup>, *all those palikares*<sup>40</sup> (ibid: 406). The more Emine Hanum becomes immoral, the more Crete becomes holy. She offers the true reflection of a united self, salvation of their souls (ibid: 229) dedicated only to her and Emine Hanum becomes the false object of Desire. She carries the whole dangers of Desire by her elusive, fallacious love. She becomes a Christian to be seen by men:

The widow (Emine Hanum, P.K.) was ready to be christened, but had decided to wait patiently till Crete would have calmed down again, in order not to provoke the agas. She was delighted at the thought of becoming a Christian and going into the streets without a veil. She looked forward to being able to gaze about her in church, and to being seen. Air and sun would play about her freely, she would wear Greek blouses and ruffled skirts, and would show her raven-black hair for the world's pleasure. Christ for her was a door, which she would open, to go out through it without a veil into the streets. (Kazantzakis, 1966:262-263)

Taking the veil becomes an important symbol of Emine Hanum's character if it is taken with the interpretation of Meyla Yeğenoğlu referred in

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<sup>39</sup> Charos: the ferryman who brought the souls of the dead across the river to the nether world.

<sup>40</sup> Palikares (Gr): Young men

chapter 2.2. As Yeğenoğlu mentions in her article<sup>41</sup>, veil represents membrane in the unconscious which is to be opened by men and only for their will to possess (Yeğenoğlu, 1999:115-116). Emine Hanum's goal to open it by her will, make her femininity public, is a challenge towards the male domination over women and land from the other who does not have the right to speak. Related with the symbol of membrane, it also stresses her ignorance of her honor. At this point, the masculine nationalist discourse directs the emphasis on her danger to reflect it to men as she does several times in the novel. She is described as a sea over which *a ship would glide and scratch it for a moment. Then it would draw together again, maidenly* (Kazantzakis, 1966:306). Her husband's loss of his virility and her two other lovers', *who had been born to die for Crete* (ibid: 305) alienation from their national case confirm the danger that her lack of honor carries. By giving a false feeling of union of self she inclines the national object to shame as Captain Michales confesses to himself:

You fool, you're fighting for freedom and yet you're still a slave. (...) A different demon has fixed its claws in you and is your master, you man without honor! And even if you fall in battle and if you storm Megalocastro<sup>42</sup> and set Crete free, you're without honor! (ibid: 306)

Her adopting her husband's religion also interpreted from some Greeks as a sign of Anatolia's turning back to Greece and Istanbul's being Christian again (ibid: 309) and by Captain Michales who has a stronger voice than the others in giving the national necessities, as an *amusement*, a devaluation of Christianity (ibid: 220). As a consequence of the confusion her being creates, she becomes an unidentified area on which everyone makes his own interpretation. She becomes the no-mans land, an empty domain between the borders of two sides and because of her remaining unidentified

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<sup>41</sup> Yeğenoğlu, Meyda (1999) Peçeli Fantaziler: Oryantalist Söylemde Kültürel ve Cinsel Fark in *Oryantalizm, Hegemonya ve Kültürel Fark* (Veiled Phantasies: Cultural and Sexual Difference in the Discourse of Orientalism), pp. 107-159

<sup>42</sup> Megalokastro: The name of city Heraklion of Crete during the Turkish rule (1669-1898).

she becomes the problem of both nations. On the one hand there are Greeks who identify her as the omen of Greece's triumph, the return of Constantinople; on the other there are some, being aware of the danger her open veil, her lack of honor brings and there are also Turks making her a national case and try to take her back to win their honor back, in short she becomes the area where the opposite sites collide over her honor. She is neither in nor out, she is in being an other in Greeks as a symbol of victory; she is out because her behavior does not correspond to the roles of a national woman; she is in for Turks to take their revenge and since they need her to kill, to clean their national honor, she is out.

### **Positionality and Other Women's Place in the 'Honor of Nation' Discourse**

The criteria for representation of other women as lacking evil or lacking innocent women determined from a positional problem resulted from the *marginal* position attributed to them for Kristeva:

If patriarchy sees women as occupying a marginal position within the symbolic order, they can construe them as the *limit* or borderline of that order. From a phallogocentric point of view women will then come to represent the necessary frontier between man and chaos; but because of their marginality they will also always seem to recede into and merge with the chaos of the outside. Women seen as the limit of the symbolic order will in other words share in the disconcerting properties of *all* frontiers: they will be neither inside nor outside neither known nor unknown. It is the position that has enabled male culture sometimes to vilify women as representing darkness and chaos, to view them as Lilith or the Whore of Babylon and sometimes to elevate them as the representatives of a higher and purer nature, to venerate them as Virgins and Mothers of God. (Moi, 1994:167)

The repression of feminine as a non-Being, an absence, creates a border which in the national area is used to protect the stability and to estrange the chaos as if it is a property of the other's domain. The fluctuating

identities, to stabilize the discourse are constructed over and over again discursively and historically (Yuval-Davis, 2003:34). However, it is only useful when it is possible for the national patriarchal object to fill the gap that other's being signifies, to name her, to possess or exclude her and what she reflects such as the case of Noëmi or Liya in **Devlet Ana**. Otherwise, in Emine Hanum's case it constructs vagueness that the national object can be drawn in it. The complexity created by her "in between" position as a product of "honor of nation discourse" can be over only with her death, since it is the primary aim of national projects a stable identity, which is impossible to be gathered from her vague, "neither/ nor" reflection. Her life means the continuity of the shame and ravish of the national honor: "*Curse her, curse the bitch, as long as she is alive, I am dishonored*" (ibid: 374).

As the voice of the subject Crete, Captain Michales utters above, in sexual national discourse there ought to be certainty to compensate the needs of a nation, a national project, which bases at first the "honor of nation" discourse. The particular discourse is a mechanism of domination for the formulation of sexual national politics to surround and fragment women inside and to reflect the bad phantasy of dishonor and lack, castration fear to the outside. That is why the punitive voice of the father is directed through sexual/emotional relationship with the other women, which strengthens the emphasis on nation's being a love object; they can and should love only their nation, in other cases the father stands in front as obstacle.

### **Stabilization of Male National Image**

The comparison of the two novels displays many points of intersection in the limits of "honor of nation" discourse, in spite of the differences in construction of their sense of nation. The main difference, as it has been mentioned earlier, lies in the perception of the other. The cases in **Kapetan Michales** show that for Kazantzakis the other is constructed in a rather straight way basing mainly on oppositions than the other in **Devlet Ana** by Tahir, who recognizes the other as already subjected to the Turkish rule over

the lands (also symbolized by the other's presence). Furthermore, the difference in the periods becomes the result of the particular difference since Kazantzakis's novel starts in a conflict between two sides and Tahir's in armistice. Yet, the analysis indicates that even there is a difference in their approaches to the other, it does not mean Tahir's approach includes a notion of equality between the national and the other. Even it has been mentioned in the novel that under Turkmen rule non-Muslims would be protected, it does not inhibit the use of "infidel" within the language as a way of humiliation for the national nor enables the construction of marriage bonds between national and other communities. That is to say, even there is a specific difference it is not strong enough to assume the existence of polarity between two authors. To the contrary the intersecting points signify a similar metaphorization between two texts. The meanings the honor gains in both of the authors are almost synonymous. The national honor is materialized in the sexual national discourse adopted in both of the texts via women's bodies and illustrated as a woman/land under the threat of sexual violation of the other nation's men. In this sense, whether they are positioned in the private sphere like those in **Kapetan Michales** or take place in the projects as active supporters as they are in **Devlet Ana**, national women's general situation is to be surrounded by male protection to secure the national honor. The other women's position in this binary construction is to support national men by being the weak points in the other nation's concept of honor to strengthen the male national identity.

Even Kazantzakis and Tahir are from different nations and different historical discourses, which have also been created in opposition to the other, the authors seem like to compose their national foundation and emancipation narratives in a similar way. Both Kazantzakis and Tahir construct the structure of their novels on an Oedipal struggle between father and son. In other words, they do not overestimate the impact of paternal order in the construction of male national identity. However, both the authors' and the nationalist discourse's aim to attribute a unified sense of identity to the objects of their nation, with the acceptance of a dual power within the nation –the father and son- face with the problem of instability. Kazantzakis

and Tahir as members, who are responsible from their nations' spreading over time, confront the problem by using other women. The other women appear in the scene as subjects of the love stories, which are challenged by the presence of the father.

Focusing on the parallelism between the stories of love and stories of foundation/emancipation that take place in both of the books, the question to be directed to authors is "in front of what actually does the Father stand?" His objection reasoned from a simple principle: since the beloved sons do not have a unified sense of identity and women become the mediation through which men finds himself, it is also possible that there can be a false representation. Resulted from this false representation of other women the image of wholeness of men can be destroyed. Nation here becomes the safest object of Desire which offers an idealized masculine unity; nation's women are not dangerous since they are under the control of national men but other women's sexuality is a black hole, it cannot be controlled since it is not attainable, it should not be a part of the national because it is dangerous for even other men.

Other women become the area on which the son can prove his power. However, when taken with the "honor of nation" discourse, they also create a challenge both in the plot and in the broader structure of the nationalist discourse. As a vehicle of mirroring the male self, other women's role becomes related mostly with the issue of honor. Yet, their situation does not include only being the "negative" other. In the literature on otherness the focus is generally on the other's being the opposite. The analysis of the novels shows that otherness as well as categories on femininity and masculinity, is not a unique category; it rather takes the shape of the reflection coming from the national which is constructed differently in accordance with the need of the nationalist discourse. This very point exemplifies the main difference between the authors. While Emine Hanum in **Kapetan Michales** becomes responsible from a total negative mediation, Lotüs in **Devlet Ana** enables a positive mediation. Their difference in the way they constructed does not cause a distinction for their primary role as making



the national side more honorable than the other. The challenging point in their position for the nationalist discourse rather comes from their being perceived as an empty area from the discourse, which causes a positional appearance for the other.

Stigmatized with lack of honor in the “honor of nation” discourse, it is interesting for two women to be positioned in the national area: Emine in **Kapetan Michales** and Liya in **Devlet Ana**. Here, “lack of honor” is used as a generalization of the discourse itself; even Liya is an honored woman, she is not welcomed from Bacıbey because of her national attachments, which are characterized by a specific emphasis on honor. The other women’s complex position in the “honor of nation” discourse includes becoming national, being other at the same time with being national, being the good other and the bad other (sometimes being both like Liya’s and Noëmi’s situation). The particular situation becomes a good signifier for the complex identity politics of gendered nationalist discourse, which stresses the positionality of the otherness. Positionality strongly required by the discourse is an outcome of the stabilization process of the national identity. To stabilize the nation in one exact time in opposition with the changing circumstances and to create a unique identity for eternal time of the nation, nationalist discourse adopt the notion of otherness as an empty area, a lack in the psychoanalytic sense, to be filled in accordance with varying circumstances. Yet, the very point when analyzed with the intersecting areas exemplified above (being both national and other) stresses the impossibility of creating borders basing on honor since it is dependent to the different aspects of masculinity and becomes a efficient example of the impossibility of attributing communities a unified, constant sense of identity and changeless properties .

#### **4.2.2 Discourse of Feminization**

In the previous chapter, the main emphasis was on the intersecting stories of love for a nation and for a woman as a symbol of search for a unity

in the male, national unconscious. Nation's being an object of love cannot be taken without the image of the other who provides a challenge to the possession of men on their nation. In some cases the other woman is the source of the challenge directed to the nation's complementary, unifying property for a man's identity, but as much as her presence, there is always a male other. A male actor is necessary since there should be an enemy, to take the nation under protection and possession, which takes place in the essence of nation-states, not a passive symbol like women but an active signifier of threat. There is no state which has not constructed its national unity without a war and which does not maintain its existence without adding the threat or at least the existence of the other to its collective identity:

Whether motivated in the individual or group level, the goal of imaginary perception is to reject Otherness, thus affirming by denial. Moreover, to eradicate the uncertainty and instability introduced by others, the signifier *tu* human subjects tend to avoid, ignore, or, at the limit, annihilate said others. Such totalizing propensities obtain as much for kindergarten cliques as for the Hitler Youth, the Mao-inspired Red Guard, or any system of thought or action which espouses a final solution to human problems through imposition of one ideology on another. (Ragland-Sullivan, 1989:51)

Nation's relation with its other, its imperfect reflection, mostly uses the discourse of "honor of the nation", yet in cases where men confront another discourse, "discourse of feminization" related with the fear of conquer; loss of power; loss of identity occurs in the patriarchal language of nationalism.

This chapter is, essentially, includes a very similar subject with the "honor of nation" discourse resulted from the direct connection of honor and conquest in the nationalist unconscious. The reason of a different chapter on the nearly same subject is its value for a deeper research on a rather "veiled" issue: the translation of feminine attributes into the aggressive field of confrontation with the other. The difference between the two chapters depends on the interchange of the characters and the shift in the plot from love to war.

In previous chapter, the perversion and lecherousness of the others as a false reflection of the honored national men has been mentioned. In cases of war the gendered politics of nationalism uses rape, penetration and sexual contest as weapons against men in the military discourse. As it has been pointed out earlier with a quotation<sup>43</sup> from Nagel's work, the masculine imagery translates the image of women, accepted as lacking in the patriarchal discourse, into the representation of male enemy and strengthens the image of the national. The sexual national discourse, in generating its own identity, tries to fulfill the gaps in the identity construction by undervaluing the other sexually:

First, there is the sexualized nature of warfare. Hartsock (1983, 1984) argues that all forms of political power, including military power, have an erotic component; she points particularly to a masculine eroticism embedded in notions of military strength and valour. (...)

Enemy women are more uniformly characterized as sexually promiscuous and available: sluts, whores, or legitimate targets of rape. The accounts of virtually all wars contain references to and discussions of the rape, sexual enslavement, or sexual exploitation of women by not only individual or small groups of men, but by army high commands and as part of state-run national policies (see Brownmiller 1975; Enloe 1990, 1993; Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992). (...)

There is a tendency in national defense discourse to personify and sexually characterize the actions of states and armies. (...) Such sexualized military discourse is very much from a heterosexual standpoint, as is clear when we consider the imagery of rape during the 1991 Gulf War: attacks that needed to be defended or retaliated against were cast as heterosexual rapes of women ('the rape of Kuwait'); attacks that were offensive against the Iraqi enemy were phrased as homosexual rapes of men ('bend over, Saddam') (see also Cohn 1987; 1990)<sup>44</sup> (Nagel, 1998: 256-258).

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<sup>43</sup> Nagel, Joane (1998) *Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations*: "Such sexualized military discourse is very much from a heterosexual standpoint, as is clear when we consider the imagery of rape during the 1991 Gulf War: attacks that needed to be defended or retaliated against were cast as heterosexual rapes of women ('the rape of Kuwait'); attacks that were offensive against the Iraqi enemy were phrased as homosexual rapes of men ('bend over, Saddam')"

<sup>44</sup> The works that Nagel cites in this quotation are: **Hartsock, Nancy** (1983) *Money, Sex, and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism*, New York: Longman; **Hartsock, Nancy** (1984) 'Prologue to a feminist critique of war and politics' in *Women's Views of the Political World of Men*, (ed. Judith

The sexual national discourse on the one hand addresses women as the target of assault which will be the subject of next chapter and on the other creates the other as the agent of politics of rape. However, otherness is not a unitary category. In the aim of assault there are two types of male others. It can be said that being a male with a unified identity is not usual for an other; however to create a danger, it is seen that at least sexually; there are male characters who can achieve their goal as it will be examined in the next chapter, but mostly the other is other because he is sexually deficient. He cannot achieve his goal of rape/conquer not only because the national fights better, or have better ideals than the other but also because his lack of maleness to fulfill his desire.

Homosexual identity, of course, a different identity who suffers from similar patriarchal discourses and it is coherent in itself, which cannot be reduced to subcategory of feminine identity or feminist movement. The term “feminized men” in this analysis does not signify homosexuals; it denotes sexually deficient men or men having a problematic sexuality such as pedophilia. However, the deviance and sexual ineffectiveness are samples in both of the novels basing on the same patriarchal roots with the undervaluation of homosexuality: on the logic of the same and fear of castration, which leads male phantasy to reflect the lack to someone else. What creates the difference between the national heroic identities and the other’s identity is not homosexuality but feminization of other men. Representation of other with feminine attributes –having nothing to see or having nothing “useful”- shifts the passive roles attributed to women into the

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H. Stiehm), Dobbs Ferry, NY: Transnational Publishers, pp. 123–50; **Brownmiller, Susan** (1975) *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, New York: Bantam Books; **Enloe, Cynthia** (1990) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Pres; **Enloe, Cynthia** (1993) *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Pres; **Sturdevant, Saundra P.** and **Stoltzfus, Brenda** (1992) *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, New York: The New Pres; **Cohn, Carol** (1987) ‘Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals’, *Signs*, vol. 12, pp. 687–718, **Cohn, Carol** (1990) “Clean bombs” and clean language’, in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*, (eds J. B. Elshtain and S. Tobias), Savage, MD Rowman and Little.eld, pp. 33–55

active ones, the “discourse of feminization” transforms women to men with lack who fight for a woman-land, which is impossible to be taken for them.

The two roles are articulated one another; women symbolizing land and honor are the target of the feminized other: the intersection of two fears resulted from the same reason.

Within this structure both of the authors aim to draw the borders between national lands and foreign lands using femininity in different shapes. To achieve the goal of masculinity in this perspective becomes the final point of imagination of nations: being without a lack; being a Phallus; adopting a phallic, steady power in comparison with other states. The responsibility given to national men is to achieve a unified sense of identity and again, at the very point starts other women’s role. Their role, in these circumstances, is not to be supporters but also the active participants of generation of a unique, powerful, stable male national identity. The themes of Kazantzakis and Tahir become congruent within the limits of this chapter: to make the national whole they choose to reflect the possible insufficiencies to the feminized other.

As it has been stated earlier, in **Kapetan Michales** Nuri Bey creates a different notion of otherness by being nearly the equal of Captain Michales in their first introduction to the reader. However, the equality will be broken in two steps: Nuri Bey’s wife Emine Hanum’s taking Michales’ side and Nuri’s loss of virility as the deathblow to the equilibrium. The formulation of the scene includes most of the units, which construct the voice of patriarchal nationalism. Nuri Bey aims to kill Michales brother Manusakas for the soul of his ancestors whose paternal law he is under and Turkishness, which he is identified by being the primal national male hero of his community:

Manusaka, he said calmly, slowly and weighing each word, you have insulted Turkey gravely, you must pay for it. (...)  
Turkey, flouted by you, has sent me. From the underworld I received a letter from my father, whom your tribe murdered. I have many accounts to settle with your tribe, Manusakas. Only a day or two ago, your brother rode into the Turkish coffee-

house and turned the agas out. Megalocastro is shouting and demanding vengeance.' (Kazantzakis, 1966:197, 198)

When they find a proper place to fight, reason turns to a matter of honor, which divides them:

We can have a feast here if we wanted. But if we want to, we can kill one another. What's your choice Nuri?

That we fight, he answered calmly. Honor demands it Manusakas

(...)

While his opponent was still bent down, he plunged his dagger deep in his inside. Bones cracked. Hot blood spurted out and splattered Nuri as he wrenched the dagger out. He gave a shout of joy and licked the blade greedily, till his lips and beard were smeared with blood.

That's for my father, he cried. I'm avenging his blood (ibid: 199-200)

In the first half of the fight Nuri Bey and Turkishness seems to be more powerful however Manusakas take his and Greekness' vengeance by devaluing masculine property of him and also of Turkishness that Nuri Bey symbolizes:

Manusakas collected his last strength together and plunged his short knife deep in the others body, low down. (ibid: 200)

The author breaks the sameness between them by reflecting national man's castration fear on Nuri Bey who is the representative of Turks and via Nuri Bey's mediation, the other side becomes feminized: *he will never be a man again* (ibid: 202). Captain Michales cannot take his brothers' revenge because Nuri Bey is not a man anymore and Nuri Bey because of his lack chooses to kill himself (ibid: 247). The other Turks visible in the novel are also problematic characters as the Pasha who symbolizes the sexually rooted brutal power of Ottoman rule and two Turkish deficient characters: genderless Ali Aga described as *slimy snail, half men half woman, neither*

*man nor woman* (Kazantzakis, 1966:11), and the lunatic hodza Efendina, whose role is openly to give power to the wholeness of Cretan men.

Crete has to deal with one authority, so the other is more concrete; however the period Tahir describes, contains a range of communities, which means there have to be more others than one to be eliminated and devalued to reach the unified Turkish identity. We see Turkmens' rise through a plenty of enemies or rivals with the help of their respect to honor. Still, the binarity remain the same. The others are mostly described with their earthy and sexual addictions, pedophilia and harassment. The consequences could be brought by the weakness of ruler of Tebriz, Argun Ilhan, in front of a Byzantine princess prevented hardly by forcing him to change his mind (Tahir, 1967:178) Seljuks are about to withdraw from the political arena because they verify the expression *"you cannot appoint a bitchy boy as vizier"* by appointing as vizier a gipsy boy (Ibid: 207). The Muslim judge of Seljuks, Hophop Kadi who is effective governor of province of Eskisehir is a *"wine-swinger in secret, a bit of a secret womanizer avoiding gossip, somewhat fond of boys, an opportunistic and insatiable acceptor of bribes, and favoring the highest payer"*<sup>45</sup> (ibid: 274) such as the governor of Eskisehir, *"lecherous"* Alisar Bey (ibid: 265), with whom Hophop Kadi is making plans for the end of Turkmens. Cavalry Pervane who advocates Alisar Bey is so addicted to women that he loose his conscious in front of them (ibid: 285). Monk Benito, who is a respectful men in Christian community but in secret his aim is to cause to collapse the existing political structure is also a sodomite (ibid: 535). In short as Benito describes:

(Pederasty, P.K.) exists in Persians, in Turkistan; in Seljuks (...)  
In Tebriz even monarchs have long forgotten the taste of woman. In Sultanate of Konya they are about to marry... As for the Mongols in Anatolia, they are addicted to it... (Tahir, 1967:544)

Other communities' sexual weakness reflects to the national side as wholeness. The difference of Turkmens from other communities is their

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<sup>45</sup> Translated by Güler and Günel Orgun.

perception of honor, which forbids pederasty and relates the politic issues with sexual rectitude. The rule they aim to bring at first provides the security of honor. As it is expressed by a former Christian and Greek and an ignoble men Dervish Daskalos as:

The difference of edge of Bitinya lies here between the others... Ertuğrul Bey was merciless. It has been heard that, to be saved, one must flee. Osman Bey is even worse! The father chased permitting evasion, this one slaughters by bludgeoning! (Ibid: 544).

The confusing point is while it has been said that the affection on woman puts the formulation of the power in danger, Osman's Bey aims to take his love Balkız as his second wife and it is known that his son Orhan Bey has a relation with two girls even he wants to marry Lotüs. The rectitude of his behavior advocated by the author in the scene where Kerimcan explains the situation:

Şirin has been bought and made Muslim when she was a child According to the book, a concubine couldn't have chastity towards her master and their union wouldn't be considered a sin, even if it occurred without marriage. As for Pakize, the sin does not belong to the twelve year old child but to the widow who is about to be thirty. In short, even with great effort such outrageousness cannot be prevented when there are a lot of women around. (Tahir, 1967:340)

A similar tendency of evaluating the national's sexual attitudes different than the other is seen also in Kazantzakis' text, which takes its most understandable shape in the re-reading of "gaze" in the next chapter. Briefly the national sexual aim shows itself in **Kapetan Michales** in the national men's gaze to Emine Hanum, which displays the repressed sexual aim of the national side. A more effective example for this chapter is seen in captain Polyxingis' situation. Polyxingis as an important character in the novel being the fellow soldier of Captain Michales and lover of Emine Hanum is described as womanizer and through Captain Michales' opinions on him; the reader



adopts a particular antipathy to his attitudes. However, the appearance of the struggle and Emine Hanum's presence in the novel changes the evaluation of his behaviors. After that point, being a former womanizer loses its validity in the national discourse and Emine Hanum's danger becomes the most important case for national emancipation process. With the beginning of his love for Emine, he is recognized as a victim of the other's badness. The father's rule forbids love for a foreigner for Polyxingis too but when he dies for the national case, in place of the discountenance of his sexual behavior, comes the appreciation of his sacrifice. In general, he becomes one of the men who act properly in the national project.

Being with women is a sign of power for national men and in cases where there is a problematic relationship with women, it is not their guilt. However when it comes to other men such as Alişar, who died because of lechery (ibid: 387), it signifies the loss of dignity and power which are of the primary properties of national men. Lechery turns a man to woman in one sense, castrates him because what makes him a man has been castrated.

### **Masculinity and Reflections**

The tendency to differentiate the other basing on sexual attitudes and insufficiencies is a reflection of the fear of loss for the national from the beginning of his modern national male identity. Nurdan Gürbilek names this fear as the "anxiety of feminization" which she examines in her book "Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark" (Blind Mirror, Lost East). In this thesis study, particular anxiety is taken as the constructor of the "discourse of feminization", which formulates as a tool of reflection. Gürbilek approaches the specific anxiety from the side of the author as both a product and producer of it. In her argument, the reason that snob as a character seen nearly every novel within Early Turkish Novels<sup>46</sup>, is both the national-anxiety and sexual anxiety.

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<sup>46</sup> Gürbilek gives the examples of Early Turkish Novels includes the prototype of snob as: *Felâhın Bey'le Rakım Efendi* of Ahmet Midhat; *Şıvsevdi* of Hüseyin Rahmi; *Araba Sevdası* of Rezaizade Ekrem; *Efruz Bey* of Ömer Seyfettin; *Sodom ve Gomora* of Yakup Kadri; *Fatih Harbiye* of Peyami Safa (Gürbilek, 2004:53)

Westernization process activates a range of binarities within the Ottoman and newly born Turkish community such as native-foreigner, real-fake, self-other by shifting them into a matter of social mobilization (Gürbilek, 2004:54). In chapter 2.3 “The Birth of Turkish and Greek Nations”, the identity problem, who to be and who not to be, has been the subject of the thesis with its reflections on literature. For the Greek side it was to be both ancestors of Europe and a new state which should not be overestimated from the West. As Dimitris Tziovas mentions in the “Alterations of Nationalism” chapter of his work on the new shape given to the meaning of Greekness, it was a hard and convulsive process, which is divided between the past and future; the responsibility for the past and expectations from future:

On the one hand, the ideas and prevision of Mela<sup>47</sup> and Theotoka<sup>48</sup> continue to Modern Greek Enlightenment and the emphasis on the democratic equality and social solidarity and the Idea that the Greece belongs to Europe; on the other includes a vague hope of deliverance that Modern Greekness will be again in the stage guiding Europe to its neo-humanism.” (Tziovas, 1989:65)

For the side of Turks it was to become a synthesis of West and East in order not to lose the cultural essence but at the same time not to lose the opportunities offered by West. In this confusion of identity the authors reflect the confusion on their texts to support the process which was to vague to progress safe in it:

Ottoman elites who try to direct the program of westernization with certain restrictions are on an unguarded and slippery ground. An absolutist culture, which can no longer depend on the absolute and patriarchal authority of the Sultan, was searching for its symbolic father. The texts were orphan.” (Parla, 2004:15)

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<sup>47</sup> Melas: Greek (1883–1964) playwright and novelist who wrote his works under the influence of realism.

<sup>48</sup> Theotokas. (1905-1966) Greek writer whose most famous work “Free Spirit”, which examines Greece’s place in Europe and the problems in the political and literary domains in Greece, is considered as a manifesto.

The emergence of the snob in the novel is an outcome of such a confusing period. Gürbilek explain the reflection of the period's affect on novels as:

The story of the snob, who turns into a monstrosity in search of foreign desires, is the story of anxiety of corruption resulted from the delayed modernism in the imperial lands, which lost their power; the fear of loosing the self caused by cultural hybridization. But when we give a closer look to the snob figure, we realize that this national anxiety has been interpenetrated with a sexual anxiety. The story of the snob, at the same time is the story of the son who lost his masculinity or has never become masculine at all, of a young man who has been castrated or feminized, in other words the story of a woman-man. Then, the abundance of snob characters in the first novels does not only reflect the fear of losing the native-national identity, a transformation into a 'borrowed identity', but also a second anxiety articulated to the particular fear, the anxiety of becoming a 'borrowed sexuality'. (Gürbilek, 2004:55-56)

In the previous examples of castrated, deficient men –Nuri Bey, Ali Aga, hodza Efendina- and sexually problematic men such as the others of Tahir follow a similar plot, which Gürbilek describes as “the anxiety of femininity”, they develop another mode of lacking masculinity which takes the place of the snob of Gürbilek's work. Even her work is on an early period of Turkish novel, from her footsteps, it is understood that the anxiety is a possible result of a delayed modernization process such as those of Greece and Turkey. The “discourse of feminization” addresses the dynamics dependent to the anxiety, which lead the author to strengthen the national side by reflecting it to the other man so to make his side find the masculine voice as a national and masculine ideal:

The anxiety seems to make the same sentence to be said from one novel to another: The snob is not me, it is the other (Gürbilek, 2004: 69)

The classification of sides with sexuality, addresses the 'discourse of feminization' with a strong emphasis on the meaning of being a woman. Even the examples mark the events as dialogues in between men –honored national men and dishonored/deficient other nation's men-; it is formulated as a dialogue of power between two sexes: male and female. The dialogue's structure is constructed on a well-known duality: the duality between the superior and the inferior; self and other; man and woman. What is described in between these categories is the understanding of honor related with sexual abilities and reflection of the fear of loss on the other.

### **Masquerade and Femininity**

"Discourse of femininity" transmits the subject of the previous discourse, "honor of the nation", to a different area, in which the love story is shifted to a story of a struggle. Parallel with the previous discourse, the same danger occurs in the 'discourse of femininity': danger of sexual harassment for nation. The change in the parallel story provides both of the authors a field of agreement where their different ways to construct the nation do not appear. Their visions on the other unite in this discourse leaving their main difference (discourse of dominance vs. discourse of tolerance) behind. They agree on defeating the danger of being sexually humiliated from the other by giving reference to the lack of sexual adequacy of the other. The other within this discourse is characterized with a great emphasis on *his* sexuality. In contrast to the previous discourse, what characterizes the other, outwardly, being a man with a deficient sexuality not being a woman with lack of honor. Both Tahir and Kazantzakis use sexual efficiency for national men as a border between their nation and the other rather than creating borders with honor. The honor of national men is secured not only because they are powerful than the other side but also the sexual danger of the other is eliminated by making *him* sexually weak.

Yet, still there is a difference between authors, which is not of primary importance. In opposition to Tahir, Kazantzakis uses the other woman,

Emine Hanum, as the reason of the other side's castration. Primary male character of the other side, Nuri Bey, is castrated because of his wife's immorality. In other words the author chooses to weaken the image of the other by using two important tools: honor and sexual deficiency. Tahir to the contrary approaches the other women as decent women/lands dominated by the wrong master and created essentially for his side because of the "discourse of toleration". In spite of the difference, the main aim (using sexuality as a means of separating the borders) remains the same in each novel.

Another point to be stressed on otherness in this discourse is the hidden identity of the other. The inactivity of the other emphasized in each of the books is the transmission of the notion on feminine passivity in patriarchal discourse to the image of male others. The feminine lack is reflected to the discourse as the castrated or problematic maleness of the other side.

Even, discriminating the national and the other sexually is a useful tool to construct the masculinity of the national common identity; there are inconsistencies that both the authors and the sexual national fail to recognize. The incoherent structure of the discourse used in the texts displays the weak points of the discourse. Firstly, both Kazantzakis and Tahir do not approach the national with the same criteria on sexual behavior that they use for the other. When the borders are aimed to be drawn by honor on the one hand and sexual adequacy on the other, two of the discourses seen in the novels contradict with each other. Nationals too adopt in certain cases inconvenient sexual behaviors, yet their situations are legitimized by the authors such as the cases of Orhan Bey in **Devlet Ana** and Captain Polyxingis in **Kapetan Michales**.

Secondly author's general aim to attribute national men a glorified national virility reflects the subtext as a fear of losing the virility, which is interpreted as a parallel fear of losing the identity in changing circumstances. The fear of loss becomes clear with the feminization of the other. As Gürbilek points out, in the establishment of nation-states or national projects *the national anxiety has been interpenetrated with a sexual anxiety*

(Gürbilek, 2004:55). By taking the virility of the others, Kazantzakis and Tahir demonstrate the national fear of failure of the national projects, which constitutes a good example on the gendered structure of the national discourse.

The naming of the other as deficient needs a feminization process. However, not all women are included to feminization process of other men, since the particular discourse formulates as a vehicle to separate between national and foreigner. The emphasis is on the otherness, in that case on the other woman. Among the discourses stigmatize women with a lack, a total otherness; the particular discourse has a special importance for it in one sense affiliates a certain activity to women. Even it does not change the “spoken”, lacking position of women, it is still interesting from one aspect: it somehow frees women from the position of protected or of target. Women’s role in the national area as signifiers of ethnic and national differences as a symbol and focus in ideological discourses requires in this case a rather different mission: as an extension of their duty to signify the differences, they need to change appearance, to change their identity for this time. Consequently, women symbolizing a total lack for the patriarchal unconscious are reflected upon the other as men who do not have sexual virility, in other words feminized men; a masquerade of maleness from feminine others.

#### **4.2.3 Woman as Land Discourse**

In the variety of the roles affiliated to women from patriarchal nationalist discourse, women’s identification with land offers a battlefield to the researcher where the unconscious sexual roots on national and other for both sexes collide with each other. It is one of the most powerful metaphorizations, which brings the essence of limitation for women in the national domain. In the discourse of “woman as land”, in contrast to their lacking representation in the previous chapter, other men are constructed as

sexually powerful –but ill mannered- enemies whose political authority is also signified with violation. As Yuval-Davis observes, the myth of other as rapist, is a familiar cliché in the nationalist discourse, which forms the physical-emotional dimension of perceiving the gaze of national to the other; rationalization of other's being lynched from the national (Yuval-Davis, 2003:105). Within this system of representations, women are positioned as the receiver of the other's violation for their identification with land. On her identity the male fear of the intervention of his identity is reflected since land is perceived as the safe place on which the male national identity is constructed:

Subjectivity is denied to women, Irigaray claims, and this exclusion guarantees the constitution of relatively stable objects for the (specularizing) subject. If one imagined that woman imagines anything at all, the object (of speculation) would lose its stability and thus unsettle the subject itself. If the woman cannot represent the ground, the earth, the inert or opaque matter to be appropriated or repressed, how can the subject be secure in its status as a subject? Without such a non-subjective foundation, Irigaray argues, the subject would not be able to construct itself at all. (Moi, 1994:136)

In the novel **Kapetan Michales** the politics of the other are summed up as politics of violation as it is frankly confessed from the Ottoman Pasha in which the emphasis is on the honor of Cretan women and how they are respectable:

Fellow, who's the Greek girl over there in red dress?  
Does she please you, Pacha Efendi? She's no Kastrian. She comes from Kruson, the savage village. Last Sunday she married the grocer Kajabés who's such a good singer. You've heard him. In Devil's name, let her go!  
Is she a respectable woman? May she perish if she is!  
Very respectable, Pascha Efendi, very respectable. And her husband's from Sfakia.  
A respectable woman, a respectable woman, muttered the Pacha, wagging his bald head. She is respectable because I'm growing old. It's coming to an end. What's to be expected of life, when you can't misbehave any more, when you can't do

away with a man when you want to, or kiss any woman you want to? What sort of Pacha I am? This dammed growing old! Ah, what a time I had I other Greek places, when I used to send my executioner along with an apple wrapped in a cloth for the bride and a bullet for the bridegroom. I had them told that they must choose. How could they be expected to choose the bullet? They come, all tear-stained and dolled up, and would struggle as I like women to do, and then sit on my knee. But now I've grown old. The State too, has grown old. And it's the fault of this dammed Crete!

He turned to the Arab: 'What about it Suleiman?', and winked at him.

Do as if you'd never seen her, Pacha Efendi. This is Crete. Here we shall have trouble. Don't sigh. Shall I fetch the Armenian girl?' (Kazantzakis, 1966:122-123)

Pasha's behavior is explanatory for the purpose of this thesis study from many points. First of all, as it has been explained above he describes the politics of Ottoman rule, the rule of the other, which are highly connected with politics of sexuality. Secondly, by his aim of violation to a woman from Crete who is very respectable, the honor of the Cretan women becomes unquestionable. As for the women from other Greek communities, for they were forced to be with the Pasha, their honor is indubitable too but the same formation takes Crete to the first place because of its immaculate honor. Moreover, the men of Crete since they would not let his violation are constructed in a whole identity.

A similar situation is valid in **Devlet Ana**, in which the main idea on the other is its weakness under the sexual politics of the ruler and its will to take place in the national's domain. The sexual power attributed to politics confessed from a Frank in the beginning chapter of the book, which is later will be shown as the reason of Byzantine peoples' will of change sides:

It is the order of God. What does it mean 'Peasant's life belongs to nobles'? The bridal night the noble either takes the virginity or the worth of blood. (Tahir, 1967:33)

The other's conceptualization with rape becomes the reason for Tahir of the collapse of foreign power:



The Byzantine of İstanbul has emanated from the Dark World of Franks. Yet, it could not manage to maintain the same order here. Once he could not, he had to say 'Land belongs to God, Emperor is his housekeeper, peasant is his tenant'. The independent peasants of the emperor, after the Latin occupation of İstanbul, have experienced the trouble of the Frank order. This order bases on the enslavement of peasant. Who wants to be a peasant? So you have to force them! What happens if you force a man? Looses his humanity! That's why the Frank man is, let's say, a rabid monster. He is perfidious, merciless, his God is possession, his religion is spoliation. He does not have any sense of honor, chastity, shame, compassion, promise. If he is pinched, he eats human flesh; Byzantine peasant cannot accept this infamy. (...)

We will provide tolerance, solidarity, safety for life, honor and possession in place of enslavement, Frank spoliation, fierceness, violation. (ibid: 184-185)

Violence becomes the tool as it has been exemplified; it is the inseparable part of the mechanism of politics both to advocate the opposite properties of it and the negative. For the other sexuality is always taken with lack or rape. It is, within this structure, impossible for the battle of two sides an end with no case of rape. The Turks in the **Kapetan Michales** attack women to suppress the Greek rebellion, as it is witnessed by Idomeneas:

O ye Mighty of the World! In this moment as I commit these lines to paper, the Christian population of Megalocastro is being slaughtered. Once more the air is ringing with shots; Turkish bandits are breaking open the doors of the Christians; they are dishonoring our women, they are killing the men, they are laying hold on the infants and smashing their heads. (Kazantzakis, 1966:280)

A similar picture of intercourse of national honor and violence is seen in **Devlet Ana** when political inconsistency starts to increase in the land and Turkmens have to fight with their enemies. In fact, the very reason of the war is seen like women. Attack on their honor, which is the honor of national men becomes reason of the war. The others' discourse is structured on the will of sexually humiliate the other and to take the control of the lands taking their

women. The attempt to kidnap Osman Bey's fiancé Bal kız to take the control of Ahi forces in the land, Rumanos's -proconsul of Bizantium – marriage plans with Orhan Bey's beloved Lotüs to be affective in the Byzantine lands are examples of the situation. As Monk Benito tells knight Gladyüs' plans, women as land is perceived is an area of humiliating the male national if it is not possible to take the land under control:

(For knight Notus Gladyüs) And tomorrow he will taste Bal kız in the parade ground of their marriage... In front of Turkmen noble Kara Osman Bey... In front of her respectable father sheik grand Edebali... In front of all living Turkmen nobles... (Tahir, 1967:548)

The discourse 'woman as land' is formulated both by transforming female characters to a symbol of land or by perceiving the land itself as a woman, which in its structure function for the same meaning. In this sense the status of Crete as woman and the role of Lotüs as the symbol of her lands does not change the operation of the male nationalist mechanism of phantasy. The difference is seen in the principles, which differentiate the other and national both symbolizing the land. To create a difference between the sexualized other and honored national certain principles act such as the example of Nurdan Gürbilek. Gürbilek observes that the position of Turkish modernization movement adopted in front of West required a shift from being the object of desire of the West, which leads men to conceptualize the land as a mother (Gürbilek, 2004:90). A similar conceptualization is valid for also Greece, which experienced similar confusions in modernization process. Within this shift, nation started to be understood as a holly creature that the father prohibits the touch of national men. There are positions that they can be desired -only if they symbolize the movement itself, only if they are in danger as beautiful women to be saved. However the desire rather than bringing an intercourse between the object of love and national, it leads national men into a war of independence to keep the purity of the national untouchable woman. National men's fulfillment of their desire for the national mother/woman described with the emancipation of the land or the defeat of

the enemies or any similar scene in which the real emphasis is not on the symbol but what is symbolized: the nation such as the Crete of Captain Michales, half mother, half beloved or the rather sexless Bacıbey in **Devlet Ana**.

As a receiver of the politics of violation coming from the other side, Crete becomes the metaphor of all women on its ground. Providing the ground for the development of male national sense of identity, national women's roles are determined by being out of the sexual discourse, which is essentially directed to others. The land/nation should be surrounded with honor under the supervising of national men and in the place of the primary love object, the mother. It excludes national women from being desired but also the desire for nation/land is problematic.

The description of Crete in novel varies from the holly mother to the beloved according to the circumstances. For Nuri Bey *Crete won't see freedom* since *Crete is a part of their flesh* (Kazantzakis, 1966:24). Even his words mark a certain belonging; they do not include the enormous love of Cretans and especially Captain Michales for Crete. His belonging more likely a relationship of domination, indeed, by using "freedom" as a wish of Crete itself from Ottoman rule, he accepts that it is under their occupation. In case of Captain Michales it is described both as a mourning mother and a warrior:

Forsaken Crete! Captain Michales muttered, and spurred his mare. For how many generations have you cried out, unlucky land, and who has heard you? Even God needs a threat for His miracle. The mighty ones of the earth want a good threatening. Grasp your gun once more, *mori*<sup>49</sup>: that will be your Muscovite<sup>50</sup>. There is no other. (...)  
How beautiful Crete is,' he murmured, 'how beautiful! Ah! If only I were an eagle, to admire the whole of Crete from an airy height. (...)

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<sup>49</sup> (Gr) *mori*: The pronoun of the second person, feminine. In the English translation the particular word has been translated as "you fool" since it does not actually have the same meaning I decide to place it with the Greek word from the original Greek version (Kazantzakis, 1998:73)

<sup>50</sup> One page earlier Captain Michales reminds the murder of his brother and his two sons because of the Moscow Song, which mentions the belief of Greeks for the Russian support for Greek emancipation.

God too, higher than the eagle, must have the same view, if He had not forgotten Crete, generations and generations ago, and delivered her, soul and all, into the hands of the Turks.

No, without the soul. For the Cretans resisted, boiled with rage and refused to place their seal under God's seal. It was injustice! They raised their heads to Heaven and shouted 'Injustice!' and bestirred themselves like good Christians to put right this intolerant divine injustice. God too is a fighter, they reflected, He must be waging war somewhere else, on some other star, against other Turks.

There are peoples and human beings who call to God with prayers and tears or a disciplined, reasonable self-control-or even curse Him. The Cretans called him with guns. They stood before God's door and let off rifle shots to make Him hear. 'Insurrection!' bellowed the Sultan, when he first heard the shooting, and in raving fury sent Pachas, soldiers and gangs. 'Insolence!' cried the Franks, and let loose their warships against the tiny bark that fought, braving death, between Europe, Asia and Africa. 'Be patient, be reasonable, don't drag me into bloodshed!' wailed Hellas, the beggar-mother, shuddering. 'Freedom or death!' answered the Cretans, and made a din before God's door. (Kazantzakis, 1966:65-66)

The author transforms Crete in his writing to both a powerful, rather phallic form of mother and a woman who needs the protection of their men. It is language is spoken by men on her behalf:

Speeches and debates should be ended; the real mouth of Crete, the gun, must speak. (Kazantzakis, 1966:311)

She is a mother afraid of her sons' death. Her sons, Cretans, are described in a godlike position and Turks are situated in the opposite side: God's enemies. In this representation Crete herself is very effective, since her love directs them to be a God, to a phallic male common identity. A similar picture is that of Bacibey in **Devlet Ana**. Bacibey. Even she is clearly isolated from being a love object which is its difference from the Crete, Bacibey as the motivator of her community's man and as the advocate of the culture and discourse has a close resemblance with the figure of Crete. However she criticizes the peaceful politics of her community and reminds her national men their actual duty of conquer:

We protect the peace for years. Wrong. (...) Peace destroyed the fear of our enemies. If our brave men would be equipped riding their horse, attacking to the enemy day and night, capturing their tender girls, killing their husbands like the old days of glory, who would dare to steal our goods, who would dare to take our lives... (Tahir, 1967:144)

Her words with all their masculine aggressiveness signify what is to be powerful in male desire; she becomes the translator of phantasy of conquest by attaching the enslavement of other's women and their deprivation by the national. Her danger as a woman, as the source of the unknown, limitless power ejaculates also from her mouth. She becomes the speaking land in need of protection and directs her men to protect and enlarge her being. National men have the ability to stop when they want, and the ability of acting rationally according to circumstances; a woman does not, hence the male national prototype takes her anger under control, intervene her masculine voice and translates her words into the domain of logic. Osman Bey explains the necessity of peace and inessentiality of war, because the other, the Greek, does not challenge to enter under the power of national, they willingly choose their side because of the violence of Greek proconsuls (ibid: 145). The whole book's process, with a certain emphasis on the parallel story of **Devlet Ana** and her aim to make a man of her passive son can be explained on the basis of the same male intervention to control. Her whole identity is subjected to male passiveness in the process of decision making and since her duty to goad the male national identity on his wholeness; once as a national woman her metaphorization with land ends after the victory, her power totally seized by her son, there is no need for such a strong metaphor anymore:

He strikes the whip two times: — to the kitchen! You'll see if I don't like the meal! (ibid: 622)

Her acts -whether they are active such as her position in decision making processes or passive like in the suppression of her power by her son-

transmit her power to men making them more masculine and honorable than the others.

Regarding the given characteristics above on the polarization between other and national, it can be observed that aim of rape, sexual humiliation or at least a sexual phantasy on other's women is the property of the other male. Yet an examination of the unconscious units of the discourse depicts the opposite: other women are also signified as a target of the national. In national cases, violation is not the only way to reduce women into a sexual object or a piece of earth.

### **National's Gaze and Repressed Desire for Violation**

In Cynthia Enloe's example cited in Yuval-Davis's work<sup>51</sup>, it is seen that, in such places serve as a breathing-space for the US army such as Thailand, South Korea or Philippines, the sex tourism as a result of the exotic sexual phantasies on the underdeveloped, indigent other is outcome of the particular discourse (Yuval-Davis, 2003:106). The other women become object of desire since they symbolize the land, because taking other women is to take the land also and if the nationals cannot take it, it is again giving damage to enemy's honor by violating the land. Again, violation is the armor of other men, nationals mostly do not have to use it since the other women are immoral or they chose to be national women since their men are powerless. In the national's gaze to the other, the latter situation is seen both **Kapetan Michales** and **Devlet Ana**.

The national's gaze gains a specific power in the case of **Kapetan Michales**. It integrates the status of conquer, the power of naming for Cretan men and becoming Emine Hanum as the other woman, becomes the receiver of a subjection coming from the national side. In the opening scene of the novel, Nuri Bey's horse, which is a matter of envy for being

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<sup>51</sup> Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Bananas, Beaches, Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Pandora, Londra

thoroughbred, passes in front of the Cretan men and they start a conversation, which causes a comparison between Bey's horse and wife:

By my soul, shouted a young with a sparse goat's beard, by my soul, if someone asked me: Which would you rather, Nuri Bey's horse or his hanum? — I'd choose the horse. You've got as much sense as my paint-brush, laughed Janaros the master painter. 'You silly idiot, Hanum Emine is beautiful, twenty years old and wild. Choose her, you poor thing, and give your thighs a bit of fun!' (Kazantzakis, 1966:12, 13)

Emine Hanum becomes the fetish object of desire, which symbolize the vehicle of destroying the ruling power: the land; the body which constructs the borders of honor, and what she offers definitely a privilege to the man who takes her. Being visible has been privileged from the male subject since invisibility takes place in the unconscious as the unknown, danger, lack, castration; to the contrary, visibility marks the powerful such as the Phallus itself:

The male subject is defined in his capacity to look (i.e. as a voyeur) and the female subject in her capacity to attract the male gaze (i.e. as an exhibitionist). The male subject is the imagined source of the gaze and the female subject is the imagined recipient of the gaze. Indeed, in our culture voyeurism is an active or 'masculine' form of the scopophilic drive (pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object), while exhibitionism is the passive or 'feminine' form of the same drive. (...)

She signifies, that is, the absence of the phallus (of control, privilege, power). As usual, her body provides the means for representing this deprivation. She simultaneously attracts the gaze –appeals to the senses- and represents castration.

The emphasis on the female subject's lack helps to define the male subject as adequate, facilitates his identification with attributes which in fact belongs to the apparatuses of enunciation. However, the revelation of female lack can also have a different effect upon the male subject; it can induce him the fear of a similar deprivation.

(...) there are two strategies for neutralizing the anxiety aroused by female lack. The first of these involves establishing either the female subject's guilt or her illness, while the second

fetishises her, giving her an erotic over-investment. (Sarup, 1992:158-160)

Emine Hanum's beauty in Cretan men's dialogue is her seeming value, which allows them to ascribe what they think she can offer them. She is subjected to their desire and named under it. However, there is one confusing point about Emine Hanum: none of them, no man in the Crete except her husband is able to see her face. She is a Muslim woman living under protection of her husband and because of the veil it is impossible to see her face, which makes her beauty a rumor. But men's will to gaze/capture assume her beautiful, visible and comparable. Because veil symbolizes the unknown, the danger: *the tropes of the mask, fan and veil are here the marks of a dangerous deception or duplicity attached to the feminine* (Doane, 1989:111) As well as she is veiled by the power, she also veils/hides the power under her cloth, Emine, as the wife of the symbol of Turkishness, it is the frightening force of the regime as well it is the vulnerable point to attack:

At some level of the cultural ordering of the physical, the horror or threat of that precariousness (of both sexuality and the visible) is attenuated by attributing it to the woman, over and the purported stability and identity of the male. The veil is the mark of that precariousness. (Doane, 1989:107)

However, as Doane indicates, woman's position as a reminder of the castration, of the primal scene, which the infant sees the mother castrated does not change when the veil is out. Women are positioned to the *to-be-looked-at-ness* (ibid: 107); subjected to be seen, known and taken under control however when the veil is open it is her *nothing-to-see-ness*, her, from the gaze's angle, castrated body. Within them mediation of fetishism, by *substituting one of its parts or the whole for the missing phallus* (Sarup: 1992, 160) the lack can be compensated.

When Emine Hanum is forced to open her face, as Nuri Bey's sign of thrust to his blood brother Captain Michales, what is hidden under the veil



becomes visible: Captain Michales feels as if the house collapsed and he found himself in the Saint Sophia under the Turkish occupation (Kazantzakis, 1998:39). Kazantzakis describes Emine Hanum as the tool to enter once again, after years of occupation, to Saint Sofia. She displays the key to gain the lands of the past once again; in fact she displays what an other woman means for the national: lands open to conquest. However her misery is bicephalous, on the one hand she gives a power to Captain Michales and on the other the love she offers to Captain Michales makes him to forget his primary desire, Crete. The danger brought by Emine Hanum at first breaks the equilibrium in between two men as it has been mentioned earlier, she refuses her husband and chooses the powerful after Captain Michales manages to break the glass with his two fingers and her husband cannot (ibid: 40). As the other woman, Emine Hanum, with the help of the danger freed from the veil –from the constraint of her national man- becomes the reason of the beginning of the war between Cretans and Turks. Her husband kills the brother of Captain Michales to take the revenge of his nation's honor and then ends his feminized, powerless life and as a response Turks start to attack Cretans.

Her symbolizing St. Sofia is the most appropriate ascription for a woman in her position. St. Sofia itself takes an in between place in the history of two nations. It belongs to Greek history as the signifier of the sovereignty before the occupation of Ottomans and for Turkish History it is the symbol of the triumph over Byzantine lands. In the construction of 'woman as land' discourse, the two faced national belongings of Emine Hanum remains in between, both Muslim both Christian, carrying the honor and danger of both sides. As she confesses to her Greek fiancé she is not a woman but mostly an area of domination and sovereignty: "*A woman is a citadel too, she has to be taken*" (Kazantzakis, 1966:312)

The quarrel between two women, Crete and Emine Hanum, is interesting for the roles attributed to women in the nationalist discourse. Crete as the primary object of love leads Captain Michales to kill Emine who

is responsible from the fall of the monastery Lord Christy<sup>52</sup> because she inspired Captain Michales, the primary man in Crete, with her fake desire: *She' the one to blame, she, the shameful woman!* (Kazantzakis, 166:338). As a matter of fact, the aim to kill Emine Hanum is not adopted only from the national side. In the end Turks too try to kill her because she is a field without any value, a field used and devalued from the other. She becomes a battle field, which is for the sake of both nations to be conquered and destructed since she damages the honor of both sides.

In **Devlet Ana** too the gaze of the national and his desire for other lands, is affected from the same sexual identification. Rape or sexual intercourse with the other, as a vehicle of conquer, does not only belong to the other. Lotüs as the primary symbol of Byzantine lands becomes the receiver of a certain gaze which transforms women's *nothing-to-see-ness* into a *seeming value*. When Orhan Bey saves Lotüs from death, he gives his caftan to her and closes her visibility according to his understanding of honor. However a nipple seen from the robe breaks the lacking vision and opens her body to his eyes. After that moment begins his love for her, his desire to gain wholeness using her, which is united with desire of taking the land: "*It is a Turkmen caftan... Be careful in it!*" (Tahir, 1967: 414)

### **Possessing the Body/Land**

In comparison with Emine Hanum's and Crete's relationship, the other women in **Devlet Ana** are more insignificant, yet they still become responsible from the conflict between sides. They are mostly adopted from the national side, because the author comes from a culture in which the main idea about Ottoman rule is the inclusion of different communities into the borders. As he formulates the structure of Ottoman regime into his novel, it is clearly seen that the other's place –in opposition with the perception of other in Kazantzakis- the harem, figuratively, is the domain dedicated to the other.

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<sup>52</sup> A monastery in Crete, which used as a symbol in the novel **Kapetan Michales** as Captain Michales' forgetting his nationla duties.

The very situation is also a result of the 'woman as land' discourse: it is to have the land to have the body. For Liya's situation, she is not welcomed from her future mother in law Bacibey, whose role is highly parallel with that of Crete.

Liya's position against her is contradictory as the woman, who symbolizes the land under the hegemony of the other. She is on the one hand is the mark of difference and on the other the symbol of the other side that wants to be in the national's borders. Yet, after her death she is counted as national because her relation with a Turk and becomes the symbol of the damaged honor of nationals. Her and her Turkmen lover's revenge is taken in the end of the book, in which she becomes both the reason of war and triumph. Liya is adopted from the nationals since she tried to protect her honor and because she is honorably in relation with a Turkmen and again honorably resisted to rape the Turkmen national honor is damaged. In case of Popolina the understanding of honor is different, she symbolizes the dishonored point in the others identity and rather than an adoption a kind of abuse directed to her from Turkmens. She is the land open waiting to belong to the most powerful, hence she does not see any respect from the national's point of view. The interesting point is after the conquest of Bilecik, the change in the attitudes of Mauro who becomes a Muslim and counts himself as a Turkmen. He with his new identity also acquires a new sense of sexual adequacy and with his behavior verifies that Bilecik is Turkmen land thereafter. Popolina ask for joining to the Osman Bey's wedding ceremonies which becomes the starting point of display of his Turkmen male identity:

If to see the wedding is all you want, then it is all right my dear! He pinches her cheek once again— Fill the cup! — Let's... Look what I say... Shall we go to Kozpınar with this beautiful Popolina or shall we ask grand proconsul Rumanos to take the bride here?(...)

He drank the wine and chides confused Popolina jokingly: — Fill it! Why are you standing there, don't you know what will happen if... What is the punishment of being late to fill the wine in Turkmens? —He kissed the girls with two cheeks : — This is the punishment. (ibid: 579)

Adopting the identity national, Mavro also adopts their perception of the other with whom he shared the same nationality prior to his change of religion.

Another version of the other 'in the harem', whose role is simply to show that the other's lands is already nationals property is Şirin Kız who as a former Greek gains a value for Turkmens only by her death for Turkmens aims to come true. She as a precursor of the future victory, with her death to protect Turkmen treasure becomes the mark of conquest of Bilecik (ibid: 574).

They are the receivers of the national men's unconscious desires, which identify women's bodies as lands and their land-bodies become the target of the other males same phantasy. The national's way of access to their bodies and of conquest of their lands becomes the constructor of the difference between two sides: one gain the land by tolerance and the other by force.

Within the process of taking the other women/land Lotüs become the reason of Orhan Bey's neglect of his first role dedicated to his community, however afterwards as the field the proconsul wants to add under his domination, she takes place near Liya becoming both the reason of war and victory. Her father who has been a in good relations with Turkmens, to marry with a young girl, changes attitude and band together with other proconsuls afraid Turkmen's raising power. The process of saving Liya from an unwanted marriage identifies with the construction of Turkmen power on the Byzantine provinces.

### **Politics of Harem**

The politics of the other as described in both of the novels is politics gain its validity from sexual adequacy. Sexual politics of nationalism transforms the male politics into a politics of 'harem' by placing women as a subject of it because of her identification with land. The hegemony of

manhood on their nation, the other in **Kapetan Michales** and the national in **Devlet Ana** is evaluated by the extensiveness of their harem in one sense. As well as the attitude of Ottoman Pasha in **Kapetan Michales** the inclusion of other women in the side of Turkmens verify the particular observation. Yet, that is not to say the very situation occurs only for side of Turks whom mostly be mentioned with harem. There is not harem in the male phantasy, since it has taken place in the life of Sultans once upon a time; to the contrary, what has existed in the history was the materialization of the very phantasy itself.

Sexually rooted perception of the other, corresponds at least two important materialities for the construction of nation: firstly it justifies the separation of ethnies and borders from each other and secondly it conveys a sexual masculine discourse directed to the sexualized other. The second point signifies the other women under the control of the rapist other. In other words, seeing the male other as a source of violation in the national area mostly is the same thing as seeing a representation of what other means for national men: women for whom they do not have to feel responsibility; women symbolizing a weak point in the front-line, easy to attack, a vulnerable point in the honor of other men and in relation with the former understandings, a land waiting for its true-master. To symbolize the land means to be in the core of patriarchal discourse of nationalism, which categorizes women as the area of violation or sexual humiliation to be protected if they are national and to be attacked and taken both the bodies and land if they symbolize the other lands. Land becomes the ground in the national unconscious a safe place to settle and construct the common, unitary national identity.

#### **4.2.4 The Dangerous Other**

Marking the other with danger, without giving the social, historical and psychoanalytic construction of the other, confronts with the outcome of separating the entities between binarities. Within such a separation the major problem of neglecting the wider discourses that construct the binary

structuring of the social reality occurs. Looking from the wider screen of discourses, woman's position as the absolute other of the man is not a unitary category since it is constructed in a continuous signifying process in accordance with the necessary changes that the primary category of the binarity, man, is incident to, in order to continue the particular discourse. In case of national projects, the attempts to create a common national identity that bonds the members with a common memory of the past and a fictive kinship among the national men via the mediation of women, consolidates its power from the unconscious sexual dimension of the production of the self.

Literature, especially novel as one of the primary medias that construct and support the particular discourse, plays the role of an unconscious realm, where the roots constructs the idea of a unitary national identity can be easily discerned. In the realm of literature, different roles that in general base on the formation of a binarity between categories 'self' and 'other' and 'man' and 'woman' enables the researcher to examine the construction of the self in a more illustrative area. The Modern Greek and Turkish literatures as parts of the mutual relationship between national discourse and literature are analyzed in this work in order to exemplify the different ways that create the other that mirrors the national self.

Herkül Millas, in his elaborate inquiry on the comparative construction of the other in Turkish and Greek literatures<sup>53</sup> points out that the image of other in literary texts can be related with political validity, which constructs the distinctive property of the other as the 'rapist of our women's honor' according to the relationship between defeat and being defeated (Millas, 2000:211). Millas' argument does not include gender as a constitutive element in the binary divisions during the nationalism process, yet he does not neglect women's distinctive position:

A similarity on the issue of sexuality is also seen (in both of the literatures, P.K.) Always the 'other' women fall in love with 'our'

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<sup>53</sup> The main subject of Herkül Millas' work is the image of other in the Turkish literature, however he also mentions the Turkish other in Grek literature in his inquiry and makes a comparison between the discourses on other of the two literatures, which also can be named as a comparative study on otherness.

men; on the other hand, 'our' women do not fall in love, do not have even sympathy for the 'other' men. 'Our men' are so attractive in this sense.

Another property of the negative 'other's is that they violate 'our' women and especially 'our' daughters in times of crisis, that is to say in cases of say wars and disorder Sexual intercourse has a symbolic meaning as a taboo for both sides. (Millas, 2000:343)

The specific interest of national discourse on sexuality is not only comes from sexuality's being an efficient signifier of difference, but being strongly related with the issues of wholeness of self, desire and honor, which take place as the constitutive units of the national discourse itself. Within the particular discourse common national identity is constituted over various interpretations of national women's positive properties and other women's negative properties as a symbol of their nation. It is the point where the attempt of the authors to re-write the history of their nations as a continuous narrative shifts into a story of love. National men's relation with their nation becomes the search of a identity where the intervention of the father cannot prevent the imaginary unification with mother and nation takes the place the mother in the male national unconscious that enable a stable ground to construct the self. Within the borders of this aim, women are subjected to represent their nation, land and honor to support the identity construction.

In the previous three chapters while women's position fragmented in otherness, the ways they situated as other show a variety in accordance with different circumstances. All the three discourses that attribute women certain characteristics and identifications include transitional constitutive elements, which create difficulties to differentiate between specific discursive categories. In the core of the discursive construction on women in the process of forming both the male and the national identity, remains the parallelism between gaining a unitary identity and a unitary state. The aim of this chapter is to find the intersecting points among the three discourses –the honor of the nation discourse, the discourse of feminization and woman as land discourse – to reach the whole representation of women under otherness.

The difference between women's 'other in' and 'other out' position within the national domain is a result of the very perception of self in relation with the common identity of national self. The male self within the national sphere cannot be isolated from the national common identity which the individual's destiny is tied with kinship bonds and a national memory continually and dynamically constructed. 'The order of the same' of nations' time, its symbolic realm to reach the sameness necessarily needs an 'other' to create the oneness within the nation itself. In the previous chapter women's otherness has been examined in a comparative way between their positions within and out the nation. Such a comparison is a necessary one to find out the ways how the national honor, identity and difference is constructed over the feminine metaphors. Yet, since the main emphasis of this thesis study is to search the different construction skills of 'other' woman, who is held responsible from the unitary image of the nation in comparison with the other nations, women's supporter position within the national borders will not take place in this chapter. The main point of the particular section is to examine the formulation of the parallelisms between the three discursive categories, that creates complexity between 'other' women's transitions from honorable to immoral, from feminine to masculine and from other to national.

In both of the books the national women, symbolizing the honor of their men, their land or the ancestor holy mother, without a doubt become the positive metaphors of the superiority the masculine efficiency of their national identity. As for the other women what they actually represent is not that easy to perceive but it is as clear as the case of national women that their leading responsibility is to fill the gaps –by creating lacks in their otherness- of the male national identity whose wholeness is continually intervened from the father's rule.

The main importance that the "other" woman takes in the 'honor of the nation' discourse is to create borders between the honorable nation and the other nation in destitute of honor. Whereas it seems a simple division between both the national and unconscious area, when other women try to take place in the national domain the sexual borders between self and other



become vague and the plot of the novels becomes complicated. The father as both the obstruction in front of their sons to unite with their mother; signifies their lack once again when they forget their primary love object nation and direct their desire to “other” women. This very complexity becomes also the main point where there is an exact need for other women. In the symbolic realm under the authority of the father, their only chance to defeat the pressure of their father and be a complete national man comes from the mirroring of the other women. She becomes the “negative mediation” as Kittay points out:

The other other, the dark woman, the Jewess, the working-class woman, is sexualized— she is conceptualized as unusually voluptuous or yielding, or as perversely or exaggeratedly sexual. (Kittay, 1997:275)

Other woman is constructed on the feminine danger; even she accepts her husband’ national attachments as her own values, her very presence forms the danger, *is the destructor of the social order* (Kittay, 1997:276), in other words she becomes the castration itself in the order of the father. For **Devlet Ana** other women’s role is stigmatized by both the voluptuous and yielding roles. Popolina’s late appearance in the text just before the conquest of Bilecik and after her conquest by her former collateral, newly Turkicized Mavro her disappearance resulted from her signifying value for the other. In the scene the reader meets Popolina she deceives her fiancé with the conservator of Bilecik, who is also being deceived by his wife with Popolina’s fiancé Panayot. She becomes the signifier of the moral disorder in Byzantine lands. She becomes also the land itself according to ‘woman as land’ discourse to be captured. After she is being captured metaphorically by Mavro she loses her value for the novel and disappears from the scene (Tahir, 1967:561). As for Liya, whose death becomes the reason of the further developments, even she is a ‘good’ other; she still carries the threat of castration. Her fiancé Demircan is killed during his sexual intercourse with her and with his death Turkmens lose an important powerful member of

them, in one sense their force is castrated because her. Yet, the complexity becomes after her death, counted from national only after sexual harassment and murder, the border between Greeks and Turks become vague. Filatyos, as the other of the Turkmen rulers aim to take her revenge from Turkmens and the political tension rises between two sides. Her body continues to carry its value for the construction of the national male identity even after life. She is the first sign of the conquest of Byzantine lands because she voluntarily wants to be in the national domain. The revenge of her honor, which damaged the honor of Demircan and naturally that of the whole Turkmen community, becomes one of the parallel stories of the book.

Yet, none of them is dangerous as Lotüs herself: she is the veil on the Byzantine lands and who makes the lands worth capturing. She is neither Popolina nor Liya in the sense of otherness. At first she seems as a fake promise of wholeness for Orhan Bey that his father prohibits their union. Later, her promise unites with that of the national domain in the era of extension for Turkmen lands. In lands signified with moral disorder, she becomes a virgin earth, which increases the value of the whole area. In such a good representation, the danger of her otherness is greater than the two women. She brings the real encounter for both sides. The variety of the other enemy communities is terminated with her appearance and Byzantine rulers with whom the Turkmens had good relations become the target of Turkmens: "*Our incursions are directed to Greekness*" (ibid: 577)

The real target of the Turkmen incursions proclaimed as Greekness after Lotüs becomes the reason of the conflict between Turkmens and Greeks, additionally the author denotes that they are incursions of *justice* rather than being destructive attacks (ibid: 577). For the purpose of constructing the national different and more efficient than the other, there must be a difference in the attitudes, which base on sexuality as most of the other conceptualizations in the national phantasy. As the three discourses depict, the other's identity is created with a strong tie with sexuality. The other is the immoral, the rapist. Other women are more or less disobey the rules of honor –even it is to be for taking the side of national-, for the other

men land means an area of violation for the 'woman as land discourse' or the others are marked by perversion for instance in the 'discourse of feminization'. As a response to sexual complexity the other presents, the national have its sexual direction according to the order of the same. The national is the male who does not commit violence to other women, does not take the lands by force and as a return who takes the both two categories as a reward of his rectitude.

For **Kapetan Michales**, the target is visible from the beginning, the Cretan men does not have to deal with many enemies contrary to the Turkmens of Kemal Tahir. The representation of the other, for the same reason, is sharper than the other in the same book. Emine Hanum as the terrible woman who is identified with the oppressive regime; the land under other's domination; the immorality of her side shifts in the novel from an invisible fetish object to a visible danger of castration; from an omen of victory to the reason of national's defeat –which is also a metaphor of castration-. Being the only but the absolute other, to defeat her, unquestionably would bring the wholeness which can be gained from a fetish object; her huge lack of everything indisputably would reflect on the national as phallic efficiency. The problem is that Emine Hanum does not obey as the others in **Devlet Ana**. Her great danger actually lies in the fact that she does not want to belong to anyone but herself:

Christ can do whatever he wants to me after I die, but as long as I live, I will govern my life! (Kazantzakis, 1997:347)

She revolts against all the subjections directed to her personality by her will to open her veil, her body, her territory, by questioning God's power on her existence, she becomes the destructor of the order of the same, she is the prodigal daughter in Flieger's Analysis:

(Prodigal daughter, P.K.) she is lush, exceptional, extravagant, and affirmative. To be prodigal in this sense is to alter the law, to enlarge its parameters and recast its meaning (even in the patriarchal parable, let us recall, the prodigal is forbidden his

outlandish behavior, and reassimilated- thus changing forever the limits of the permissible (...) her subjectivity is indeed "hers," rather than a deficient version of his) (Flieger, 1990:60)

Because Emine Hanum is the dark continent where man face with their inefficiency to govern his own being, *the Syphinx, Medusa, Circe, Kali, Delilah, and Salome all of whom possess duplicitous arts that allow them both to seduce and to steal male generative energy* (Gilbert & Gubar, 1979:34), she becomes the end of all her men; she becomes the reason of the fall of the Monastery and the loss of Cretan power and as a result of the danger she creates for the male national identity, she is killed by him, her destructive power is terminated by the national man, who only after her death can take a place in the side of his phallic forefathers.

Emine Hanum is by herself stronger than all male others who are either castrated or rapist. Like **Devlet Ana**, in **Kapetan Michales** too the problems brought by women are much more than a whole army of the others can cause. Moreover, since the others are mostly feminized, the nationals being a whole and being different than the other depends mostly on other women's presence.

## **Representations and Controversies**

The whole image of the national self created in the literary domain is broken by the same efforts of the particular discourse to fill the gaps in the identity of the national. The process of reflecting the self's lack on the other is a dangerous process since the other does not mirror anything that does not belong to the self. The construction of male national identity, in this sense, is full of contradictions. The interesting point is not the creation of Greek and Turkish male national characters in the same way; nevertheless it is in the resemblance between the national and the other within the same book. How come the other can be both feminized, sexually deficient and can commit violation? And more importantly, if being a national is not to be the other, why

Emine Hanum becomes the object of the national gaze or why Lotüs received the national gaze on her nipples or Popolina is treated as a sexual object dedicated to national? In other words what is the legitimacy of the national harem if being national is constructed over male honor as it has defended by both of the authors' plots? In the previous chapter it has been observed that the sexual desire of the national towards the other, in the unconscious plot of the novels is not different than the other men's gaze towards the national. The sexual base of the nationalist discourse leads the authors to construct the national male identity as he designs the other's male identity even their aim was to generate the opposite. All the men inside the books whether they are national or not have the same fear of castration and have the very lack coming from their being without a phallus, their desire to reach the phallus is directed to the women as their honor, their land, the representation of their fear of feminization. Within such a fragmented sphere, where the roles have already been determined for women, women's role is a *masquerade* which is designed positional:

What do I mean by masquerade? In particular, what Freud calls 'femininity.' The belief for example, that it is necessary to *become* a woman, a 'normal' one at that, whereas a man is a man from the outset. He has only to effect his being-a-man, whereas a woman, that is, has to enter into the *masquerade of femininity*. In the last analysis, the female Oedipus complex is woman's entry into a system of values that is not hers, and in which she can 'appear' and circulate only when enveloped in the needs/desires/fantasies of others, namely men.

That having been said, what a feminine syntax might be is not simple nor easy to state, because in that 'syntax' there would no longer be either subject or object, 'oneness' would no longer be privileged, there would no longer be proper meanings, proper names, 'proper' attributes... Instead, that 'syntax' would involve nearness, proximity, but in such an extreme form that it would preclude any distinction of identities, any establishment of ownership, thus any form of appropriation. (Irigaray, 1985:134)

Sexual national discourse's gaze towards the women does not change in essence from national men to other men. The same discourse constructs

their identity over the reflection of women, which means being a woman in the national area, in essence, is to be included in the national projects as a metaphor, an empty signifier, which is to be filled in accordance with the current requirement of the national discourse. The discourse itself is masculine, which naturally eliminates any discrimination between other and national and its language is constructed over the repressing of the feminine in order not to lose its masculine effectiveness. Since nations are to be constructed over and over again when there is a need to remind what is the bond between peoples of nation, women are situated in the core of the discourse as the constitutive metaphors of national reflected from otherness. What to represent may change from national women to other women, but the fact is there is not a woman in the national discourse, not as an actual actor, there are bodies representing honor, land, motivator mother ghosts, masks of masculinity –in case of discourse of feminization- to remind that the national is the man and others are feminized, castrated beings, but not women. The only woman, who can be considered to be in the national discourse is the repressed mother of the Imaginary, who is transmitted through the Symbolic as a hidden desire, a promise of union and which also destabilize the completeness of the very discourse.

Wars for the sacred mothers and daughters of the nation, wars to save mothers and daughters of the other nation from the deficient hands of the other men, national literatures that place the national remembrance into the mind of the citizens, the rules of the nation for not to bring shame to forefathers' memory, the golden ages that bring the hope for a similar national future; in short all the belongings and acts depend on a vague but strong reason that is not too easy to bring into light as a whole. To conceptualize women's position in the national discourse, otherness becomes a fundamental category to understand and deconstruct the masculine national discourse, when it is taken its mutual relationship with femininity.

Woman as the complete other of man becomes the primary tool to construct the essences of national myths and responsibilities, but more

importantly they become an important key to answer the questions directed to the discourse of nationalism not only for women's problematic position in nations states, but also for the formulation of nations states' inner and outer dynamics. The data of the first chapter of analysis makes it available to interpret the questions on the essence of nations and reasons under women's oppression in nation-states basing on the parallelism between the context of social reality and fictive world. However, to make the results of the first chapter more understandable, the second section of the analysis aims to approach the same issues shifting the area from fiction to reality.

### **4.3 Analysis of Women's Position Within The Nation-State**

This chapter aims to make clear the issues the previous chapter signifies and to discuss the research question better by shifting the area of analysis from novels to social reality of nations. Previous chapter includes the analysis of two authors who construct their national narrative in different ways but with similar metaphors. The aim of a methodological analysis on how the national character finds his national voice over creating an -feminine-other is to reach a wider perspective of nationalism's masculine properties and the importance of gender relations in the creation of nations. Giving the main emphasis to other nation's women rather than national women enables the researcher to examine the process of being national over the mediation of women in an explicit way since the *other other* carries nearly all the characteristics attributed to women in the sexual national discourse.

The other women in both of the books, in comparison with the national women, are responsible from both the reproductive responsibilities and the tasks to mirror the national. Making a comparison makes the situation more understandable. In the paternal order of **Kapetan Michales**, the main female character is an other: Emine Hanum. The national women do not have the same autonomy she has in the plot. She is the woman who has the courage to have the same visibility in the public domain with men and rather than being a subject of men Emine Hanum makes the men her subject. All these

issues are her danger, she separates the main male character Captain Michales from his primary responsibility –saving the nation, uniting with the mother-nation-, she castrates both her community's both Cretans national masculinity (literally and figuratively). Contrary to the dangerous other in Kazantzakis' novel, **Devlet Ana** by Kemal Tahir includes mostly the other face of being the other in the national discourse. The other women in the novel are totally subjected to the national man; they are the precursors of the Turkish victory over the Byzantine lands. Still, their position in the national area is creating the borders between national and other within the nation itself. Their subjection to national men does not bring a total adoption of other women from the national sphere. Moreover, the danger of the other still appears in the scene since they, as the battlefields of national discourse, become the reason of war and at the same time become an obstacle for national men to dedicate themselves to their national project.

Another similarity is seen in the complex structure of national honor in both of the novels. In **Kapetan Michales**, Emine Hanum becomes the symbol of the honor of both nations, which makes her an empty area of signification. By the attribution of national duties such as being responsible from the reproduction of both of the communities or more importantly being responsible from acting virtuous, the two faces of being woman (both national and other) in the masculinist national discourse are attached to Emine Hanum. The same scene of being the area where different nations claim their rights on appears also in **Devlet Ana**. The other women enter into the Turkmen national area adopting some of Turkmen's national attachments in addition to those of their community's. Because of these variety of attachments Liya, Lotüs and later Popolina as the conquered Byzantine lands remain in an in-between position. They are neither Turkmen nor Greek and both Turkmen and Greek.

It is obvious in both of the novels that the criteria for being women are designed according to what they symbolize. In **Kapetan Michales** with the presence of Noëmi in the novel, another representation of other occurs in the text created in contrast with Emine Hanum. Noëmi is a more proper other



than Emine, however her good behavior is not necessary for the nationalist discourse such as that of Liya in **Devlet Ana**. Even Noëmi and Liya do not constitute a danger with their attitudes, their very presence as an other in the national domain forms the danger: the danger of having a misrepresentation from the mirror; the danger of bearing half-blooded children for the community. Emine Hanum's privilege in comparison with Noëmi is her identification with land. Her veil is the cover of the lands under the possession of the other –Istanbul, Agia Sofia- as well as being the cover of her feminine danger. Because Emine Hanum is taken as a sign of the old lands' return of back Greeks, her access to national area becomes easier than that of Noëmi. Being from a nation that does not have a mirror value for Cretans and Greeks, Noëmi does not symbolize any land in the national memory and her pregnancy is not accepted by her new community. She is killed by the national memory. Similarly Lotüs because of her father's status becomes a more important symbol than that of Liya. Only death for Liya enables her recognition because it is the starting point of a victory for Turkmen side. As the main dangerous other for the national identity production, Emine Hanum is killed by the land herself, the Crete, the mother. Crete, represented as the holly mother and the beloved woman, takes her own revenge using the most powerful man of Crete's love for his nation. In opposition to Emine Hanum's murder in **Kapetan Michales**, Lotüs in **Devlet Ana** succeeds in becoming a member of the national community. However, in one sense, her being is destroyed like that of Emine Hanum. Rather than killing her, the nationalist discourse chooses to erase her from the novel since she loses her signifying value.

Nationalist discourse's construction of the other, as the analysis of the novels signifies, includes many controversies. As the analysis exemplifies, gender inequality is not an external element for nationalist discourse, to the contrary it is one of the most efficient constituents of the discourse itself. Yet, it is also confirmed in the previous analysis that the use of woman as a metaphor within the construction process, as well as being an inseparable part of the very discourse, is also the deconstructive element for the stability

aimed to be created for the national projects. The national discourse, which tries to reach a continual stability contrary to varying circumstances, is interrupted by the parallelism in the construction of female other. The female other, as it has been mentioned above, becomes the subject of contrastive identification. In certain cases, such as Liya's or Emine Hanum's becoming national, the borders created over feminine bodies become highly vague to distinguish between the national women and the other.

What feminist research on nationalism underlines in this perspective is the impossibility of examining nationalism without investigating the complex gender relations. As the analysis above focuses on, the controversies in the construction of otherness in shape of both national and other nation's women become one of the major tools to understand the disunity between the two faces of the "modern Janus". In addition to the controversies in the creation of the national identity, issues on women's rights and equality in nation-states also become the indicator of unstable structure of nations.

The identity production examined in the selected novels intersects with the formulation of the national characteristics in the social reality of nations. It has been stressed in the methodological chapter that the particular intersection results because of two different domains' belonging to the same context designed by the discourse itself. During the analysis of the novels the identity problem has been searched from a psychoanalytic perspective. However, without associating the results of the previous chapter to the social reality of nations this thesis study cannot have an analytical value and cannot be completed. The weak point of psychoanalysis is its individualistic structure, which cannot offer many solutions to the social problems. It is believed in this work, a wider examination on the social facts of nationalism's complex and oppressive politics on women would be more effective for the understanding of both nationality and gender relations.

Because of its strong articulation with patriarchy, nationalism has been categorized from the beginning of this thesis study as a masculine structure. As the analysis discloses, in the light of feminist works on nationalism, women have been subjected to the very system rather than take an active

position in the structuring process of nationalist ideals. In other words, nationalism necessitates women to set its formulation and continuity, but women to the contrary do not need such a system since it prevents their ways of finding their own feminine voice and identity in the society. This very point, when it is taken with issues such as women's participation to national projects, citizenship, militarism and feminist projects within the national sphere, seems problematic. Whether they have a sense of belonging to the masculine memory of their nations or not, many women live in the national borders; held responsible from the national duties such as voting; effected from public policies; briefly they are not and cannot be out of the nationalist discourse and its sanctions.

The aforesaid siege of women within the national borders as passive actors and the problems they live within these limits as subjects of the discourse can be understood better when they are taken with problematic structures and institutions such as citizenship and militarism. The second section of the analysis aims to reveal the effects of psychoanalytic development of identity into the social world focusing on the citizenship and militarism issues, which give apparent examples on the gender division within the nationalist discourse.

### **Citizenship**

To examine an issue which seems to be irrelevant with the other may cause problems on the answer given to the research question of this thesis study. Yet, as it has been pointed out from the earlier chapters of this work, otherness is not an external category of the self and in this case in the formulation and operation of nations. Within the national sphere, finding its most clear definition in the term *symbolic border guards*, the masculine and feminine roles are created in order not to become other. In addition, contrary to the formation of nation-states as states consisting of one community, minorities, emigrants and foreigners who gain the right to be citizens break this unitary appearance. Therefore, citizenship is not only the matter of

national women but also of other women. In the novels, one of the most complicating identity formations was related with other women's becoming national. The very problem is seen in the national sphere in the conflict between nation and citizenship.

Yuval-Davis explains this complication with the contrariety between the extensive structure of citizenship and restrictiveness of nation-states. In principle, citizenship is the most extensive way of take part in one community and it is not restricted with national roots (Yuval-Davis, 2003:57). To the contrary, nation-states adopting the basis of citizenship, in theory, to their policies, mostly in practice they discriminate between the national and the other. Citizens from different ethnic roots become the 'other in' such as Lotüs, Emine Hanum, Liya and Noëmi from the two novels. The problem of being a fully-fledged citizen does not belong only to "other other" but mainly to all women within nation-states national or other. The main reason for gender discrimination is the problem of constructing the male national character by reducing women to a secondary and passive category. The reductionist view of nationalism on women secures its continuity with restrictive policies. Women are held subject of a binary notion of citizenship. On the one hand they are considered to have the same rights with male citizens, on the other special policies are formed for them.

Within this specific understanding of women's citizenship, the interesting point is the perception of equality between two sexes parallel with the appearance of nation-states in the political scene. It is undeniable that women's status in the society has changed with the beginning of modernism and nation-state. Legal arrangements for women's empowerment in the society including marriage, property rights, women's right to be elected and equal opportunity are outcomes of the national project for women.

This section's aim is to examine the particular change focusing on what is understood from equality and women's emancipation in nation-state. As a beginning it can be reminded that the continuity of nations depends on the metaphorization of women. It is as undeniable as the impact of modernism on women's rights, that being a vehicle for nationalism, women

are subjected to a signifying process in accordance with the changing demands of nationalist discourse. Being subjected is to be limited and it is not possible to be equal with male members of the nation-state while being the other of them.

The complex situation of women within the national sphere (belonging to the general and being differentiated from the other members) is explained by Sylvia Walby with the formulation of private and public patriarchy.

Returning back to the former section of the analysis makes the controversies more clear. The analysis of the novels stressed that patriarchy and nationalism are articulated each other and are responsible from each other's continuity. The national properties are formed depending on the mutual relationship of new economic interests to govern communities and patriarchy: old powerful system of male domination. In both of the novels the domination and interests are obvious. In terms of the political and economic necessities, women are positioned in the private sphere to bear new community members and produce the continuity of the discourse or they are used as laborers in the private sphere.

Bacıbey in **Devlet Ana** is the woman who gives Turkmens the power to fight and supports this power by fighting herself but after the war, since there is no need for a metaphor to remind men their power or in other words since the national power has constructed she is positioned in the private sphere. Similarly, Lotüs who served as an important mark of future conquer of Byzantine lands, after it came true (also symbolized by Lotüs' being national) disappears from the public sphere of **Devlet Ana**. In **Kapetan Michales**, the only appearance of national women happens in times of war to prepare weapons for men and Emine Hanum is accepted to the community only for her symbolizing value for defeating her side and because of her will for being in the public sphere her presence ends only when the circumstances changed.

Both of the novels mark women's dependency to male order is not limited only by the private sphere but spreads to the wider area of public sphere. Patriarchy's shift from the domination of men (fathers and husbands)

to the domination of the system is the point where Walby draws attention to. According to Walby:

Private patriarchy is characterized by the domination of the patriarchal relations in the household. Public patriarchy is dominated by employment and the state. In public patriarchy the mode of expropriation of the woman is individual, by the woman's husband or father. In public patriarchy it is collective, by many men acting in common. In private patriarchy the dominant strategy can be characterized as exclusionary, as women are excluded from activities in the public domain, and thereby constrained to the domestic. In public patriarchy the dominant strategy is segregationist whereby women are allowed to enter all sphere, but segregated and subordinated there. (Walby, 1996:243-244)

In the mutual relationship between each other, patriarchy and nationalism serve as a veil for each other in accordance with which one is to be stressed in varying circumstances. In times of economic regression being a worker in the public sphere for women is supported as a national duty however in prosperity being a mother in the private sphere becomes a patriarchal responsibility hiding the national value of reproduction. In many cases, the veil becomes nationalism, which while using women to stress the difference between the national actor and other, offers this metaphorization as an enterprise for women's rights and national duties. The necessity of patriarchal discourse, as it has been indicated above, create a complexity between system's accepting women as liberated with the construction of national borders and women's oppression by the very system. Walby makes clear the complexity examining the results of the rights given to women:

Entry into the public sphere may entail greater freedom for women, such as the freedom to earn an independent wage and dissolve an unhappy marriage; however, alternatively it may only mean an extra job on top of domestic work and the possibility of abandonment at a husband's whim. (Walby, 1996:244)

Women's experience in the third world and later emancipated countries is more different than the example given from Walby depending on British women's experiences. In the countries, which reached their national consciousness later than the first category, the problem was to strengthen the borders with the others to show how they adopted the Western principles of being a nation. Najmabadi interprets the case of Iran during the modernization process with its two sides. The shift to Western notion of modernity, for Najmabadi, constructed two discursive areas related to women: equality and protection. Women's being the symbol of the change by a specific emphasis on motherhood, created the opportunity for Iranian women to claim their political demands for women's rights. On the other hand, the other discourse -protection- has been adopted more than the equality discourse (Najmabadi, 2004:163).

The specific emphasis on motherhood in the modernization and nationalization process strengthened the 'the honor of nation' discourse and as the renewal of the system stipulates women to be surrounded by patriarchy in the public sphere. In this new patriarchal system women become the constituent elements of a difference in between the national and the other. Yet as the previous analysis shows, the other is a flexible category. Women's primary role given to them as a duty to take place in the public sphere is to keep the national distance with the other and support the creation and continuity of the male national identity. The case of India examined by Chatterjee gives a clear example on the creation of the new patriarchal order:

The European criticism of Indian 'tradition' as barbaric had focused to a large extent on religious beliefs and practices, especially those relating to the treatment of women. (...) Unlike the early reformers, nationalists were not prepared to allow the colonial state to legislate the reform of 'traditional' society. They asserted that only the nation itself could have the right to intervene in such an essential aspect of its cultural identity. (...) It was undoubtedly a new patriarchy that was brought into existence, different from the 'traditional order' but also explicitly claiming to be different from the 'Western' family. The 'new

woman' was to be modern, but she would also have to display the signs of national tradition and therefore would not be essentially different from the 'Western' woman. (Chatterjee, 2005:410)

The case above explains the formation of the paternal voice of nationalism on women with its directions mentioned in this work. At first, the male understanding of honor and will to be different than the other is obvious. Yet, the interesting point is women's situation, which remains in between being modern rather than traditional and not being modern in the Western sense. The Indian nationalists as a response to their former governor's criticism on their tradition develop their own way of creating the order over the oppression of women.

Being evaluated with the reproductive value (including the continuous reproduction of male-self) even in the public sphere continues for women who are ascribed to be 'emancipated' in nation-states. The veil over the patriarchal nationalism makes the reflection of patriarchal sense of being women in the public sphere possible creating an illusion of liberation. In this sense, the woman problem in nation-states is perceived as price for the access to the public sphere.

In terms of signifying the patriarchal structure of nationalism citizenship constitutes a good example by the duality created between men and women. The main problem women face in nation-states and especially in the context of citizenship is the very controversy between being citizens and not being fully-fledged citizens. Besides, since citizenship is essentially created over male social identity, women's demand for full-fledged citizenship status can be categorized as an acceptance of male citizenship attributes (Mouffe, 1997:537).

Basing on the results of the analysis, it becomes clear that equality in nation-states (in contrast to the general nationalist discourse on the relativity between modernism, nationalism and women's emancipation) is not possible because of the structure of the system, which can continue its validity by means of oppressing women. The rather veiled (by the dominating discourse)



relativity between patriarchy and nationalism creates a problem for feminist movements since the receiver of the demands is also the establisher of the inequality.

## **Militarism**

Citizenship, for discussing the subject of the former analysis over its effects on social life has an important comparative value for the context of this work, which is related both with the psychoanalytic and social aspects of nationalism. Similar to the comparative availability of citizenship, militarism, which is also a part of citizenship responsibilities, enables the researchers to examine the gendered structure of nationalism. In addition to the division of nation-state's into two discourses –one on ensuring peace for community and one on the constant readiness for a war against the others -, its division between two sexes for militarism also marks the instability of the nationalist discourse.

Creating a specific difference between men and women, militarism constitutes an important and extensive field of analysis. Because this section's main intension is to indicate nationalism's patriarchal aspects for women, it is not possible to analyze the concept with all its dimensions, though it should be mentioned that militarism does not appear only in this section of the thesis. In the novels analyzed in this work the issue of militarism has been examined by giving reference to its relations with patriarchal order and male national identity.

Militarism, even wars are thought to be extraordinary circumstances in the national reality and nation-states adopt the general discourse on to make war only if necessary and to take precautions to avoid entering into war, the structure of nation-states basing on the continuous presence of an other as a danger towards the unity of 'common' national identity, makes militarism an ordinary and inseparable part of the national life. Saigol draws attention to the fact that, militarization does not only signify a developed army but also means the whole society's being influenced from the militarist way of

thinking. Militarism's effects are seen in the use of the army language such as 'strategy', 'target' and in the inclusion of struggle, victory, defeat, martyrdom to all the institutions of the society (Saigol, 2004:231). In other words, as Yuval-Davis reveals, militarism becomes a part of the social repertoire (Yuval-Davis, 2003:178). It has an important impact to develop and maintain the conventional gender roles. In this sense, as Enloe points out, nationalism is mostly constructed on militarized areas by altering the regular types of womanhood and maleness (Enloe, 2004:219).

Militarism is one of the most important areas in nationalist discourse, which depicts nationalism's patriarchal substructure and at the same time it is the tool of the specific discourse to hide its patriarchal face behind the narrative of victorious past and honored future. The intersection of militarism and gender roles has been interpreted from Walby as a border between the two sexes in nation-states. Whether women's reluctance is resulted from their socially constructed passive roles or not, according to Walby, women's and men's attitudes towards militarism sign a difference within the national sphere. Walby directs several questions to the difference of choices including "is women's lesser militarism a cause of lesser nationalism?" and "do women less often think war for nationalistic reasons is worth the candle because they have fewer real interests in 'victorious' outcome, since it would make less difference to their place in society than that of men?" (Walby, 2004:247, 248).

Re-reading the analysis of the novels on militarism will be of good help to find an probable answer to the questions above. In the previous chapter of the analysis, wars and conflicts have been examined in detail for their ways of using women as metaphors for the continuity of the patriarchal nationalism. As the analysis points out, for the development and maintenance of masculine characteristics of a nation, the existence of an other (a flexible concept, which can mirror the instant condition of the "common" national identity) is necessary. In the context of the novels the other's first role is to strengthen the status of the national man in front of the father. The other's empowering the national character continues in all of the discourses that have been studied in previous chapter in relation with the

struggle between two nations. Whether the subject becomes the honor or protection of a stable ground for the sake of national entity, militarism plays an important role to create borders between two nations similar between the binary perception of two gender roles.

In spite of the differences in the way Tahir and Kazantzakis interpret the history and construct the otherness, the analysis of the novels indicates that both of the authors form the national identity on women and against women. That is to say, they reduce femininity into metaphors of nation and land which is to be protected and oppressed with a veiled patriarchal order within the nationalist discourse. The other is to be feminine also as the “discourse of femininity” shows. Contradictorily, when the national self frees himself from the anxiety of femininity and when he finds himself in pursuit of a justification for his national project (conquer, war, colonialism) the other who has been castrated in an early phase of the books, gains a masculine sexual power. Yet, it is still feminine, it still lacks similar to the patriarchal notion of femininity. The shift happens from the lack of “sexual adequacy” to the lack of “sexual rectitude”. The specific shift occurs in times of conflict between two nations to illustrate the legitimacy of national side’s project. From the feminist perspective it becomes also the legitimacy of the patriarchal structure of the national discourse.

Once the continuous threat of the other has been accepted from the national memory, the patriarchal oppression of women becomes also accepted since the main danger seems to be directed to female honor. In other words, the policies and practices such as those on women’s reproductive ability, their location in private sphere and restriction of their labor activities become legitimized. As the former examples on the national legitimization of patriarchy signify the particular creation of the national and the other in a continuous struggle, is also related with the public-private dichotomy in nation-states.

Returning back to the cases from novels would clarify this proposition. The understanding of public and private spheres is different in Kazantzakis and Tahir. In **Kapetan Michales**, the public sphere unquestionably belongs

to men. Women's access happens only when Cretans and Turks start to war for Crete and their role is to support male warriors by preparing their rifles. The woman who tries to act in the public sphere, Emine Hanum, is perceived as a danger to male dominancy in the public sphere and her will for access to male areas results with her death. In opposition with women's place in the private domain, in **Devlet Ana** women can fight with men and being women warriors carry Turkmen women to the public sphere. However, this opposition between the two texts does not change the actual development of two spheres for both of the authors' novels. Women's presence in the public sphere, in **Devlet Ana** does not make them equal members of the community; it rather supports male power. Having warriors from 'other of man' in the community reflects to men as a more powerful sense of being in front of the enemies. When the war is over and when the need for such a strong representation disappears and the male dominated community sends women to home. In comparison with **Kapetan Michales**, the only difference is in the determination of the degree of women's support. Whether they are active participants or passive supporters, women do not have the right to share the public sphere with men. Yet, the temporary presence of Turkmen women in the public domain can be questioned in terms of fully fledged citizenship.

In 'Gender and Nation' Yuval-Davis discusses the equality problem in nation-states on women's adopting the male military responsibilities and this situation's probability of emancipating women (Yuval-Davis, 2003, 169). In her analysis, the cases of women fighting in the army with men illustrate the fact that being in the army can be more oppressive rather than being emancipative for women. Yuval-Davis explains this result from two aspects. Firstly, to develop a demand of equality structured by male rights and responsibilities creates problems for women since it does not include experiences of femininity such as motherhood. Secondly, militarism's using sexuality as a tool to oppress the other, unables the claim of empowerment of women (ibid: 169, 170). Adopting her criticism, it can be said that in those circumstances the general situation of women would not be different than the

former emancipation came with the foundation of nation-states. Mouffe claims that without deconstructing the opposition between man and woman as categories of patriarchy, the problems of civil equality, active citizenship or recognition women as 'woman' cannot be materialized (Mouffe, 1997:537).

## **Women and Nationalism**

In the light of the data found in the analysis the research question and the following questions that lead the thesis can be uttered again. For Benedict Anderson's question<sup>54</sup>, it has been mentioned that this adopts Afsanah Najmabadi's point on the importance of gender relations. The research question "How does the other woman character influence the construction of the national character in the case of comparative Greek and Turkish literature?" has been tried to answered on the complex gender relationships within the nations. The analysis of the novels, in search of the question above, reveals the second face of nationalism without which it cannot maintain its domination. The second face that becomes strongly effective in the context is patriarchy, which gives nationalism its power. The other women in this patriarchal structure give the most illustrative examples since they carry much more patriarchal burden than that of national women. First of all, in the psychoanalytic perspective, they become the most apparent signifiers of the relativity between the male self and national 'common' identity. Yet, their function intersects with the general function of women as the other of man. The answer found for the research question the other women characters' in both of the novels being the area where the national character is constructed over by being metaphors of honor, nation and land- all are subjected to the nationalist discourse's creating a male national identity.

As the cases in the thesis shows, in contrast to the general discourse on women's emancipation with the occurrence of nation-states; national

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<sup>54</sup> "For such an imagined community, what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices?" (Anderson, 1991:7)

projects and nation-states are by nature patriarchal, which creates an important obstacle in front of women's emancipation movements. Being the central metaphor of nationalism, women are the tools for the continuity of the very discourse for which women's developing their own voice within the society means to lose its domination. Without women's reflection, nationalism cannot maintain its power since the power it has mostly related with the male protection of honor, land and nation, all symbolized by women. Because of this necessity, it is believed in this work that the masculine nation-state, supported by militarism, cannot bring empowerment or emancipation to women by nature.

The situation stressed above, still leaves out Walby's questions on the degree of women's adopting nationalist projects: "is women's lesser militarism a cause of lesser nationalism?" and "do women less often think war for nationalistic reasons is worth the candle because they have fewer real interests in 'victorious' outcome, since it would make less difference to their place in society than that of men?" (Walby, 2004:247, 248).

The question on women's adopting nationalist projects can be discussed from several aspects. As it has been stressed while giving reference to women and citizenship rights, ways of being a member of the nation-states includes for women different conditions than that of men, which also differentiates women's interests within the community. Nation-states as products of modernity offered women a new type of masculinity that cannot be evaluated without mentioning a new patriarchal order. In the modern, public patriarchy women's oppression has changed its form but in essence it did not change the oppression of women. In addition to the difference of interests, the nationalist discourse constructed femininity as a metaphor of nation, honor and land to be besieged by male protection and domination and ascribed women passive roles within its hidden patriarchy.

In spite of the fundamental inequality constructed between men and women from the patriarchal nationalist discourse, the presence of women adopting the nationalist discourse or the intersection of women's and men's various interests in the national domain cannot be overestimated. Many

women support voluntarily nationalist tasks adopting the discourse surrounds femininity in the national borders. The important thing to be stressed in this perspective is the extensiveness of discourse. It is not possible for women to remain outside of it even nationalism articulated to the patriarchal structure has sprung from *masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope* as Enloe suggests (Enloe, 1990:45). Yet, these situations does not change the fact that the discourse adopted by women still is not created by a feminine language, it is not their discourse and it is not a discourse they can claim to 'share'. The particular situation –lack of feminine essence- constitutes also the weak point of nationalism, which makes women one of the stronger challengers to the system.

Can women share the same national project with men? It is clear that the sanctions of the same project vary according to the sex of the community's members. Considering the unequal treatment against women within the patriarchal nationalist discourse, the answer given to the question is the difficulty of women's adoption the same project. Firstly, as a metaphor, a vehicle of mediation and a reproductive laborer, for women -even they adopt the patriarchal voice of nationalism- the nationalist projects do not seem possible to share; women are not in the status to share, their role is to accept the given scenario. Secondly, as Walby indicates, there is a difference between men and women in terms of the national interests (Walby, 1996: 249). Moreover, the codes of the nationalist project itself do not signify the same meaning for male and female members.

In this perspective militarism marks an important difference between two sexes. Different interests and different roles can give be the reasons of such reluctance; however as this thesis study tries to indicate, it can also be related with the weak points of the nationalist discourse. The weak point mentioned here is nationalism's constructing itself over femininity to create one unique masculine identity for its appearance against others. Basically, a unified identity for two sexes becomes impossible when it is taken with the roles attributed by the discourse itself to its members. 'Common' national identity, because of the difference in the experiences of men and women in

the national sphere, loses its validity. Additionally, nationalism's tendency to perceive the other in relation with the 'feminine lack' and also to attribute both the national and other women as symbols of national belongings create a similar kind of oppression for women, which has strong effects on the creation of a common experience of oppression in contrast to the division of maleness between nations. As a result of the aim to cover the lacks in the identity, maleness has to create always an other, which creates a challenge between men rather than making them perceive this fact as a common experience. Even nationalist movements' attitudes towards women in the national area and outside the national borders (sexual oppression to one side and sexual humiliation to the other) differ; the construction of the other nation's characteristics over feminine metaphors and the patriarchal structure that oppresses women in both cases, in theory, unable to classify being a woman as national and other.

Considering the particular aspect, in addition to its claim of nationalisms patriarchal side, this thesis study adopts the idea that women cannot share the same project with men not only because their experience as member of nations are different but also femininity cannot be limited with national borders, it does not have the challenge of men they have against their sex. For Walby's question, accepting the importance of different interests, this thesis study perceives nationalism external to femininity; in Walby's words, it is believed that women are *lesser nationalist* since the nationalist discourse's obsession with a united dominant identity is in contrast with feminine identity. Yet, in today's circumstances femininity is to be separated with national borders, which marks also the continuity of the patriarchal oppression on women because of the intersection of two dominant discourses.

#### **4.4 Conclusion: Women, Honor, Land and Nation-States**

In the chapter 2.1 of the thesis, the parallelism between the male identity production and nationalist identity production has been stated. The



analysis chapter points out the very parallelism focusing on the formation of the male national identity over the figure of other woman. According to the particular parallelism, one important point has been stressed in the analysis chapter on the construction of the national properties: the aim of nationalist discourse, which is to achieve a unified sense of male identity for the nation. In other words, the analysis chapter emphasizes that the structure of the nationalist discourse cannot be separated from the patriarchal order, from which the nationalist projects and nation-states take their power to rule communities.

The role of women within this discourse is of great importance since being the other of men; women provide masculine nationalist discourse the appropriate basis for the metaphorization process to create a common history, common myths of ancestry and a common belief on future for the communities to take the shape of a nation.

The analysis chapter when taken by its two parts, indicates that women, national or other, are created as totally subjected to national men by the sexual national discourse adopted by both of the authors. The similarity of the nationalist discourse adopted by the two authors from different communities and national histories, which also constructed over the mirror image of the other, signifies the imagined structure of nationalism. That does not mean however that Tahir and Kazantzakis reach the wider body of discourse by using the same discourses of smaller context. The main difference between two authors is their way to approach the other. For Tahir, since his historical national memory depends on the “discourse of tolerance”, the other symbolized by woman is not directly the opposite of national memory but a more moderate other, who can be taken within the community and can be dominated more easily. To the contrary, Kazantzakis is under the effect of “discourse of domination” and the other who is perceived as a vehicle of domination is the opposite of the national identity. The important point here is determination of an other for the community rather than how the other is perceived by the community.

Kazantzakis' and Tahir's different historical views and national memories does not change the fact that both of the authors construct the national identity in their novels as a masculine, unique identity and achieve to the unified sense of national male identity by using femininity as the primary tool. The differences between the authors, in the 'honor of nation' discourse does not enable the creation of borders between two communities over the oppression of femininity under the pressure of honor, nor prevents the construction of a phallic male characteristic for the nation over the feminization of the other or the transformation of national borders as a harem for national men because of the symbolization of lands by women's bodies. Briefly, the two novels offer the researcher an area of analysis, which is in effect created by parallelism between the authors in their use of femininity as an indispensable unit that should be dominated by the male actors.

The important point in this parallelism is the sexual national discourse's own controversies that are reflected to the novels. In the 'honor of nation' discourse, in which the main purpose is to attribute a sense of honor, which creates borders in favor of the nation and in times of war leads men into war without questioning since the common honor is in danger. Women within this context become the symbol of the honor. Yet, the analysis of the very discourse in the texts draws attention to the presence of the dominant father figure in the life of the main national character, who symbolizes the positive properties of his nation. The father symbol marks a dual power structure, which obstructs the construction of a united male identity. To overcome the duality, the solution becomes the parallel story of love, in both of the books, between the national men and the other women. The other women involved to the process take in status of the beloved can take different signification responsibilities, they can be the 'good other' or the 'bad other' but their value as a solution for the duality does not change. In essence they exist to make the national character a dominant one like his father as well as stressing the honor of the national side. It is observed that

the mentioned duality places women<sup>55</sup> inside the oppressive borders of honor to enforce the national men against the authority of the father. In other words the borders separated with honor at first enables men to be an authority within the borders since they can lead the honor within the borders and secondly, since the other is created as feminine, it attributes immorality to the other nation and causes a dual impact in the empowerment of the male national self.

However, even in fiction, it is not easy to unite the privileged properties in one prototype. The controversies within the general discourse of nationalism continue in the other discourses analyzed in this thesis study. The following discourse, the 'discourse of feminization' highlights the anxiety resulting from this difficulty. The particular difficulty of finding a united voice in one body representing the whole reflects to the national unconscious as the anxiety of not-being a whole, the anxiety of the correctness of the reflection coming from the other's mirror: being a woman. The other, within this discourse, is created as a male with female properties. One of the biggest controversies appears in the scene with this representation because it eliminates the necessity of protecting the national honor from the symbolic and actual rape of the other. The nationalist discourse belies itself.

The specific controversy continues to be effective in the following discourse, women as land since the other nation's men's sexual danger started to be accepted once again in contrast to the previous discourse. A more interesting controversy appears between the first discourse and the present one with the symbolization of land via women's bodies. In this discourse women, national and other, accepted as the symbols of their lands and the men are the protectors of the land and the domination over women becomes legitimized once again. The discourse ensures the legitimization by using the concept of honor. National men protect their land because they are responsible from the land and honor of their nation both are threatened by

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<sup>55</sup> The aforesaid situation replaces not only national women inside the oppression based on honor within the national borders but other women as well since one of the main aims is to defeat the other which reflects to the national unconscious a sexual defeat over woman/nation. The women characters in both of the novels, whether they adopted by the community or dismissed in the end, enter in the borders.

the other the rapist. As a result of the binary construction between the national and the other, the national men are positioned as the honored men who do not threaten the honor of the others. However, the symbolism used in both of the novels indicates that the other women's existence, as it is in the 'honor of nation' discourse, is subjected to national men and their sexuality. By talking the other lands or by dominating the vision of other women or by taking women in place of the lands, the national men act similar to the other men since the masculine domination is constructed over sexual adequacy and superiority. For the will of superiority the other is necessary to mirror the wholeness of self by the lacks attributed to her. Yet, the lacking position given to women also signifies a danger for the national as it has been mentioned in the 'dangerous other' discourse.

The otherness embodied by femininity takes its most efficient shape in the representation of the "other other", who appears in both of the books as the reason behind the whole political inconsistency. It is not the danger she carries in her identity but it is the deconstructive danger of femininity for the male domination. Being an absolute outsider to the male self, not affected by male domination in the national borders since she is out, she has the danger of a misrepresentation, the castration of the unified image. As a response the other other's destruction in both texts –by killing her or by erasing her identity- enables the authors to end their national projects.

The image of the other is the main element of the national identity's superior reflection, yet, in addition, it is the image of the other that enables to uncover the controversies that the discourse includes. According to the controversies found in the texts nation's being an imagined community has been indicated from a different point than Anderson's work: from the gender relations within the nationalist discourse. The very point according to Najmabadi becomes the key of the unanswered questions directed to the structure of nationalism.

When the focus is directed to the sexualist structure of nationalism, it is seen that, women as primary tools of the nationalist discourse have to take passive roles –even they support the project actively- because of the

discourse's masculine properties. The masculinity in the discourse, as it has been stressed several times, aims to unite the national image and make it common for the members of the community. Yet, the analysis of the novels indicates that attributing a 'common' characteristic to the whole process of national identity production is not possible because of the discrimination made between gender roles. The whole process is formulated in favor of national men and women are excluded from the identity production by becoming the other for the creation of a male self. However, women's exclusion from the national identity project creates a complexity between the suppressed feminine identity within the nations and claims of nation-states on the emancipation of women.

The second section of the analysis reveals the controversies in the national borders focusing on citizenship and militarism issues, which are effected from the development of national self in masculine properties. The two issues are important signifiers of the binary construction of national membership between men and women. From the point of feminist analysis citizenship has a dual appearance. The first one includes the common discourse of equal rights between the citizens; however the other separates the borders between two sexes. Women's duties in the nations as citizens show a variety in comparison with those of men.

Even the general claim of nation-states is the liberation brought to women by the modernization and nationalization processes, the reproductive responsibilities and demands for being passive supporters of projects for women create another kind of patriarchy for women within the nation-states: the public patriarchy in which the domination has shifted from that of father and husband's to that of the state.

Militarism in this context marks an important distinction between men and women, which contributes the male domination both by attributing men active roles and by legitimizing these roles using the other's threat on the honor of national women.

The second section of the analysis chapter points out the parallelism between the nationalist discourse analyzed in the first section and its

operation within the society. As a result of the analysis chapter, it is revealed that the male identity is constructed over the mirroring effect of the other figure. The other here, becomes the women of other nation who carry a greater national responsibility than that of national women regarding the fact that their initial responsibility is to construct the national identity as masculine. The other women's being stressed by this thesis study as an important signifier in the construction of male national identity results from the total otherness attributed to the other women for the national self to achieve its steady identity. The other women influence the construction of the male national identity as an indispensable part of the process. The very importance has been tried to be depicted with its positionality, which respond every shift in the male national characteristic by taking the demanded shape to answer the research question of this thesis study "How does the other woman character influence the construction of the national character in the case of comparative Greek and Turkish literature?". The "other other" category in this sense becomes one of the most important invention of the nationalist discourse to create stabilize the identities, yet as it has been revealed in the analysis of the controversies, the very category becomes also the deconstructive point of the sexual national discourse. However, the status of the other women rather than discriminating women as national and other signifies the similarity between the notion of femininity-both other and national- in the nationalist discourse, which is to be oppressed for the favor of the identity production. As it has been exemplified in the 'gaze of the national' case, the nationalist discourse since it is masculine, discriminate femininity and has similar sanctions on the national and other women.

The analysis chapter marks the difficulty of differentiating the nationalist discourse and patriarchal discourse from one another. The analysis of the novels and the analysis of the nationalist discourse's function in the national context signify that nationalism and patriarchy have been articulated to each other in the modernization process and nationalist projects use patriarchal bonds to lead the communities. On the other hand the patriarchal reflections on the nation-states are legitimized by the

nationalist discourse under the veil of national responsibilities. Rather than revealing the masculinity, the nationalist discourse presents its patriarchal properties articulating them with issues of honor, national responsibility or national roles which are strongly tied to the national 'common' memory.

In this respect, being the key tool for the construction of male identity, women are to be oppressed in the nation-states to give the superiority. For women's possibility to share the same project with men, the particular oppression shows the impossibility of such an attempt since women are not considered as equals and most importantly since the language of patriarchal nationalism does not belong to their sense of identity. Because of the necessity of women's being reduced to a status of second importance, the attempts of emancipation for women should not disregard the fact that the articulated structures of nationalism and patriarchy and as a result the very structure of the leading system of modernity, the nation-states would by nature aim obstruct the specific attempts.

Any attempt to emancipate femininity should not disregard the fact that to challenge the patriarchal discourse naturally brings the need to change the nationalist discourse. The need is natural since nationalism is the veil of the new, public patriarchy and they become so articulated that to cope with the oppression created by their unity they should both be altered.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

This thesis study aims to search one of the ambivalences that is resulted with nations' essence:

For such an imagined community, what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? (Anderson, 1991:7).

The question is difficult to answer and leads the researcher to investigate a grand area, with complex constitutive discourses, supporter discourses articulated to wider ones, a variety of social institutions and politics of the identity construction. Rather than attempting to analyze such a great area, this thesis study focuses on mainly the national identity construction in novels in case of Greek and Turkish literatures.

To deal with a fragmented context also becomes problematic because of the nation-states and national project's durability against a variety of theoretical approaches resulted from its complexity. Basically the problem is to decipher the sense of solidarity it created among its members. What is the reason under the solidarity among national people who are assumed to share a common myth of ancestry; common historical memories, common culture and common territory even live outside the common territory? How can people, in a country or in different countries such as the Diaspora communities, share a common memory and common attachments without being able to meet each other? The most interesting point in this cultural association is nations' place in the history as late products appeared after the loss of unitary power of the old structures of authority after 1789 the problem to find a new way of sovereignty (Seton-Watson, 1977:13). To the contrary of their release date, nations claim to extend in history eternally.



The researchers who approached nation as a product of modernity rather than an eternal fact, including the very illustrative ones for instance that of Anderson Hobsbawm, Gellner could not achieve to analyze the whole picture of nationalist attachments but they undeniably situated that the cultural homogeneity, the *homogeneous, empty time* (Anderson, 1991:24) is of core importance for the perception of national enigma which, as Gellner suggests, bring the awakening of nations to their self-consciousness (Anderson, 1991:6).

The impact of *print-capitalism* is seen as the constructor of the national awakening process since it is communal and controlling. In the horizontal time of the of nations, the sense of solidarity unable the community to realize the different interest relations among themselves as if they were equals in the national sense and the ambivalence of the nations –welcoming and warlike at the same time- with the help of the artificial kinship brought by print-capitalism.

The divisions of nations as 'we' and 'they' can be explained on this basis however one point remains incomplete. The category of the other cannot be understood without a particular stress on femininity, thus the other does not only differentiate nations and others but it differentiate also the nations' members among each other. In this sense, the solidarity assumed to be among members becomes a problematic category. After the access of the second wave feminist researchers' work into the literature on nationalism, a new reading on the essence of nations appeared. At first, as the former gender-blind surveys assumed, it is claimed that there is not a whole sense of identity but the domination of a sense of a unified male identity inside the nations. According to the feminist analysts such as Enloe, Jayawardena, Pateman, Kandiyoti, Anthias and Yuval Davis, the whole process of being a nation includes a gender dichotomy. Women's primary role inside the nations become to be the 'positive' other of the national men to construct a relationship of dependence among each other, which leads the male national actor to sacrifice for the protection of the national women. The roles attributed to women within this perspective are (1) to be the biological

reproducers of ethnic collectivities; (2) to be the reproducers of ethnic groups; (3) to transmit the culture in the ideological reproduction of collectivities, (4) to be the signifiers of ethnic and national differences, (5) to participate the national, economic, political and military struggles (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992: 115).

The emphasis on reproduction and women's value for signification create a strong parallelism between the binary opposition among man and the opposition between the *self* and *other* between the nations. This thesis approaches the specific parallelism from the psychoanalytic construction of self in opposition to the other, which is the basis for the creation of the oppositions above. In other words, this thesis study claims that the national self is constructed according to the psychoanalytic criteria of the construction of male self. As a result of the particular parallelism, the establishment of nations means also the establishment of a new sense of masculine identity. As Nagel focuses in her work, while being a man depends on not being a woman; being a woman depends on the reflection of other classes, nations and races to give a whole image of identity to the national man (Nagel, 1998:247). What masculinity created within the nationalist discourse depicts, in this respect, is the mutual relationship between the manhood and nationhood which constructs *the nation as female and women as mothers of the nation, responsible for its physical, cultural and social reproduction* (Pettman, 1996:187).

Najmabadi sees the roots of the Anderson's question on the complex gender relations which is to be analyzed in relation with history and context (Najmabadi, 2004: 130). The familial language attributed to the national bonds creates a fraternity among the male members and exclude women from the national public sphere (Najmabadi, 2004:129). Women are supposed to take place at home as the mothers of the nation and men play the role of the fathers who protect their mother country and the mothers of their country. In this nation-family children become the kin. The myths also as Enloe calls attention to constitute a basis for the strategies directed to the dichotomy of national identities (Enloe, 2004:213).

Women's presence in the national discourse is a fundamental category, which enables the researcher to analyze the deeper, psychoanalytic roots of becoming 'we' and 'they' within the national sphere. As it is in the unconscious formation of self, women in the national area are conceptualized with respect to masculine parameters resulted from the lack they symbolize for the male unconscious (Irigaray, 1985:23-31).

The gendered identity appeared with father's intervention of mother-child union role, starts the symbolic order under the hegemony of *Phallus*, the reminder of lack and *those who 'have' rather than 'lack' it are privileged* (Minsky, 1996:150). Entering into a new system dominated by *the order of the same* leads to child to perceive the meaning of things according to the difference they have with the others. Nationalist discourse gains its sexual voice from the binary oppositions constructed between having and lacking, which is reflected to the national area as the superiority of the nation that has it (the honor, the courage, the wholeness) and the other nation that lacks. The role attributed women in the in the emergence of national consciousness as dutiful, honorable mothers and daughters of a nation and of other nations as mistresses, prostitutes or obedient, empty subjects waiting to be conquered are the reflectors of the desire for sameness, union with mother and fear of castration. The individual sense of self as national brings the collective identity production in relation to others of like kind (Verdery, 1996: 229).

In this thesis study, it is believed that the gender relations within the national unconscious have a fundamental importance to resolve the complexities created by the articulated structure of nationalist discourse. The main issue to analyze how the national borders are drawn becomes the *otherness* from which the national finds its unified image. Yet, as well as the categories man and woman; otherness is not a unitary category; it is rather positional, subjected to role of mirroring the image that the national desires. It is argued in this thesis study that highlighting the constitutive discourses that create the other is useful and necessary in order to answer the complex

questions of nationalism and to extend the validity of theoretical approaches on the subordinated status of women within nations.

The research question of this thesis study is “How does the other woman character influence the construction of the national character in the case of comparative Greek and Turkish literature?” In the light of the works of feminist scholars and especially Najmabadi’s response to Anderson, this thesis study concentrates on the gendered structure of nationalism. Trying to find an answer to the research question above, it is aimed to reveal the gendered construction of the national identity and the ways of the very construction that woman as the “other of man” plays a central role. There two points to be explained here. At first, this thesis study tries to approach femininity as a plural category composed of women from different experiences. The same approach is also valid for men; however, because the nationalist discourse aims to create a common maleness for the national identity and the discourse in novels also focus on especially one male actor, the male characters are referred as carriers of a single identity. Secondly, the emphasis on the *other women* results from their signifying value as both the other and the members of the other nation. In the close resemblance between nation and woman in the nationalist unconscious, the woman characters from other nations represent the otherness in a more effective way than that of national women. As a result of their plural otherness, other women even they are the product of the hegemonic masculine nationalist discourse, they are also the important challengers of the domination of sameness called the “common identity” in the language of nationalism. The first section of the analysis chapter includes an analysis aims to find an answer to the research question.

The gender analysis based on the research question on the construction of nationalist identity, after finding out the ways how women are oppressed under the burden of otherness within the national domain, necessarily brings new questions. The following questions are adopted from Sylvia Walby’s concerns on the situation of femininity in the national borders. The first questions Walby asks, “Is women’s lesser militarism a cause of

lesser nationalism?” and “do women less often think war for nationalistic reasons is worth the candle because they have fewer real interests in ‘victorious’ outcome, since it would make less difference to their place in society than that of men?” (Walby, 2004:247, 248) are seen related with the concerns of this thesis, since the construction of the national identity found problematic from the point of view of this thesis. Related with the above questions, this thesis study asks one final question on the role of women in the national sphere: “Is women’s passivity destiny in the national area?” Following the analysis of the research question, these questions are thought to be complementary questions for the revelation of the problematic structure of national identity, which is tried to be stressed in this thesis study. The complementary questions of the research question are examined in the second section of the analysis, which aims to carry the data of the previous analysis part to the social world from the fictional world of the novels to make the understanding better.

In the creation of the *common identity*, which is found problematic from the perspective of this thesis work, literature plays a supporter role for the nationalist ideals. Using the same sexual discourse and the unconscious elements, it offers a clear research process to the researcher to analyze the constitutive units of otherness. Greek and Turkish literatures as the *cultural artifacts* of two nations constructed from each other’s mirror image; constitute a good example of the larger context which includes patriarchy and nationalist ideology in articulation with each other. The relativity between *text*, *discourse* and *context* in the research question can at best be analyzed through the specific methodology of *discourse analysis*, which aims to interpret the social reality. Main points in the methodology are the importance of the use of method rather than the method itself and to investigate the construction of social reality via language and reflexivity, which offers collaboration with other bodies of theoretical works (Philips & Hardy, 2002:5).

In addition to the use of discourse analysis, this thesis work also carries the influence of *poststructuralist approach*, which enables the researcher to focus on the construction of meaning and power, and to make

an analysis giving reference to otherness, which are all related with the subject of this thesis. The main contributions of the poststructuralist approach to the feminist analysis are the revelation of binary opposites that construct the basis of the hegemonic structures such as the man-woman duality within the patriarchal discourse and the ways included in the poststructuralist analysis to deconstruct the hegemonic structure of the discourse. *Deconstruction* as an effective method in the very approach reflected to the feminist analysis as the deconstruction of the patriarchal discourse by reversing and displacing the binary oppositions. This thesis work, as the poststructuralist approach states their importance, concentrates on the ambivalences within the discourse as the key to deconstruct its dominancy.

Since the field of analysis is composed of two novels, **Kapetan Michales** and **Devlet Ana**, the use of the methods of the comparative analysis is the most appropriate way, which is to be articulated in the analysis with the discourse analysis. Analyzing the books, the important point in the comparatistic inquiry, which does not have a specific methodology, is the emphasis given to *motifs*, which offer the most appropriate field within the comparatistic inquiry for the subject of this thesis. Motifs as explained as an element which serves as a basis for the narrative, which takes place in the plot as a conventional situation, interest or incident (Jost, 1974:21), constitute the field, which enables the research on the role of *other woman* figure in this thesis' subject. As it has been mentioned above, the claim of this thesis on the parallelism between the construction of (male) self and the construction of national common identity is reflected to the analysis by a specific emphasis on unconscious reflections found in the subtext.

The analysis can be considered as methodological. The reason of doing a methodological research on nationalist discourse is the belief adopted by this thesis on the neglected property of the feminist research in the field. By making such an analysis, in a different field in the light of the earlier feminist studies on nationalism, it is believed that the overestimated claims of feminist analysis becomes stressed.

To come close to the perception of male identity production in the selected novels, **Kapetan Michales** by Kazantzakis and **Devlet Ana** by Kemal Tahir, the methodology of Phillips and Cynthia Hardy (2002:76) has been adopted that requires (a) establish what the novels constructed and (b) examine how the construction from binarities between gender relations related to the formation of (male) national identity. To search the male national identity production with the mediation of varying forms of otherness the first step is to (a) find out which common objects have been constructed in two novels. According to the findings of the first step, the objects represented in two books are summed up in four categories as man, woman, nation and land. All categories have also two distinct subcategories, which are divided between the national and the 'other'.

After the description of what the categories constructed, the second step (b) is to analyze the novels in terms of the way in which the four objects have been constructed. The relation between the objects and the way they take place in the books will be analyzed under four themes which are:

1. Honor of nation Discourse
2. Discourse of feminization
3. Land in the form of a woman
4. The dangerous other

After the examination of discourses above, the second section of the analysis approaches the same theme asking the questions called "complementary" by changing the area of analysis to create a complete understanding of the important points of the previous analysis.

The starting point of the analysis on the "honor of nation discourse" is the parallel stories of love and emancipation/foundation in the two novels. The aim that both of the authors unite the story of their nation with a love story resulted from nation's being an *object of love* in the nationalist discourse. The desire for the nation becomes visible in the issue of honor since the symbolic perception of nation over feminine metaphors lead the male nationalist view to approach its security as a matter of virginity, a matter

of honor, which is related in fact with the male honor that is male wish to possess the phallic properties. Women as the symbol of nation become the carriers of the honor burden. Inside the nation their sexuality is taken under the male limitation to protect their male honor from the other and outside the nation, other women's existence is created from the authors to show the deficiency of the other nation. The other women are represented as either immoral as Emine Hanum in **Kapetan Michales** or subjected to the sexual claims of the national as Liya or Lotüs in **Devlet Ana**. Their existence as an object of desire is not accepted from the law of the father since they keep the national men away from his primary duty: nation. Facing with the obstruction of father; other women's end comes from whether as death as Emine Hanum and Noëmi experienced in **Kapetan Michales** or as assimilation such as in the case of Lotüs and Liya in **Devlet Ana** eliminate their unknown, terrifying power of castration.

The fear of castration reflected to the image of other women in both of the novels finds its most annoying shape in the "discourse of feminization", which in essence depends the same roots with "honor of nation" discourse. In this case, the other becomes the castrated or sexually deficient men but the national women do not actually have a specific role except signifying the honor. In this section it has been observed that the tension between the national self and other, even it seems to be rooted from a dialogue between two male national opposites, is a representation of the tension between the sexes. The distinctive factor here is a different lack than the lack of honor but its root: a perfect reflection of castration fear to the other men. When the Turkish identical of Captain Michales castrated, Michales remains as the only complete male in the area of struggle. The difference of Turkmens from other communities is their perception of honor, which forbids pederasty and relates the politic issues with sexual rectitude. The other is feminized in order for the constitution of national maleness in a complete masculine identity. The "discourse of feminization" in opposition to other discourses that mark women with a total otherness, is the only discourse, which give them a certain freedom from being the victim of rape of nationalist discourse, yet, it does not



change their position as representatives of lack all the same. Other women in the particular discourse become lesser men rather than women remaining in an in-between, rather genderless status.

The sexual lack of the other men is transmitted towards a sexual aggressiveness when the subject of the novels shifted to war in the “woman as land” discourse. During the war male status is given back to other men in a negative dimension. They become the rapists of the national women; the violators of national other since women’s current status become the land facing with the threat of the other. Among the other two discourses, it is the “woman as land” discourse that represents the positional choice of sexual national discourse at best. Within the limits of the particular discourse, the woman’s responsibility to maintain their honor shifted nearly the necessity to loose their honor to construct the other in a negative dimension, similarly the sexual effectiveness of the other shifted through an oversexed power to conquer the national land/women.

Within the context of honor, land and fear of feminization each is constructed over feminine sexuality’s lacking perception from the male self, the aim of the nationalist discourse is the construct a whole male image of self. Yet, the unconscious which is continually intervened by the loss of the mother and castration complex do not let the author to achieve his goal of creating a unified, stable national identity. The male object of the novels continually receives a change in his characteristics through the mediation of woman’s varying representations. The sexual national discourse, in this sense, deconstructs itself within the very sexual language it uses. other men’s becoming a source of violation for the men’s national honor requires the opposite for the national yet as it has been observed in the previous chapter the national cannot prevent himself to approach the other’s femininity in the same way with the other. The authors’ ideal to keep the nation in a fragmented area by male power fails when the national looses his superiority constructed basically on honor and sexual virility. The nation, as a metaphor of union with the mother, continues to escape from the male’s authority. At first, the punitive voice of the father always superior to the national man and

the absence of mother as lack within the construction of his identity unable him to be a 'one.' Secondly, the only way to alter the father's identity with that of the son through other women's representations, because of the variety in women's positions, is resulted with a metaphoric castration with examples of capture, violation and defeat; in place of unifying the male identity. And lastly national's gaze becomes the identical of the other, which destructs the borders among different masculinities since they are constructed from the masculine unconscious. The castration fear prevails the possibility of a union.

The similarity of the discourses adopted by two writers from different countries, which in their history constructed their national solidarity over the negative image of the other, signifies two important points. Firstly, by using the same constructive elements, they confirm that nation's are imagined unities rather than being primordial entities constructed by nature differently. Secondly, they mark the indispensability of women as a key unit for the constitution and continuity of the nationalist discourse.

As these examples signify, otherness, sprung from the male-female opposition, is a central category both to perceive the dark sides of nationalist ideology and to deconstruct its sanctions, which try to maintain an order of the same where women cannot exist, on its members. Gender, whether it has not seen as a fundamental category for the mainstream researchers, is undoubtedly a signifier of the creation of the other from different categories (Yuval-Davis, 2003:97).

Therefore, the answer of the research question briefly becomes "By the positional, flexible representation of otherness". By being a metaphor and an empty signifier, the oppressed femininity serves for the construction process. Subjecting women and the categories symbolized by femininity such as the case of other men in the "discourse of feminization", or other lands and nations to an instable position; the specific discourse tries to stabilize itself. The stabilization process, which reflects to national sphere as a common identity enables the members of the nation to be governed without questioning the different social and economic standards within the nation. The important point here is the femininity's different representations, which

as well as supporting the discourse also becomes an important tool to deconstruct it. The ambivalences within the sexual national discourse, even it attempts to reflect it on the other, become visible when the focus is directed on what is represented from the various images attributed to women. As the discourses analyzed in the first section depict, the process of constructing a common identity fails since the will of stabilization cannot resist the varying circumstances such as in the case of the transformation of other men (also created with an emphasis on femininity) from sexually deficient characters to sexually powerful enemies.

While revealing the inconsistencies which show the impossibility of creating a common and unique identity, they also highlight the property within the nationalist discourse that is tried to be concealed. The mentioned property is the patriarchal discourse, which in effect veiled under the bonds created between the common identity of nations and the categories such as nation, honor and land. The strong affiliation to national attachments constructed using the unconscious desire for a united identity, creates the illusion nationalist discourse, which promises members of the nation the aforesaid unity. The adoption of the very illusion is also valid for women since there is not a place within the national sphere freed from the discourse. By the metaphorization process, women's oppression which is a necessity for the nationalist discourse is displayed by the discourse itself as a national responsibility for the sake of the whole community resulted from the continual threat of the other, a sacrifice, which women and men both have to face with; but not an oppression. When the national discourse's way of expressing the sacrifice is considered, the oppression takes the shape of a liberation offered from the modernity.

Looking the same discourse in its functioning in the society rather than fictive worlds of nations, which is the subject of the second section of the analysis, what is signified by the data found in the previous analysis becomes more apparent for evaluation.

The second section examines the controversy between the nation-states claim on women's liberation and the secondary status of women from citizenship and militarism issues. The change called liberation for women with the coming into life of nation-states, is the construction of public-patriarchy in which the state take over the right to oppress women from the power of fathers and husbands dominant in the private patriarchy. In the public patriarchy, such as the power of state policies on women's reproduction rights, the nation is represented as a family where the men become the dominant fathers and women are the subordinated mothers. Citizenship as a concept including all the members of the nation, on the one hand supports the construction of a common identity, but on the other by designating different criteria for women addresses the absence of the feminine identity within the 'common' property of nations. In other words, the problems women live in nation-states to be fully-fledged citizens signifies the point of the previous section on women's exclusion from the discourse and construction of the common identity for male members.

Excluded from the discourse, women's subjection to male domination of the nationalist discourse leads to another important point, which has been stressed from the beginning of this thesis work; that is the nationalist identity's construction according to masculinity. The national object's being a male, when taken with the complementary questions becomes an important key for the national ideals and belongings adoption from women. One of the best examples for different citizenship criteria within the nation-states is constituted from militarism. Contrary to its representation as out of the daily life of nations, because of the binary identity construction between the national self and the other, militarism becomes an everyday issue. By separating women and men in order for their roles –father-protector/mother-reproducer- contributes the male superiority by attributing women passive roles and legitimizes the very passivity associating it with the “honor of nation” discourse.

As the analysis of the two sections reveal, it is hard to differentiate the patriarchal and nationalist discourses within the national sphere. The

modernization process by giving the patriarchy a new shape –public patriarchy- secures the continuity of its product, the nation-state. Women’s position within the nation-state as the constructive units of the national identity, which is shaped according to male characteristics and masculine desire for the same, signifies the necessity of their passive role. Consequently, in the by nature patriarchal structure of nationalist discourse, women’s exclusion from the discourse –whether they adopt it or not- prevents them from gaining an equal status within the nation-states. Moreover, it marks the impossibility of an emancipation given from the nation-state. Considering the particular limitation of women’s citizenship rights and possibility of liberation it can be claimed that women’s passivity is a destiny in the national area for the answer of the last question of this thesis work. However, without questioning entirely women’s deconstructive power, this will be a superficial answer.

Returning back to the questions adopted from Walby’s concerns<sup>56</sup>, the discussion of the parallelism between women’s lesser militarism and lesser nationalism and the possible results of their fewer interests on their adoption of the nationalist values becomes important to achieve a satisfactory answer.

It has been mentioned several times in this thesis study that the sexual national discourse is a masculine discourse and women are the others used for to construct a unified male national identity. This situation brings the result for both of the questions that is the impossibility of women’s developing a claim on the articulated discourses of patriarchy and nationalism since they are excluded by the discourse itself. Only the illusion brought by the patriarchal nationalism on the relativity between modernism and women’s liberation may cause a misunderstanding for the side of women, but as the analysis indicates, in fact they are not considered as members to decide with but they reduced to a category of metaphor. In times of the parallel demands

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<sup>56</sup> “Is women’s lesser militarism a cause of lesser nationalism?” and “do women less often think war for nationalistic reasons is worth the candle because they have fewer real interests in ‘victorious’ outcome, since it would make less difference to their place in society than that of men?” (Walby, 2004:247, 248)

of women's movements and nationalist projects, the result does not change for the sake of women. However, before determining the passive status of women in nation-states as a changeless destiny, it should not be overestimated that this thesis also tries to stress the deconstructive value of the femininity.

The sexual national discourse by attributing positionality to the other represented in female properties, it also gives a certain power to femininity. The case of the national women and the other women marks a similarity between them –while having different experiences of femininity- since they are all subjected to masculine ideals. This subordinated status can be also interpreted as a mark of a feminine identity construction which does not create an oppressive discourse. In other words, there can be mentioned of a distinct but subordinated feminine language free from borders and will for domination. This is the patriarchal nationalist discourse's own attempt to deconstruct its domination for a common identity because it creates a language which does not signify the same meanings for women and men. The point that this thesis work tries to stress here, is the importance of the attempts to decipher this subordinated language of women, which is thought to be more effective than trying to equalize women with men in a structure, which is to oppress women to exist.

It is believed in this thesis study to challenge the existing oppressive system becomes possible by revealing the hidden feminine discourse. To achieve the women's language, otherness becomes an important field, which can be interpreted as a value rather than a marker of subjection. To emancipate femininity from the national patriarchal borders, the intersection and differentiation points of two articulated discourses can be at best be studied over the mirroring effect of women. However, as it is indicated in the data found in the analysis, the attempts to emancipate women from the oppression of patriarchy should not overestimate the fact that nationalism is the supporter of patriarchy. Without challenging them both, nationalist discourse as the discourse which has the power to lead the communities in

today's world will be the primary obstruction in front of the women's emancipation movements.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: LIST OF BOOKS ANALYZED IN THE THESIS

Kazantzakis, Nikos (1966) Freedom and Death, Chatham, Kent

Kazantzakis Nikos (1998) Kapetan Michales, Ekdoseis Kazantzaki, Athens  
(Freedom and Death)

Tahir, Kemal (1967) **Devlet Ana**, Bilgi yayınevi, Ankara

## **APPENDIX B: DIFFERENT FORMS OF OTHERNESS ANALYZED IN THE THESIS**

This thesis work concentrates on the concept of otherness and its different construction skills. Hence, the term “other” becomes one of the most frequent terms referred in this thesis work. However, since one of the aims of this thesis is to draw attention to the plural structure of otherness, it is believed that a section, which includes the different representation skills of the other within the discourses analyzed in this thesis, is necessary to avoid from confusions and misunderstandings.

As a beginning, it should be reminded that whatever and whoever represented as the other, it does not change the fact that otherness is a category based on the patriarchal perception of feminine self as a lack, which in fact the reflection of male fear of castration and loss. Therefore, in general, otherness is a category created to give a perfect reflection to masculinity by the attribution of the concept of lack to the feminized other. This situation does not mean however, that the terms referred above will carry the same meaning and representation skill in every circumstance. To the contrary, what makes the other a useful category for the male self is its flexibility for every image reflected from the current image of the male identity. In other words, since the concepts and categories that construct the otherness, are not stable. As it will be explained below, the appearance of the concepts differ from discourse to discourse and uses the image of the other as the focus of change to stabilize the identity.

In the “honor of nation” discourse there two main skills of otherness: the other as the national woman and as the other woman. The main focus in this discourse is on the binary construction of two nations as the honored nation and the immoral nation. National women’s position in otherness is to be the “good” other who confirms the superior position of national men. Other women’s otherness in comparison with that of national women is more complex. As the “other other”, the appearance of women from the other

nation varies between two categories based on “lack”. In the first category, otherness, according to the category “useful other” become the symbol of the other nation’s lack of honor by other women’s choosing to live in the national side (Liya, Lotüs, Emine Hanum, Noëmi). In the second category, by becoming the “bad other”, the other side’s lack of honor is confirmed in a straight representation of otherness as the other nation (Emine Hanum). In any case, the result becomes the separation of borders according to the criteria of honor. To veil the changes in the discourse on honor, the two categories above are constructed as positional categories in which the other can be the national by choosing the national’s side or after being the national can gain her otherness again by creating a danger within the borders.

The construction of binary sides within the “discourse of feminization” adds a new version of otherness to those of the “honor of nation” discourse. The new version is the category of other men constructed with feminine property of lack. Therefore, there are three main others in the “discourse of feminization”: the other men, the national women as the positive other of the national men and the other women. Within the limits of this discourse the lack of honor, which creates the borders, is shifted with the lack of sexual adequacy. The national side’s superiority over the other side confirmed with the sexual deficiency of other feminized men. The national women’s properties based on honor do not change in this discourse. While the two categories above stress the sexual virility of the national side’s masculine structure by being sexually deficient (the other men) or by being moral (the national women); the existence of the other women glorifies the superiority of the national men by being the subject of the nation male’s sexual desire (Şirin Kız, Emine Hanum).

The lack of sexual virility of the other men has shifted to lack of sexual rectitude in the discourse of “woman as land”, in which the other men, who also belong to the categorization created over the feminine lack in the shape of a lack of rectitude within this discourse, are constructed as rapists. The national female other’s position is shifted with the rape of the other men and the national women become the receivers of sexual violation. However,

sexual assault directed to national women, which is explained as the reason of their restriction in the national sphere, does not reflect to the national identity as a lack of honor. The national women also become the symbol of lands under the domination of national men. In the representation of woman as the symbol of land, the other women's role becomes to be the symbols of the other's lands, which are to be conquered by the national. By accepting the national men's superiority (Popolina, Lotüs, Emine Hanum), the other women legitimize the acts of the national men on their lands, while the other men's actions are represented as a rape. The other women in this discourse become the elements, which balance the status of the national male identity. By taking place in the "national harem" of the national male actors, the other women enable the national male identity to keep its superiority in front of the other men who are decreasing the status of the national men by raping the women under their protection.

In the last discourse analyzed in this study, in the discourse of the "dangerous other", the other men disappear and the main otherness skills are divided into two main categories again: the national women and the other women. The national women's role within this discourse varies in the limits of the "good other". They reflect the honor of men, the lands to be protected and the holy mothers. As the opposite side of the nation's values symbolized by the women; the other women -whether they are constructed from the beginning as "good" others, or "bad" ones, whether they accept to take place in the national domain or not- become the reason of the difficulties that the national men had to confront. They become the reasons of war (Liya, Lotüs, Emine Hanum) and the bas results that the war brings such as rape. Their very position becomes also the legitimization of the national side's intervention to the other lands.

## APPENDIX C: LIST OF CHARACTERS IN THE NOVELS

### **Kapetan Michales**

**Ali Aga:** As described as neither a man nor a woman, effeminate Ali Aga represents the weak side of the sexualized other, the Turk.

**Captain Michales:** The primary character of the **Kapetan Michales**. By being the primary male actor in the novel, Captain Michales becomes the receiver of all the reflections coming from the other to create a unified sense of national identity.

**Captain Polyxingis:** The fellow soldier of Captain Michales and also his rival since he wants to marry Captain Michales's beloved Emine Hanum.

**Crete:** Represented with female properties, Crete becomes the signifier of the Cretan honor and the Imaginary, untouchable mother figure for Cretans, which gives the reason for men to sacrifice in order to unite with their lost mother.

**Emine Hanum:** As the primary figure of the other, Emine Hanum becomes the signifier of both the negative, lacking properties of the other nation, but also the signifier of the victory over Turkish rule since she is identified with Saint Sophia, the conquered Byzantine church. Because she is both the other to be defeated and the symbol of victory, her being becomes an empty area, on which the national and the other try to establish their rule.

**Hodza Efendina:** A lunatic religious man, who weakens the image of the other by his deficiency.

**Idomeneas:** A Greek elite, who becomes the symbol of the need to act rather than to wait for help for the Greek nation.

**Kosmas:** The nephew of Captain Michales, who mirrors the confusion of Captain Michales between his national duties and his beloved, facing same problems because of his Jewish wife Noëmi.

**Manousakas:** The elder brother of Captain Michales who by his acts gives reason to the increase of tension between Turks and Greeks and who castrates Nuri Bey as a vengeance of his nation.

**Noëmi:** The Jewish wife of Kosmas who is killed by the ghost of her husband's father because she carries an unwanted baby.

**Nuri Bey:** The Turkish blood brother of Captain Michales and the husband of Emine Hanum, who while being a positive symbol for otherness, after his castration and his wife's betrayal, becomes the signifier of the other's lack.

**Pasha:** the Turkish governor of Crete, who symbolizes the sexual dominancy of the other on the national.

### **Devlet Ana**

**Alişar Bey:** The governor of Eskişehir who betrays his ally Turkmens because of his dependency to women. Because of his sexual weakness for women he takes place in the novel as a feminized (lacking) man and since he attempts to kidnap Balkız, who represents the honor and the land of Turkmens, he stresses the sexual danger of the other.

**Bacıbey (Devlet Ana):** The most powerful woman of Turkmens, who is also the head of the women fighters. Her power symbolizes the power of the lost, Imaginary mother and leads Turkmens to act brave for the honor of their mother. Yet, her hegemony over Turkmens ends after the victory, which symbolizes the constitution of an absolute male domination over the Byzantine lands.

**Balkız:** The daughter of Edeballi and the beloved of Osman Bey.

**Demircan:** The son of Bacıbey, the brother of Kerimcan and the fiancé of Liya. He is killed by Notüs Gladys and Uranha to weaken the Turkmens.

**Edeballi:** the head of Ahi forces, the father of Osman Bey's beloved Balkız.

**Ertugrul Bey:** The head of Turkmens.

**Filatyos:** Proconsul of Byzantine Lands, who by supporting the interests of Notüs Gladys, Uranha and Monk Benito tries to constitute domination on Turkmens.

**Kerimcan:** The son of Bacıbey and the brother of Demircan after whose murder Kerimcan is forced to take his revenge. The shifts in his identity, from

passive to active, make Kerimcan the actor of the male suppression of the women's power within the community.

**Liya:** The Greek fiancé of Kerimcan. She becomes the "good other" for Turkmens because of her subjection to the national male actor. Being the fiancé of a Turkmen, Liya becomes accepted to the community only after her death and becomes the marker of the other land's becoming national.

**Lotüs:** The daughter of a Byzantine noble and the beloved of Orhan Bey. Being a Greek woman Liya represents the "good other" who is subjected to the national male actor. Because of the struggle occurred between Turkmens and Greeks to make her their possession, she signifies both of the lands and the honor attributed to the woman/land. Her will to marry Orhan Bey makes her an earlier sign of Turkmen domination over Byzantine lands.

**Mavro:** Liya's brother, who is adopted by the Turkmen community and become Muslim for not have the same religion with the murders of his sister. His attributes stresses the lack of the other side and the superiority of the national side.

**Monk Benito:** A Frank monk, who aims to create inconsistency within the territory.

**Notüs Gladyüs:** A Frank cavalier, who aims to destroy the rule within the territory. He murders Kerimcan and Liya to weaken Turkmens and to create conflict between Turkmens and Byzantine rulers. He becomes the primary symbol of Western intervention to East.

**Orhan Bey:** The son of Osman Bey, the beloved of Lotüs. Orhan Bey takes place in the book as the signifier of male national identity.

**Osman Bey:** The son of Ertuğrul Bey, the father of Orhan Bey and the fiancé of Balkız.

**Rumanos:** The proconsul of Byzantium, who wants to marry Lotüs. He tries to ambush Turkmens to prevent Orhan Bey's marriage with Lotüs.

**Uranha:** The fellow soldier of Notüs Gladyüs.