

WHY HAVE THERE BEEN NO MEN ARTISTS?
ANALYZING AWARENESS OF MASCULINITIES
THROUGH THE ARTWORKS OF "MEN" ARTISTS
POST 1990 IN TURKEY

by
ÇAĞLAR ÇETİN

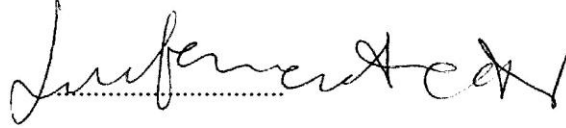
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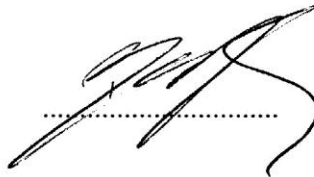
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ABSTRACT

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Çağlar Çetin

Visual Arts and Visual Communication Design, M.A. Thesis, 2013

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Lanfranco Aceti

Keywords: Gender, Masculinities, Feminism, Contemporary Art, Turkey.

In parallel with feminist, LGBT and queer discussions, this research examines *critical awareness of masculinities* in the works of men artists in Turkish contemporary art after 1990. The research discusses criteria for critical masculinities that men artists can develop against the gender order, as well as the necessity and possibility of such an opposition.

The main criteria of choosing the works of men artists, which present or do not present critical awareness of masculinities, are that these works have to have been produced and exhibited after 1990, and they discuss gender regimes through masculinities. Artworks are questioned if and how the gender order and artists' own masculinities are problematized and/or cooperation of the artists with masculine domination through their artistic visualization and conceptualization. Criticisms about the works and the statements of the artists are also referred in the examination.

The thesis concerns embracing critically that 'men identities' are only temporarily necessary for 'men artists,' who are usually referred to as only 'artists,' unlike 'women artists.' It suggests that men should start seeking subversive strategies to transform the gender order by making their beneficiary gender visible and their agencies questionable.

ÖZET

NEDEN HİÇ ERKEK SANATÇI YOK?

1990 SONRASI TÜRKİYE GÜNCEL SANATINDA
"ERKEK" SANATÇILARIN İŞLERİ ÜZERİNDEN
ERKEKLİKLER FARKINDALIĞI ANALİZİ

Çağlar Çetin

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Erkeklikler, Feminizm, Güncel Sanat, Türkiye.

Bu araştırmada, 1990 sonrası Türkiye güncel sanatında, erkek sanatçıların işlerindeki *eleştirel erkeklikler farkındalığını* irdelenmektedir. Feminist, LGBT ve queer tartışmaların paralelinde, erkek sanatçıların cinsiyet düzenine karşı geliştirebilecekleri eleştirel erkekliklerin kriterleri, böyle bir karşıt duruşun gerekliliği ve imkanları tartışılmaktadır.

Eleştirel erkeklikler farkındalığı ortaya koyan ya da koyamayan örneklerin seçiminde, Türkiyeli erkek sanatçılara ait işlerin, 1990 sonrasında üretilip sergilenmiş olmaları ve cinsiyet rejimlerini erkeklikler üzerinden tartışmaları kıstas alınmıştır. Sanatçıların görselleştirme ve kavramsallaştırmalarında eril tahakkümle işbirliği içinde olup olmadıkları ve/ya cinsiyet düzenini ve kendi erkekliklerini nasıl sorunsallaştırdıkları incelenirken, çalışmalar hakkında yapılan yorumlara ve sanatçıların kendi beyanlarına da başvurulmuştur.

Araştırmada, kadın sanatçılardan farklı olarak, sadece 'sanatçı' olarak anılan 'erkek sanatçıların' eleştirel 'erkek kimliklerini' geçici olarak üstlenmelerini önerilmektedir. Mevcut cinsiyet düzenini yıkıma uğraticı stratejiler geliştirebilmeleri için, erkeklerin bu düzende imtiyaz sahibi olan cinsiyetlerini görünür ve kendi failliklerini sorgulanır kılmaları bir başlangıç noktası olabilir.

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Maybe the most important factor in the preparation of this thesis is the Men Talk Initiative. A handful of men who came together to question their masculinities changed my life. I have always been troubled with masculinities; however, it was after engaging Men Talk that I was able to develop a clear stance against the gender order, and started questioning my own masculinity. I am grateful to Men Talk.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1. Key Terms.....	2
1.2. <i>Awareness of Masculinities</i>	9
1.3. Aim and Scope.....	11
1.4. Research Questions.....	12
1.5. Methodology.....	13
1.6. Outline.....	14
Chapter 2: Understanding the Gender Order.....	16
2.1. A Brief Insight into Feminism, and LGBTTI and Queer Movements.....	17
2.1.1. A Brief Overview of Feminism.....	17
2.1.2. A Brief Overview of LGBT--TI and Queer Movements.....	22
2.1.3. Notes on Practices of Gender Discrimination and Turkey.....	27
2.1.3.1. Gender-based violence and its many facades.....	29
2.1.3.2. Maintaining the gender order: cooperation between individuals and institutions.....	34
2.2. A Brief Insight into Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities and Critical Men's Movements.....	39
2.2.1. Basics: Why Do Men Problematize the Gender Order? : Critical Debates on 'Emancipation,' and 'Responsibility / Shame'.....	40
2.2.1.1. Harms of manhood.....	41
2.2.1.1.1. Masculinities in (no) crisis.....	43
2.2.1.2. Responsibility and shame.....	44
2.2.2. Appearance of Critical Masculinities.....	45
2.2.2.1. Examples from the world and Turkey.....	48
2.3. Conclusion.....	50

Chapter 3: Why Have There Been No Men Artists?.....	52
3.1. The Construction of the Question.....	53
3.1.1. Google Research for 'Men Artists'.....	54
3.1.2. The Usage of 'Man Artist' as a Political Choice.....	56
3.1.2.1. Gendered lingual roots in the comparison of the words, woman and man...56	
3.1.2.2. Questioning the neutral position of man.....	58
3.2. Debates on Masculinities in Turkish Contemporary Art Scene.....	61
3.3. Conclusion: Understanding the Meaning of 'Man Artist'.....	67
 Chapter 4: Men Artists' Lack of Critical Awareness of Masculinities.....	 69
4.1. On Artworks that Are Excluded from the Criteria of Critical Awareness of Masculinities.....	 70
4.1.1. Unclear Connections to Masculinities.....	71
4.1.1.1. Ahmet Ögüt and Şener Özmen: <i>Coloring Book</i>	71
4.1.1.2. Erkan Özgen: <i>Adult Games</i>	74
4.1.1.3. Bülent Şangar: <i>Untitled (Father's Advice)</i>	76
4.1.1.4. Lack of correlation between institutional criticism and gender regimes...79	
4.1.1.4.1. Selim Birsnel.....	81
4.1.1.4.2. Erdağ Aksel.....	84
4.1.2. Talking About (the Bodies of) Women.....	88
4.1.2.1. Servet Koçyiğit: <i>Blue Side Up</i>	89
4.1.2.2. Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin: <i>In Vagina Veritas</i>	91
4.1.3. Reproducing Masculine Understandings of "Manhood," 'Phallus,' and 'the Idea of Sexual Intercourse'.....	 93
4.1.3.1. Halil Altındere: <i>Fuck the Curator</i> and <i>Hard & Light</i>	94
4.1.3.2. Tunç Ali Çam: <i>Fuck a Work of Art</i>	99
4.1.3.3. Serkan Özkaya: <i>Artist as a Fountain</i>	101
4.1.3.4. Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt: <i>The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons</i>	 105
4.1.3.5. Yüksel Arslan: 'Arture's from the series <i>Man II</i> and <i>Man III</i>	108
4.1.3.6. Batu Bozoğlu: <i>Be a Man!</i>	113
4.2. Conclusion.....	116

Chapter 5: Rare Masculinities that Try to Run out of the Gender Order.....	119
5.1. Kutluğ Ataman: <i>Never My Soul</i>	119
5.1.1. Not Never My Masculinity, You Can Have It Now and Then.....	121
5.1.2. Lives and Gender – in <i>Forever</i> Construction.....	122
5.2. Gay Bodies of Taner Ceylan and Murat Morova.....	128
5.2.1. Taner Ceylan: <i>Rainbow and Tedium</i>	128
5.2.2. Murat Morova: <i>Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû</i>	132
5.4. Erinç Seymen: <i>Boys' Club</i>	134
5.4.1. Seymen's Observation and Critical Participation to Masculinities.....	135
5.4.2. Streets are “Boys' Club”.....	139
5.5. Conclusion.....	142
Chapter 6: Conclusion: Towards New Subversive Strategies.....	144
6.1. Coclusions.....	144
6.2. Towards New Subversive Strategies.....	146
Epilogue.....	148
Bibliography.....	153

LIST OF FIGURES

1. The comparison of the words “woman” and “man” in The Visual Thesaurus.....	57
2. Ahmet Ögüt and Şener Özmen, <i>Coloring Book</i> , 2004.....	72
3. Erkan Özgen, <i>Adult Games</i> , 2004.....	75
4. Bülent Şangar, <i>Untitled (Father's Advice)</i> , 1995-2008.....	77
5. Bülent Şangar, <i>Untitled (Sacrifice)</i> , 1994.....	78
6. Selim Birsnel, <i>Sleep of Lead</i> , 1995.....	82
7. Erdağ Aksel, <i>Foul Weather</i> , 1999-2000.....	85
8. Erdağ Aksel, <i>Remembering/ Do Not Remember!</i> , 2007.....	86
9. Servet Koçyiğit, <i>Blue Side Up</i> , 2005.....	90
10. Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin, <i>In Vagina Veritas</i> , 1999.....	92
11. Halil Altındere, <i>Fuck the Curator</i> , 2002.....	95
12. Halil Altındere, <i>Hard & Light</i> , 1999.....	98
13. Tunç Ali Çam, <i>Fuck a Work of Art</i> , 2000.....	100
14. Serkan Özkaya, <i>The Artist as Fountain</i> , 1999.....	102
15. Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt, <i>The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons</i> , 2004.....	106
16. Yüksel Arslan, <i>Arture 441, Man 82: Furitti Frotta</i> , 1997.....	110
17. Yüksel Arslan, <i>Arture 509</i> , 1998.....	111
18. Yüksel Arslan, <i>Arture 482, Man 123: Cures</i> , 1997.....	112
19 - 20. Batu Bozoğlu, <i>Be A Man!</i> , 2012.....	114-5
21. Kutluğ Ataman, <i>fiction [jarse]</i> , 2011.....	121
22 - 23 -24. Kutluğ Ataman, <i>Never My Soul!</i> , 2001.....	123, 127
25. Taner Ceylan, <i>Taner Taner</i> , 2003.....	129
26. Taner Ceylan, <i>Rainbow and Tedium 'Double Self-Portrait'</i> , 2004.....	131
27 - 28. Murat Morova, <i>Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû</i> , 2004.....	133
29. Erinç Seymen, <i>Portarit of a Pasha</i> , 2009.....	136
30. Erinç Seymen, <i>Alliance</i> , 2009.....	138
31 - 32 - 33. Erinç Seymen, <i>Boys Club</i> , 2009.....	140

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Have there been men artists?

In consideration of this question, the present research will discuss critical perspectives of gender in the masculinities-related artworks of men artists post 1990s in Turkish contemporary art scene.

From 1990 to date, the history of Turkish contemporary art scene, specifically based around Istanbul, has gone through rapid growth, making international fame, and “becoming a global attractor in the geography of contemporary art.”¹ The Istanbul Biennial has achieved an accelerated global prestige from 1990 onwards.² Galleries of banks, and private corporations have been founded one after another.³ Universities, especially private ones, started to establish departments related to the economical model of arts education, such as management of performing arts and culture management.⁴ These institutional

¹ Vasif Kortun and Erden Kosova, "ofsayt ama gol," ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com, Jun 28, 2007, <http://ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com/2007/06/introduction.html> (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

² The Istanbul Biennial was first organized in 1987 by Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation (IKSV), Sibel Yardımcı, *Kentsel Değişim ve Festivalizm: Küreselleşen İstanbul'da Bienal* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

³ Major private galleries and museums and their opening dates are: Yapı Kredi, 1992; Akbank, 1993; Borusan, 1997; Kasa (Sabancı), 1999; İş Sanat, 2000; Proje 4L (Elgiz), 2001; İstanbul Modern, 2004; Siemens, 2004; Arter / Koç, 2010; Platform Garanti, 2000 -and later turned into Salt, 2010.

⁴ The first department, management of performing art, was established in Istanbul Bilgi University in, 1998, and related departments' number in Istanbul reached 7 in 2000s. Çağlar Çetin, "Art & Institutions / Education: A Glimpse into the World of Istanbul's Art

developments have considerably contributed to Turkish contemporary art. Besides the fact that the productivity of Turkish contemporary art in the last two decades have provided a variety of artworks of men artists, post 1990, and is also the most representative time period of gender and masculinity shifts in social and aesthetic terms.⁵

The focus of the research is on contemporary men artists' *awareness of masculinities* when creating artworks. I will introduce and explore the new concept of *awareness of masculinities*, which I have derived and developed from the concept of gender awareness⁶ with a specific focus on the construction and maintenance of masculinities. I will first introduce the key terms in order to discuss the concept.

1.1. Key Terms⁷

Gender is what 'one is not born, but rather becomes' – if one were to extend Simone de Beauvoir's classical phrase. While de Beauvoir underlined "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, a woman," in her groundbreaking work *The Second Sex* in 1949, she also pointed out the social constructedness of gender, as well as how these social constructions worldwide privilege men and subordinate women.⁸ (In the following chapter, I will further

Education," Art & Institutions – blog, Jun 6, 2012, <http://va544.tumblr.com/#24385824015> (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

⁵ Alan Petersen states “[t]he 1990s saw a rapidly growing interest in men and their lives, as witnessed by a proliferating number of enquiries into men's emotions, men's relationships with partners, parents and siblings, men's health and sexuality, and the 'masculine crisis of identity.’” [A. Petersen, *Unmasking the Masculine: 'Men' and 'Identity' in a Sceptical Age* (London: SAGE, 1998), 1.] See also the discussion on, and examples of, critical men movements in post 1990s on pages 45-50.

⁶ For a discussion on both concepts, see page 9-11.

⁷ Perspectives based on gender and gender order, which are referred throughout the thesis, are the ones emphasized in the academic field of critical studies on men and masculinities (see chapter 2). Therefore, some discussions and concepts on gender are excluded.

⁸ Simon de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Vintage, 1989;

the discussion by providing various examples of institutional and individual practices within gender regimes.)

One of the contemporary encyclopedic definition of gender is “the psychosocial/societal integration of the codes of activity, dress, social relations, and societal status prescribed for individuals on the basis of their presumed sex.”⁹ The 'presumption' in the definition can be considered as the key point for discussions on the constructedness of sex. Such discussions find the arguments, in which the construction of gender relies on 'natural' sex categories, debatable.¹⁰ If the categorization itself is “a social process,”¹¹ so can be positioning an individual in a sex category. For instance, Monique Wittig criticizes the categorization of sex as a social, cultural, and historical construction rather than a biological fact:

The category of sex is the political category that founds society as heterosexual. [...] The category of sex is the product of a heterosexual society that imposes on women the rigid obligation of the reproduction of the 'species', that is, the reproduction of heterosexual society.¹²

This perspective of constructedness of sex, in which the category of sex is accused to serve for the subordination of women and maintenance of heterosexual society, elaborates the claim of de Beauvoir to an extent that one is even not born, but rather is considered/presumed, male or female. This is to say, the underlying process of *becoming* is a socio-cultural practice whereby individuals are labeled as 'female' or 'male' at birth. Sex, assigned

reprint of the 1953 ed. published by Alfred A. Knopf), 301.

⁹ Ethel Tobach, "How Gender Gets Defined," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Gender: Sex Similarities and Differences and the Impact of Society on Gender*, ed. Judith Worrell (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2002), 319.

¹⁰ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2-3. Butler also discusses and challenges Simone de Beauvoir's famous quote in "Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*" *Yale French Studies*, no. 72 (1986): 35-49.

¹¹ Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Doing Gender," *Gender and Society* 1, no. 2 (1987): 125-151, 127.

¹² Monique Wittig, "The Category of Sex," in *The Straight Mind and Other Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1992), 5-6.

at birth, is not natural nor static, as Judith Butler claims, rather a “cultural norm that materializes body.”¹³ Consequently, for Butler, the shift of male to man cannot be considered as a shift from natural to cultural; it needs to be understood in terms of the shift within cultural norms.

Another reading of sex and gender is that both of them are simultaneously biological (since they "take place in the body") and socially constructed.¹⁴ Anne Fausto-Sterling, a feminist molecular biologist, "duels" the dichotomies between male and female, body and female, real and constructed, natural and artificial¹⁵ and positions gender and sex in "a [dynamic] biocultural system in which cells and culture mutually construct each other."¹⁶ Fausto-Sterling states that the traditional conceptualization of gender and sex "narrows life's possibilities while perpetuating gender inequality."¹⁷ While she does not deny the materiality of the body and explores the links between cultural experiences and bodily ones, she also challenges the norms and politics of biology and science which contribute social and cultural constructedness of sex and which stabilize individuals as men and women.¹⁸

Candace West and Don Zimmerman in their famous article *Doing Gender*, remark that the constitution of gender occurs as “a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interactions.”¹⁹ However, West and Zimmerman's conceptualization of 'doing gender,' in which the verb 'do' underlines the notion that one can not *have* a gender but *does/ performs*

¹³ Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 2-3.

¹⁴ Anne Fausto-Sterling, "Gender," Anne Fausto-Sterling's web site, 2013, <http://www.annefaustosterling.com/fields-of-inquiry/gender/> (accessed June 1, 2013).

¹⁵ Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012, 1-29).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 242.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁸ See also Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men* (New York: Norton, 1979); Donna J. Haraway, "In the Beginning Was the Word: The Genesis of Biological Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6, no. 3 (1981): 469-81; Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); Ruth Hubbard and Elijah Wald, *Exploding the Gene Myth: How Genetic Information Is Produced and Manipulated by Scientists, Physicians, Employers, Insurance Companies, Educators, and Law Enforcers* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1993).

¹⁹ West and Zimmerman, "Doing Gender," 125.

it, is criticized due to its indication of an inevitability and failure to consider individual's agency and the possibility of 'redoing' and/or 'undoing' gender.²⁰ For example, according to Judith Butler, gender is 'performative' rather than 'performed'.²¹ Although they sound exactly the same, there is a crucial difference between performing and being performative: the difference is between “playing a role” and “producing a series of effects.”²² Even if the claim is that gender is culturally formed, there is also “a domain of agency or freedom,”²³ in which the possibility of subversion exists.²⁴ Butler asserts that gender is a phenomenon which is “produced and reproduced all the time,” and therefore “nobody is a gender from the start.”²⁵

What is produced and reproduced might be named as *gender relations* which do not occur only between men and women, but among men and among women as well.²⁶ Gender relations form, and are formed by, gender regimes. The notion of *gender regime*, which was first coined by R. Connell in 1987, describes a pattern in gender arrangements within institutions and organizations, such as regulations of state, army, hospital, workplace, or family.²⁷ Practices of different organizations repeat gendered 'wider patterns' that constitute “*gender order* of a society.”²⁸ Gender order is the “current state of play in the macro-politics [of gender]” and it appears in regulations of all social fields from politics to

²⁰ See Francine M. Deutsch, "Undoing Gender," *Gender & Society* 21, no. 1 (2007): 106-127; Catherine Connell, "Doing, Undoing, or Redoing Gender?: Learning from the Workplace Experiences of Transpeople," *Gender & Society* 24, no. 1 (2010): 31-55.

²¹ Judith Butler, "Your Behavior Creates Your Gender," Big Think web site, Feb 19, 2011, <http://bigthink.com/videos/your-behavior-creates-your-gender> (accessed May 23, 2013).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 146-147.

²⁵ Butler, "Your Behaviour Creates Your Gender."

²⁶ Connell, *Gender in World Perspective*, 73.

²⁷ Demetris Z. Demetriou, "Gender Order," in *Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia*, eds. Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson, 344-345 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004). See also R. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

²⁸ Connell, *Gender in World Perspective*, 73.

economics, from cultural life to education,²⁹ as well as art.

Throughout the second chapter I will investigate how men gain privilege over women in contemporary gender order and the recent past. Nevertheless, such arguments implicate the conceptualization of two distinct categories: *women and men*. One may object to this categorization and thus to my usage of these categories, since this dualization between women and men represents a continuity of reproducing patterns in the gender order and the gender order organizes gender relations on a heterosexual ground within these consistent categories.³⁰

It must be stated that social struggles of transsexuals, transgenders, and intersexes "to include diverse sexual beings under the umbrella of normality" have already subverted the understandings on dualized categorization of men and women.³¹ On the other hand, the categories of men and women, not considered dualized anymore, might still be treated as temporary "political and economical categories."³² Such a politically colored

²⁹ Connell, *Gender and Power*, 139. See also a research on individuals conscious and/or unconscious participation to the practices of gender regime in Turkey: Aksu Bora and İlknur Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı: Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Kadın ve Erkekler* (İstanbul: TESEV, 2008).

³⁰ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 5-6.

³¹ Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender*, 15, 107-8. Transgender is a category in which individuals feel that they do not belong to the genitalia-based (biology-based) gender/sex category that are culturally assigned at birth. Transgender might be treated as an umbrella term that includes transsexuals, transvestites (cross-dressers), and also (but necessarily) genderqueers, multigendered, bi-genders, two spirits, androgynous, gender nonconforming, third gender. APA explains the meanings of these terms as changeable "from person to person and may change over time, but often include a sense of blending or alternating genders." [American Psychology Association, "Answers to Your Questions About Transgender People, Gender Identity, and Gender Expression," APA's official web site, <http://www.apa.org/topics/sexuality/transgender.pdf> (accessed Jun 12, 2013).] Intersex, on the other hand, is a different term than transgender, who has a mix anatomy (inside and/or outside, such as chromosomes and/or genitalia) of men and women. [Intersex Society of North America, "What's the Difference Between Being Transgender or Transsexual and Having an Intersex Condition?," ISNA's official web site, <http://www.isna.org/faq/transgender> (accessed Jun 12, 2013).] A transgender or an intersex might identify himself not under the categories of men and women, but of transgender or intersex. On the other hand, they might also declare their belongings to the categories of men and women. [APA, "Answers to Your Questions About Transgender People;" ISNA, "What's the Difference Between;" Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender*.]

³² Monique Wittig, "One Is Not Born A Woman," in *The Straight Mind and Other Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1992), 9-20.

categorization, which derives its legitimacy, not from natural but cultural sources, might be needed in order to investigate the adoption of individuals into gender regimes. These categories might be “illusory” because deep down they are socially constructed. Nevertheless, the performance of the participants of these categories, being based on a hierarchical gender perspective, can result “in material consequences” such as violence exerted by men against women, which in Stephen Whitehead's words, is “quite real enough.”³³

The participation of men in gender regimes are discussed and analyzed in the light of the concept of *masculinities*, whereas the plurality of the word underlines various and dynamic forms of performances instead of a monolithic entity as 'the' masculinity.³⁴ Raewyn Connell defines the concept as follows:

‘Masculinities’ are not the same as ‘men.’ To speak of masculinities is to speak about gender relations. Masculinities concern the position of men in a gender order. They can be defined as the patterns of practice by which people (both men and women, though predominantly men) engage that position.³⁵

According to the conceptualization of Connell in her book *Masculinities*, there are four types of masculinities: hegemonic, complicit, marginalized, and subordinated.³⁶ The performers have different shares of power in gender regimes whereas *hegemonic masculinity* is situated at the top of the hierarchy.³⁷ Hegemonic masculinity, as Connell discusses, is the main share holder of the gender order. Nevertheless, the exact representatives of the hegemonic masculinity order are not necessarily epitomized by certain subjects and therefore hard to pinpoint in society. In her argument, hegemonic

³³ Stephen M. Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), 43.

³⁴ R. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 43.

³⁵ R. Connell, “Masculinities,” Raewyn Connell's official web site, http://www.raewynconnell.net/p/masculinities_20.html (accessed May 23, 2013).

³⁶ Connell, *Masculinities*.

³⁷ The concept proposed in 1980s, which has been widely-referenced and used but also has gone under serious critique and discussions, is reconsidered later by R. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829-859.

masculinity is primarily a cultural ideal achieved and promoted for instance by fictitious heroes of mythology, novels, or films. It also is not fixed but subject to change across time and place.³⁸

It is the form of *complicit masculinities* where men do not fit into characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge it either. There is even an admiration for the hegemonic and subscription to the patriarchal dividend:³⁹ if patriarchy is understood as privileging men over women,⁴⁰ then *patriarchal dividend* is what men benefit from “the hegemonic system of male domination.”⁴¹ Connell argues that “the majority of men [...] benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage of men in general gain from the overall subordination of women.”⁴²

³⁸ Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.”

One might consider today's characteristics of the hegemonic masculinity in Turkey as white, Turk, neo-conservative, Sunni, middle-aged, well-educated, working, hetero-sexual, married with children, rich, and healthy male. Nevertheless, these characteristics are open to debate and might change locally and regionally. On the other hand, Cenk Özbay argues that it is not possible to draw an outline for hegemonic masculinity in Turkey due to the country's (social, cultural, political, economical) complexity; however, 'neoliberal logic' and 'neoliberal subjectivity' have become the prominent characteristic of the hegemonic lately. Cenk Özbay, “Türkiye'de Hegemonik Erkekliği Aramak,” *Doğu Batı*, no. 63 (2012-2013): 185-204.

³⁹ Connell, *Masculinities*, 79.

⁴⁰ Patriarchy is “probably the most overused” concept of feminist theories according to Deniz Kandiyoti. [D. Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy,” *Gender and Society* 2, no. 3 (1988): 274-290.] Carole Pateman writes that “[t]he patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection.” [Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 207.] See also Cynthia Cockburn, *Machinery of Dominance: Women, Men and Technical Know-how* (London: Pluto Press, 1985); Christine Delphy, *Close to Home: A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression*, trans. D. Leonard (Amherst, MA: University Press of Massachusetts, 1984); Zillah R. Eisenstein, ed., *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (New York: Monthly Review, 1979); Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1986, 1998); Sylvia Walby, *Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchy and Capitalist Relations in Employment* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). For a discussion on the erosion on patriarchy see Göran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004). I briefly discuss the ideas on patriarchy and de-patriarchalization on pages 26-27, 31-32.

⁴¹ Michael Flood, Judith Keagan Gardiner, Bob Pease, and Ketih Pringle, eds. *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 467.

⁴² Connell, *Masculinities*, 79.

The performers of *marginalized masculinities* are men marginalized due to their ethnicity, class, religion, or similar social components.⁴³ However, they still apply to the characteristics of the hegemonic, such as aggression. According to Connell, the most limited group of men in the gender regime is the performers of *subordinated masculinities*. They perform gender opposite to the values of hegemonic masculinities (non-heterosexual, very emotional, effeminate etc.) and therefore, oppressed at the most, have the least share of the patriarchal dividend. Nevertheless, even for the subordinated men, privileges of the political category of men may still be available at some level.⁴⁴

1.2. Awareness of Masculinities

The origin of activities that aim gender awareness can be traced in the consciousness-raising meetings of women in the 1960s.⁴⁵ Periodical meetings in which women were discussing the gender oppression over personal issues not only raised their awareness of the gender order, but also strengthened them against the violent and discriminative practices of masculine domination. Consciousness raising activities also led to the concept "personal is political," in which the invisible link between personal experiences and gendered political constructions, as well as the potentiality of the personal in the struggle against gender inequality, was unveiled.⁴⁶ Today consciousness raising workshops and programs in the aim of reaching and maintaining gender equality are carried out for both women and men.⁴⁷

⁴³ Ibid., 78-81.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Naomi Braun Rosenthal, "Consciousness Raising: From Revolution to Re-Evaluation," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1984): 309–326.

⁴⁶ The term was coined by Carol Hanisch, "The Personal is Political", in *Notes From the Second Year: Women's Liberation*, eds. Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt (1970).

⁴⁷ R. Connell, "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality," presented in UN expert group meeting on The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Brazil, Oct 7, 2003, 4-10. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/Connell-bp.pdf>

I propose the concept of *awareness of masculinities*, which could be considered as a part of gender awareness, but specifically targets gendered experience of men and their critical questioning of agency in the gender order. To justify the necessity for such a division in the concept of gender awareness with an emphasis on men and masculinities, I propound the historical and social hitherto position of men: a position constructed through that the self is taken for granted as the norm.

One might ask if the majority of men, namely the majority of performers of masculinities, question the gender order and their own agency. As Simone de Beauvoir points out, the position of man in the gender order is a position of power which is constructed through the otherization (not only women, but also blacks, gays, enemies etc.).⁴⁸ Men ensure their positions by discussing 'others' instead of themselves.⁴⁹ Departing from this assumption Serpil Sancar, for instance, concludes that “manhood is a 'position of power' which holds the rights to speak over other positions, and by this means, which stays out of being questioned.”⁵⁰ In view of that, Sancar goes further by asking whether it is possible to develop strategies to construct critical masculinities and politics that run counter to the prevalent gender order. If men could develop strategies for critical masculinities, is an interruption in their self-position of power required? In the light of Sancar's discussion, it can be offered that if an interruption of men themselves is required, it can be achieved by bringing the selves into question. It means that strategies of men against gender regimes could originate from the personalization of the gender problem by men.

Similar to gender awareness, the concept of *awareness of masculinities* aims not only to refer to becoming critically aware of sophisticated elements of gender,⁵¹ their

(accessed May 1, 2013).

⁴⁸ de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Serpil Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar, Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* (İstanbul: Metis, 2011), 16. (The translation is mine.) “...erkeklik, sürekli başka konumların 'ne olduğunu' konuşma hakkını elinde tutan ve bu sayede kendi bulunduğu konum sorgulama dışı kalan bir 'iktidar konumu'dur.”

⁵¹ These elements, which are related to “personal life, social relations, and culture,” might be exemplified in institutional and individual practices, such as power relations, violence, inequality, discrimination, and gender roles in education, health, and labor. [Raewyn Connell, *Gender in World Perspective* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), ix-x; R. Connell, *The*

hierarchical reflections to everyday life and the position of the self in the gender order, but it also bares an emphasis on self's engagement with masculinities. Above all, *awareness of masculinities* targets the category of men: a category that is neither consistent nor natural, but a political and cultural one. The category involves men regardless of the types of masculinities they perform; in other words, regardless of sub-categories they belong due to their sexual orientations, ethnic roots, class, etc. The term opens up a conceptual space in which men as performers of hegemonic, complicit, marginalized, or subordinated masculinites critically question their own masculinities in relation with others'.⁵² It aims to evoke a level of self critique for men in parallel with a sustained effort of making *the self* visible, and therefore questionable and changeable, as a performer of the gender order.

1.3. Aim and Scope

The thesis will focus on artworks of men artists in Turkey in the post 1990s period; artworks that are not only against the gender order but in particular bring the appearances of men and masculinities on the table. With reference to the critical awareness of masculinities discussion related to the subversion of men's power positions and making themselves visible, I will particularly examine artworks over representations of men and boys. I will take into consideration criticisms about the artworks and the statements of the artists as well.

I will discuss subversive strategies that have been, or might have been, offered by these artworks. I will also question whether the artworks implicate any sexist notions and internalized doctrines of masculine domination, even if they seem to criticize gender regimes at first sight.

Through masculinities-related artworks of men, I will inquire the personalization of *Men and the Boys* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 24-25.]

⁵² Since the types of masculinities are neither stabilized, nor monolithic according to Connell, there is always the possibility of being in-between these types. [Connell, *Masculinities*, 81.]

the gender problem among men artists and their self critique on their own masculinities within the scope of *awareness of masculinities*. As there is voice, there is also silence. Although the thesis focuses on 'the voice,' especially the controversial voice of men artists against the gender order, it additionally touches upon the silence of the art world about the issues related to masculinities: what does silence of men artists against the gender order mean?

1.4. Research Questions

The questions will be embarked upon in this thesis read as follows:

- Are there any 'men artists?' How are they referred to in the art scene: are they mentioned as 'men artists' by others or by themselves?
- In Turkish contemporary art scene 1990 onwards, is it possible to trace a critical awareness of masculinities in the artworks and statements of men artists?
- What is the hitherto contribution of the artworks and statements of men artists to the discussions of gender regimes with a particular reference to the issue of masculinities?
- Do men artists go further than reproducing and aestheticizing values of masculine dominance? If there is any critique and/or examination on the gender order in the artworks and artist statements, are there any gendered perspectives and sexist subtexts?
- When there is any criticism or reference to masculinities in an artwork, what kind of critical awareness of masculinities (i.e. on privileges, agency), personalized perspective, and internalized doctrines does it bear?
- What subversive politics against the gender order do the artists mentioned above

offer?

1.5. Methodology

In order to answer the research questions, three modes of production in Turkish contemporary art scene will be subjected to a discourse analysis: masculinities-related artworks and statements of men artists, as well as the reviews of these works. I have not interviewed with the selected artists or critics since my aim is to analyze a critical awareness of masculinities which has already been presented within the artworks, public declarations, and related reviews.

There are some criteria for the artworks to be examined in the thesis. The criteria includes artworks a) produced and exhibited after 1990 in Turkish art scene, b) by men artists, c) that introduce / have an intention to introduce at least one clear connection, an intersection, between the subject and masculinities, d) and criticize artist's own masculinity in specific, or masculinities in institutional and/or individual practices over representations of men and boys.

The research questions are restricted to analyzing artists' approach to the masculinities and questioning their own positions. This is not a general research project on all the issues related to gender in art. Artworks I will analyze might point out or be related to body politics or bodily practices of gender regimes, hetero-normative practices in (the perception of) sexuality, domestic and public male violence, patriarchy in the institutions of power (such as education, family, or religion), militarism, or gendered labor.⁵³ Nevertheless, artworks included in this project are those deal critically with the issues of masculinities over representations of men and boys – although there is not always a neat distinction. Artists might also relate the subject to their own masculinity by analyzing their own masculinities, introducing self-criticisms, or questioning their own agencies.

⁵³ These concepts as the components of the gender order will be discussed in *chapter 2.1.3 (Notes on Practices of Gender Discrimination and Turkey)* on pages 27-38.

The aim of the thesis is to mention every exhibited artwork that meets the criteria, as well as a variety of artworks of men artists that exemplify failing to critically engage with masculinities.⁵⁴ If an artist has more than one artwork on the subject, I will mention all of his works, which meet the criteria defined above, yet I will discuss only one in detail. For each artwork, following a brief summary of the artist's other masculinities-related works if there is any, I will present my argument through an analysis of form, content, context, text, and possible subtexts of the artwork.

The selection of works for this study follows insights gained from a detailed examination of outputs of the contemporary art scene in post 1990 in Turkey: catalogs, art magazines, newspaper articles, websites of artists and galleries, museum databases, contemporary art and artist books.

1.6. Outline

Chapter 1 is an "Introduction" to the conceptual background and framework of the thesis. The aim and the scope of this study are clarified based on the theoretical discussions on the components that constitute the title. Reasons for analyzing the artworks and statements of the men artists in the Turkish contemporary art scene after 1990, are presented, along with the concept of *awareness of masculinities*, research questions, and methodological approach.

Chapter 2, "Understanding the Gender Order," provides a brief insight into the concept of gender regimes and how they are constructed and reproduced. The sexist practices of the gender order will be explained within the discussions of feminist, LGBT, and queer movements. The academic field of 'critical studies on men and masculinities' will also be introduced.

⁵⁴ Although the pledge of mentioning every work seems to widen the scope in an unfeasible manner, readers will soon realize that a critical engagement with masculinities is quite rare among contemporary men artists in Turkey. I therefore presume the pledge will be actualized; nevertheless, there is always a possibility of failing in locating every work.

In Chapter 3, the reflections of the gender order and debates on masculinities in Turkish contemporary art scene are examined through a parodic (and sensational) question, “Why Have There Been No Men Artists?”. The chapter starts with an inquiry on how men in comparison to women artists appear in the art scene along with the analysis of the lingual roots of the usage: 'men artists.' It concludes with an understanding of possible meanings of a man artist.

Chapter 4, “Men Artists' Lack of Critical Awareness of Masculinities,” aims to capture a deeper sense of sexism and heteronormativity in visualizations and conceptualizations of men artists. It introduces a variety of artworks that are excluded from the criteria of the analysis. Various artworks of men artists, related to masculinities, are interrogated as to whether they present some level of critical awareness, or they turn into extensions and reproductive tools of gender regimes.

Chapter 5 is titled as and focuses on “Rare Masculinities that Try to Run out of the Gender Order.” Critical awareness of masculinities of such artists is interpreted in the light of their strategic and subversive methods against gender regimes.

Chapter 6, “Conclusion: Towards New Subversive Strategies,” questions whether the embrace of an unstable and unfixed political category of men is temporarily necessary and adoptable for artists and what strategies may be possible in order to struggle against the gender order, its violence, and discriminative practices.

CHAPTER 2

UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER ORDER

This chapter presents the components of gender regimes and maneuvers applied by individuals and institutions in order to maintain the gender order. As discussed below, the struggles against the gender order initially started as women's rights movements, but afterwards it moved towards a broader frame: politics of gender.⁵⁵ Feminism embraced LGBTTI and queer movements considering the social constructions not only within the dualized framework of women and men but also within the notion of gender. Feminist, LGBTTI, and queer movements and theories have highlighted the constitutional and institutional structures and strategies of the gender order and discussed gender politics with various aspects: from everyday life practices to institutionalized frameworks, such as family, religion, military, and education.⁵⁶ These movements and theories also gave rise to critical studies on men and masculinities, as well as critical men's movements.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ See Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell, eds., *Feminism As Critique: On the Politics of Gender* (Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press, 1987); Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon, "Feminism and the Cultural Politics of Gender," in *Cultural Politics: Class, Gender, Race And The Postmodern World* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995).

⁵⁶ See Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978); Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change* (London: Pluto Press, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Michael S. Kimmel and Amy Aronson, eds., *The Gendered Society Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Michael Warner, ed., *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). These, together with many other references in the footnotes, are only few examples from numerous works of feminist, LGBTTI, and queer movements.

⁵⁷ Critical studies on men are not only a reflection of feminist studies. Nevertheless, men did not start to question the gender order, masculinities, and power entitled to their masculinities until the great struggles of women. See Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and

Analyzing the shifts of movements and theories of feminism, LGBTTI, and queer in detail exceeds the scope of the thesis; therefore, only a very brief summary is provided below. The summary will be closely related to the subsequent discussion on critical studies on men and masculinities. Finally, a distinct discussion on ongoing discriminative practices of gender regimes, relationship between masculinities, and the issue of agency and critical stance of men will be presented.

2.1. A Brief Insight into Feminism, and LGBTTI and Queer Movements

2.1.1. A Brief Overview of Feminism

Some argue that women's movements against masculine dominance have a long history, which could go back to middle ages or even further.⁵⁸ However, women's movements, which started with the struggles for women's suffrage and equal rights in the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, are known as the first wave feminism.⁵⁹ Feminist movements from 1960s to the beginning of 1990s are known as the second wave.⁶⁰ Within the second wave, feminist perspectives proceeded towards analyzing the

R. W. Connell, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005); Judith Kegan Gardiner, ed., *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

⁵⁸ See Sharon M. Harris and Linda K. Hughes, eds. *A Feminist Reader: Feminist Thought from Sappho to Satrapi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), which considers Sappho (7th-6th century BC) as the first representative of feminism. See also Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-seventy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Maureen Moynagh with Nancy Forestell, eds., *Documenting First Wave Feminism*, v. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

⁵⁹ Margaret Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Linda Nicholson, ed., *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

patriarchal structures of power, and othering of women.⁶¹ Feminism in the 1990s changed its scope substantially as a result of acknowledging the diversity in women's experiences, feminist movements of “women of color, lesbians, working class women” and many more different women's groups (such as, Ecofeminists, Third World feminists, Jewish feminists, Christian feminists, Islamic feminists).⁶² This era is known as the third wave of feminism. In the third wave of feminism since the 1990s up to day, the politics of the first and second wave, which is on *a common interest* in rebellion of women against masculine dominance, has transformed into the politics of *different interests and different femininities*.⁶³

Today, not necessarily to be associated with the 'third wave,' some comprehend feminism as an ideology or method to “struggle against sexist oppression,”⁶⁴ or more precisely, as a struggle against the institutional and individual power relations and the violence, which are based on gender relations.⁶⁵ Some argue its characteristic as “a readiness to oppose any and every form of domination.”⁶⁶ These perspectives presented within the restricted scope of this thesis are only a few examples from the variety of feminisms.

If we go back to the 1970s, we see that women's struggle against masculine domination underlined the economic consequences of women's oppression. Christine Delpy described patriarchy as “the main enemy” of women and advocated that not only

⁶¹ S. de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*. For more readings from the era, i.e. Women's Liberation movement, see Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex* (London: Paladin, 1971); Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Vintage, 1970); Sheila Rowbotham, *Women's Liberation and the New Politics* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1969).

⁶² Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and The Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), 6.

⁶³ Serpil Sancar, ed., “Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketinin Politığı: Tarihsel Bağlam, Politik Gündem ve Özgünlükler,” in *Birkaç Arpa Boyu Yol: 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar*, vol. 1, 61-117 (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 67-8.

⁶⁴ bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 2000), 26.

⁶⁵ Yeşim T. Başaran, "Kaos GL 8. Yıl Söyleşileri - 1 / Feminizm ve Eşcinsellik," April 10, 2012, Kaos GL Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Yg_oP4YgKs (accessed April 3, 2013).

⁶⁶ Denise Thompson, *Radical Feminism Today* (London: Sage, 2001), 122.

social class but also gender, positions people into economic production.⁶⁷ Women undertake such activities as housework and childcare for free and the invisibility of women's contributions to the economy as this labor is excluded from the economy were criticized as they originate from a masculine economic policy.⁶⁸ Economic system was outclassing men against women in domestic and social life by providing more business opportunities and paying higher wages to men because of their gender.⁶⁹ Women were "working in their houses and workplaces in double shift" and they were "stuck in the triangle of family, marriage and motherhood."⁷⁰ According to the discourse of the era, the liberation of women, as a class, would only be achieved by destroying patriarchal oppression or 'sex/gender systems,' which were socially and economically privileging men.⁷¹

Throughout 1970s, gay liberation movements had also opened new inquiries on gender relations and oppression.⁷² Sexual freedom, gay rights, minorities were moved into the agenda of feminist movements.⁷³ Not only constitutional rights, but also discriminative

⁶⁷ Christine Delphy, *The Main Enemy: a Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression* (London: Women's Research and Resources Center, 1977).

⁶⁸ Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Sancar, "Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketinin Politikası," 66.

⁷¹ Gayle Rubin introduced the term 'sex/gender system' in order to point out different systems of gendered oppression other than patriarchy. [G. Rubin, "Traffic in the women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. R. Reiter, 157-210 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975). For discussions on patriarchy, see also Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*; Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); Rayna Rapp Reiter. "The Search for Origins: Unraveling the Threads of Gender Hierarchy," *Critique of Anthropology*, no. 9-10 (1977): 5-24.

⁷² Denis Altman, *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972); Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire*, trans. D. Dangoor (London: Allison & Busby, 1978, c 1972).

⁷³ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları: Gelecek için Geçmişe Bakış," in *Birkaç Arpa Boyu Yol: 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar*, vol. 1, ed. Serpil Sancar, 41-60 (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 47.

practices based on gender and phallogocentric constructions of society were problematized.⁷⁴

Starting from the 1980s, especially in the 1990s, radical critiques on the attitude of feminism to take American and European notions and experiences as the reference point appeared.⁷⁵ It was time to underline differences between women and their experiences and focus on different strategies.⁷⁶ Therefore, monolithic structural understanding of women of previous feminist movements, namely the discourse of universal womanhood, became subject to widespread critique. With the aim of including other groups of society in feminist discourses, masculine subordination was defined and analyzed with a more inclusive perspective.⁷⁷

Related to the celebration of diversity and differences among women, “fixed identities within gender binaries”⁷⁸ were also problematized especially in terms of their contribution to heteronormativity.⁷⁹ Such subversive theories of gender, some of which are labeled as 'queer theory' throughout 1990s⁸⁰ but also could be traced in mid-1970s, for instance in Gayle Rubin's analysis on sex/gender system,⁸¹ were adopted by feminist

⁷⁴ Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, c 1974); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, trans. C. Porter and C. Burke (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985, c 1977).

⁷⁵ Sandra Harding, "The Instability of the Analytical Categories of Feminist Theory," in *Sex and Scientific Inquiry*, eds. Sandra Harding and Jean F. O'Barr, 283-302 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Denise Riley, *Am I That Name?: Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (New York: MacMillan, 1988).

⁷⁶ Astrid Henry, *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Connell, *Gender in World Perspective*, 43. As she indicates, "Butler's *Gender Trouble* became an icon" in for political and cultural activism of queering identities.

⁷⁹ Heteronormativity imposes heterosexuality as the norm, "as a natural, unproblematic, taken-for-granted, ordinary phenomenon." [Celia Kitzinger, "Heteronormativity in Action: Reproducing the Heterosexual Nuclear Family in After-hours Medical Calls," *Social Problems* 52, no. 4 (2005): 477-98, 478.] Adrienne Rich, who discusses lesbianism as a potential source of knowledge and liberation for women, asserts that heteronormativity is "a beachhead of male dominance." [Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5, no. 4 (1980): 631-60, 633.]

⁸⁰ See note 91 below and the related discussion.

⁸¹ Rubin, "Traffic in the women." See note 71 above.

movements. Today, feminist movements co-operate with LGBTTI and queer politics in developing strategies within politics of gender.⁸²

⁸² Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie, and Rebecca Munford, eds., *Third Wave Feminism: A Critical Exploration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Women's movements in Turkey have begun to gain strength after 1990s. Serpil Sancar classifies women's movement in Turkey under first and second wave feminism:

* "Feminism in the late modernization period of Turkey (in the 'nation building' era) 1860-1930" (Targeting equality and advancement of women; first significant representatives as Fatma Aliye Topuz, Nezihe Muhiddin, and Halide Edip Adivar)

* "Transmission of the women's rights perspective of modernization to urban middle-class women, 1930-1965" (The effects and oppression of Kemalist modernization)

* "The era of class politics and social well-fare perspective, 1968-1985"

* "Independent radical feminism, 1986-1995" (awareness-raising groups, translations from western feminist works, the approach of the personal is the political; foundation of Pazartesi and Kaktüs, independent women's magazines; public meetings and campaigns against men's violence, 'Purple Needle'; foundation of a women's shelter, Mor Çatı)

* "The effects of the understanding on human rights of women after global feminism and Fourth World Conference of Women (Beijing), 1995-2005" (foundation of alliances such as KA-DER, KEİG, and KAGİDER in order to support women and women's rights in politics, economy, and laws; foundation of independent magazines and collectives, such as Amargi, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, Feminist Yaklaşımlar; growing struggles against gendered governmental structures, particularly against discriminative laws and regulations)

* "Alliances of women's organizations and institutional associating with government, 2000-2005"

* "The era of apolitical politization and consolidation of liberal democracy on women's rights, 2005 – present"

Serpil Sancar, ed., "Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketinin Politiği: Tarihsel Bağlam, Politik Gündem ve Özgünlükler," in *Birkaç Arpa Boyu Yol: 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar*, vol. 1, 61-117 (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 76. (The translation is mine.) "Geç modernleşme ve uluslaşma dönemi feminizmi (1860-1930); Modernleşmeci kadın hakları bakışının kentli orta sınıflara taşınması (1930-65); Sınıf siyaseti ve sosyal refah anlayışı dönemi (1968-85); Küresel feminizmin ve Pekin Dünya Kadın Kongresi sonrası kadının insan hakları anlayışının etkisi (1995-2000); Devlet içinde kurumsallaşma, kadın örgütleri arasındaki ittifaklar (2000-5); Proje feminizmi dönemi (apolitik politikleşme) ve liberal demokrasinin kadın hakları konsolidasyonu (2005---)."

Notes in parentheses are taken from Charlotte Binder and Natalie Richman's article: "Feminist Movements in Turkey," Amargi's official web site, dat unspecified, <http://amargigroupistanbul.wordpress.com/feminism-in-turkey/feminist-movements-in-turkey/> (accessed June 3, 2013).

2.1.2. A Brief Overview of LGBT-TI and Queer Movements

LGBT is an initialism for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.⁸³ (B)isexual and (T)ransgender appears at the end of this initialism, and it might point out two characteristics, or historical background, of these communities: (one) the late introduction/embrace of the representatives of these initials to communities against sex/gender binaries of patriarchal oppression, and (two) the marginalization and oppression of bisexuals and transsexuals within homosexual communities.⁸⁴ Today, some other variants with other initials such as LGBTTIAQ (in which the second T is for transvestite, I is for intersex, A is for asexual or ally, and Q is for queer or questioning)⁸⁵ are in use.

LGBT movements became prominent in America and Europe at the end of 1960s as 'gay liberation movement,' and in the second half of 1970s it gained importance as 'gay rights movements.'⁸⁶ Except homosexuals, other individuals/communities mentioned

⁸³ National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association, "Stylebook Supplement on LGBT Terminology," NLGJA, 2008, updated July 2012, <http://www.nlgja.org/files/NLGJASylebook0712.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2013).

⁸⁴ Jillian Todd Weiss, "GL vs. BT: The Archeology of Biphobia and Transphobia within the U.S. Gay and Lesbian Community," in *Bisexuality and Transgenderism: InterSEXions of The Others*, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Karen Yescavage, 25-56 (Philadelphia, PAHaworth Press, 2004), 30; Robin M. Mathy, Barbara A. Lehmann, and Deborah L. Kerr, "Bisexual and Transgender Identities in a Nonclinical Sample of North Americans: Suicidal Intent, Behavioral Difficulties, and Mental Health Treatment," in *Bisexuality and Transgenderism*, 93-109, 95-98.

⁸⁵ There are more variants with more initials such as with P for pansexual, TS or 2 for two-spirit, H for Hijra Third Gender in India. See Angela Pattatuchi Aragon, *Challenging Lesbian Norms: Intersex, Transgender, Intersectional, and Queer Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Beth A. Firestein, *Becoming Visible: Counseling Bisexuals Across the Lifespan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 9; Jonathan Alexander and Karen Yescavage, eds., *Bisexuality and Transgenderism: InterSEXions of The Others* (Philadelphia, PAHaworth Press, 2004); Samapathik Trust, Pune, "HIV Awareness and First LGBT March in Pune a Short Report," Samapathik Trust's Web site, Dec 22, 2011, <http://samapathiktrust.wordpress.com/2011/12/22/hiv-awareness-and-first-lgbt-march-in-pune-a-short-report/> (accessed May 28, 2013).

⁸⁶ Following Stonewall Riots in 1969, New York, gay advocacy groups were formed, such as Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). See Barry Adam, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and André Krouwel, eds., *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998); David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2005); Toby

above, who were oppressed by the discrimination and otherization policies of heteronormative and masculine society, became more visible in the movements throughout 1990s.⁸⁷ (Nevertheless, it is also worth to mention, transgender people who have gone sex change operations might be more tolerated than homosexuals in some societies. For instance, in Iran, where "homosexuality is punishable by death,"⁸⁸ sex reassignment surgeries are legal, frequent, and even state-sponsored.⁸⁹ Although transgenders continue to be exposed to humiliation and discrimination, such social and legal acceptance of 'medical' sex reassignments could be understood as a continuity of heteronormative perspective of masculine domination.)

Queer is sometimes used as an umbrella term for LGBTTI individuals.⁹⁰ However,

Marotta, *The Politics of Homosexuality: How Lesbians and Gay Men Have Made Themselves a Political and Social Force in Modern America* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1981).

⁸⁷ See Leslie Feinberg, *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come* (New York: World View Forum, 1992).

Well-known groups of 1990s based in New York were ACT UP (formed in 1987), Queer Nation (formed in 1990), and Lesbian Avengers (formed in 1992). See Steven Seidman, / *Sociology* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, 1997); Sarah Schulm, *My American History: Lesbian and Gay Life During the Reagan/Bush Years* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

1990s also witnessed the emergence of LGBTTI initiatives and associations in Turkey. Lambdaistanbul (formed, in 1993, Istanbul, as the first organization) and Kaos GL (formed, in 1994, Ankara) are still active LGBTTI organizations. 2000s onwards, the number of organizations and initiatives, as well as groups in universities, have increased. Some examples of active LGBTTI groups of today's Turkey are: Pembe Hayat (formed in 2006, Ankara, as the first association for trans rights in Turkey), İstanbul-LGBT (formed in 2007, İstanbul), Siyah Pembe Üçgen (formed in 2009, İzmir), Hebûn LGBT (formed in 2011, Diyarbakır), and SpoD (formed in 2011, İstanbul). Historical background can be viewed from the official websites of the organizations (mostly in Turkish): Lambdaistanbul, <http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/s/>; Kaos GL, <http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/anasayfa.php>; İstanbul-LGBT, <http://www.istanbul-lgbtt.net/lgbtt/>; Pembe Hayat, <http://pembehayat.org/>; Siyah Pembe Üçgen, <http://siyahpembe.org/>; Hebûn, <http://hebunlgbt.com/>; and SpoD, <http://www.spod.org.tr/turkce/> (accessed May 28, 2013).

⁸⁸ Saeed Kamali Dehghan, "Iran's Persecution of Gay Community Revealed," *The Guardian*, May 17, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/17/iran-persecution-gay-community-revealed> (accessed Jun 1, 2013).

⁸⁹ Robert Tait, "Sex Change Funding Undermines No Gays Claim," *The Guardian*, Sep 26, 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/sep/26/iran.gender> (accessed Jun 1, 2013).

⁹⁰ One example in which the umbrella usage is given: National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association, "Stylebook Supplement on LGBT Terminology."

some theorists consider it as something more than a short usage. Especially after Judith Butler claimed that definitions and understanding of homosexuality derives from heteronormative categorizations in *Gender Trouble*, queer started to refer to political performativities, which constantly question the categorizations/dualizations of heteronormativity.⁹¹ In other words, queer is the politics of rejecting the stability of any category of identity, such as a man or woman, heterosexual or homosexual. It is “always an identity under construction, a site of permanent becoming.”⁹² Interestingly enough, it is argued that queer also appeared as a reaction against the claims of minority rights and the norms of the homosexual community; “contesting the overall validity and authenticity of the epistemology of sexuality itself.”⁹³

From this point of view, one may argue that LGBT movements today can contravene with queer theory. For instance, according to Tuna Erdem, a queer academic, sexual practices are dynamic and rasping the differences is not acceptable in queer politics – even for political interests.⁹⁴ In other words, queer refuses the given and defined, but also does not seek reconciliation with the governmental structures. In queer, the collective identity and the institutionalization or integration policies of 'the other' are rejected. Therefore, queer politics might oppose some feminist and LGBT movements which “ratify and reinforce [...] the division of the world into man/woman and gay/straight” while claiming civil rights or trying to naturalize homosexuality.⁹⁵ Joshua Gamson, for instance, acknowledges the criticism of queer politics as “[t]he gay and lesbian civil rights strategy,

⁹¹ Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 96-100. Eve K. Sedgwick also conceptualizes queer as subverting monolithical meaning and signification “of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality.” [Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 8.] See also David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Rosemary Hennessy, "Queer Theory, Left Politics," *Rethinking Marxism* 7, no. 3 (1994): 81-111; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, and Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁹² Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory*, 131.

⁹³ Simon Watney, "Queer Epistemology: Activism, 'Outing', and the Politics of Sexual Identities," *Critical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1994): 13-27, 18-19.

⁹⁴ Tuna Erdem, "Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya ve Çıkıntı Olmaya Dair: Kimlik Değil, Cinsellik! Tektip Cinsellik Değil, Cinsel Çeşitlilik!" in *Cinsellik Muamması*, eds. Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis, 2012), 50-54.

⁹⁵ Joshua Gamson, “Must Identity Movements Self Destruct? A Queer Dilemma,” *Social Problems* 42, no. 3 (1995): 390-408, 400.

for all its gains, does little to attack the political culture that itself makes the denial of and struggle for civil rights necessary and possible.”⁹⁶

Queer practices do not necessarily overlap with sexual practices of only LGBTI individuals. Some argue, “pleasure is a resource” for queers.⁹⁷ Queer can also be described as the politics of pleasure against sexual hierarchies and their norms, which have generally been defined by heteronormativity.⁹⁸ In line with this definition, since the 1990s, queer heterosexuality has been discussed as a method of subverting and disrupting normative practices of heterosexuality.⁹⁹ Queer heterosexuality, male masochism to give an example, can be recognized as a “resistance to heteronormativity,” since it spoils heteronormative characteristics such as “phallic mastery”.¹⁰⁰

Since queer welcomes all sorts of pleasure that are marginalized due to social norms (for example, perversion or sadomasochism, of course as long as all sides consent), there could be other conflicts between queer and LGBT or feminist movements: For instance, an anti-pornographic feminist movement or an LGBT movement demanding military service rights would conflict with queer politics.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, as Çakırlar and Delice underline, queer politics reject neither LGBT individuals' existence, nor their subordination, nor LGBT movement's roots, nor their political struggle.¹⁰² Queer opens a space for LGBT (and for feminist movements, too)

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Benjamin Shephard, *Queer Political Performance and Protest* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 21.

⁹⁸ Tuna Erdem discusses and defines 'queer' over Gayle S. Rubin's ideas [Gayle S. Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, 3-44. (New York: Routledge, 1993)] in her article, “Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya ve Çıkıntı Olmaya Dair,” 46.

⁹⁹ Ceila Kitzinger and Sue Wilkinson, “Virgins and Queers: Rehabilitating Heterosexuality?,” *Gender & Society* 8, no. 3 (1994): 444–62.

¹⁰⁰ Denise Hunter Gravatt, “‘A Road of Flexible Steel in that Little Hand’: Female Dominance and Male Masochism in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*,” in *Straight Writ Queer: Non-normative Expressions of Heterosexuality in Literature*, ed. Richard Fantina, 109-123 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006), 112.

¹⁰¹ Erdem, “Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya ve Çıkıntı Olmaya Dair,” 51-55.

¹⁰² Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice, eds., “Giriş: Yerel ile Küresel Arasında Türkiye’de

to question if they have already borrowed heteronormative practices from the gender order; whereas, the construction of identity in the homo-socialization might be in a bargain with the characteristics of heteronormative hegemonic masculinity.¹⁰³ It means that LGBT and queer movements can be contravening and intersecting with each other simultaneously.

Queer is criticized for its academical -abstract- language and elitism,¹⁰⁴ as well as the problems it creates by ignoring categorical experiences of subordinated individuals due to masculine oppression.¹⁰⁵ A struggle against categorization produces invisibility for the ones who might strategically use categories in order to protect their citizen rights (for transsexuals, as an example). In this sense, queer theory might damage LGBT activism or feminist struggles.¹⁰⁶ Queer strategies might, in Gamson words, “remain quite deaf and blind to the very concrete and violent institutional forms to which the most logical answer is resistance in and through a particular collective identity.”¹⁰⁷ 'The resistance through collective identity' might mean *strategic essentialism*.¹⁰⁸ What is underlined in strategic essentialism is that an operational strategy based on collective identity is required for the oppressed or the minorities to sustain and provide equal rights.¹⁰⁹

Cinsellik, Kültür ve Toplumsallık," in *Cinsellik Muamması*, 11-34 (İstanbul: Metis, 2012), 17-18, 24.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Gamson, “Must Identity Movements Self Destruct?,” 399.

¹⁰⁵ Two examples that discuss the issue over 'real' people's lives: Viviane K. Namaste, *Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Robert Reynolds, *From Camp to Queer: Re-Making the Australian Homosexual* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁶ For LGBTTI response on the issue, see note 94 above; for a feminist response, see Sheila Jeffreys, *The Lesbian Heresy: A Feminist Perspective on the Lesbian Sexual Revolution* (Melbourne: Spifinex, 1993).

¹⁰⁷ Gamson, “Must Identity Movements Self Destruct?,” 400.

¹⁰⁸ *Strategic essentialism* was coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She suggested that subaltern groups might strategically essentialize themselves as a class-consciousness activity during their struggles against domination (of the gender order, of capitalism etc.) despite their differences. [Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in *Subaltern Studies IV*, ed. Ranajit Guna, 330-363 (Delhi: Oxford, 1985).]

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. For discussions on possibilities and dilemmas between advocating civil rights of LGBTTI individuals and queer theory, see Lisa Duggan, “Making it Perfectly Queer,” *Socialist Review* 22, no. 1 (1992): 11-31; J. Rajchman, ed., *The Identity in Question* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Seidman, *Queer Theory / Sociology*.

2.1.3. Notes on Practices of Gender Discrimination and Turkey

“Feminism's main project, as theory and practice, is understanding and undermining patriarchy,” claims Cynthia Cockburn, and defines patriarchy as “‘shorthand’ for the long-lived, widespread and historically adaptive sex-gender system involving male domination.”¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, the gender order does not have to be defined as patriarchal. Göran Therborn, from a different perspective than Cockburn's, discusses the erosion of patriarchy as the law of father, in the twentieth century.¹¹¹ According to Therborn, throughout the last century, the institutional structures of the family have changed due to shifts in economic structures (socialist movements, capitalist growth, industrialization, urbanization), wars and depressions, birth control, international gender movements, and liberation in sex. Single living has increased, and powers of fathers and husbands suffered from the erosion of patriarchy regionally. However, in Therborn's conceptualization, patriarchy has not disappeared from the world but from only some parts.¹¹² Neither the discriminative nor unequal practices based on gender have vanished in de-patriarchalized regions. Despite the acquisitions of feminist, LGBT, and queer movements, gender inequalities continue to exist today in every country from so-called underdeveloped ones to so-called developed ones, in obvious or subtle forms.¹¹³ There is still a masculine hegemony/dominance worldwide in which men continue to “benefit from the patriarchal dividend.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Cynthia Cockburn, "Militarism, Male Power and the Persistence of War," talk at the European Social Forum, London, 2004.

¹¹¹ Göran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 73-106, 295-305.

¹¹³ See Sylvia Walby, *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities* (London: Sage, 2009); Cecilia L. Ridgeway, *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World* (New York: Oxford, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Patriarchal dividend, a term coined by Connell, was explained on page 6. [Connell, *Masculinities*, 79.] There is also *patriarchal bargain*. The term was offered by Deniz Kandiyoti in order to explain different strategies of different women in the gender order. Kandiyoti defines women's aim who are in patriarchal bargain as to “maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of

Obvious discriminative practices based on gender can be searched in the individual frameworks (such as domestic violence, murders of women and LGBT individuals), or in the constitutional frameworks (lack of women's and non-heterosexuals' rights - for instance, gay marriages), or in between - the collaboration of the two frames above (such as, receiving a reduced sentence due to 'provocation'¹¹⁵). The collaboration between individual and constitutional practices of gender discrimination sets (invisible) barriers between heterosexual men and the rest. For instance, individuals other than heterosexual men have less access to education or higher positions in the work place, which is also known as a glass ceiling.¹¹⁶

Subtle forms of gender discrimination (such as 'verbal sexism,' 'patronizing behavior,' 'hostile treatment,' and 'paternalistic treatment') are more complex and disguised in everyday life practices, so can easily go unnoticed.¹¹⁷ Being unaware of “prevalence and extent” of gender discrimination prevents a struggle against sexist practices; therefore, unnoticed gender discrimination sustains gender inequality.¹¹⁸

oppression.” The bargain is not always based on rationality and choice, “but also shape the more unconscious aspects of their gendered subjectivity.” [Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."]

¹¹⁵ Kaos GL, "The State is Encouraging Hate Crimes," press release, <http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/sexualminorities/TurkeyKaosGL053101.pdf> (accessed April 10, 2013).

¹¹⁶ Instead of the term glass-ceiling, Connell offers a multi-dimensional approach to gendered workplaces: Raewyn Connell, “Glass Ceilings or Gendered Institutions? : Mapping the Gender Regimes of Public Sector Worksites,” *Public Administration Review* 66, no. 6 (2006): 837-849.

Reading contemporary debates on the glass ceiling might make one think that sometimes the invisible barriers are so obvious to call them invisible. See Nancy Lockwood, “The Glass Ceiling: Domestic and International Perspectives,” SHRM Website, Research Quaterly, 2004, <http://www.shrm.org/Research/Articles/Documents/040329Quaterly.pdf> ; Ilene H. Lang, featured guest in "Economist Debates: Women," The Economist website, Jan 26, 2010, <http://www.economist.com/debate/days/view/456> (accessed April 24, 2013).

¹¹⁷ Julia C. Baker and Janet K. Swim, “Seeing the Unseen: Attention to Daily Encounters With Sexism as Way to Reduce Sexist Beliefs,” *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2011): 227-42.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 227-8.

2.1.3.1. Gender-based violence and its many facades

“Male-perpetrated violence is a major cause of fear, distress, injury, and even death for women. Such violence crosses the lines of ethnicity, economic status, and age...” declares American Psychological Association.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, men's violence is not only against women, it could also be against all gender identities, including heterosexual men. So, gender-based violence have to be defined in a broader context: it “is any attack directed against a (usually female) person, due, at least in part, to a disadvantaged position within male-dominated society.”¹²⁰

Looking at the numbers proves the fact that discrimination due to sexual orientation and gender identity is still -literally- fatal. The minimum number of the cases of men violence against women appeared on media in Turkey in 2012 are: 165 murders, 150 rapes, 210 physical injuries, and 135 harasses.¹²¹ Restricted data indicates that in addition to unknown incidents of exclusions, contempt, domestic and public violence, rapes and suicides, a total of 24 LGBT individuals were murdered in 2010-11 because of their gender.¹²² 'Honor killings' in Turkey now involve LGBT individuals, too.¹²³

¹¹⁹ American Psychological Association, "Resolution On Male Violence Against Women," APA's web site, 1999, <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/male-violence.aspx> (accessed May 31, 2013).

¹²⁰ Christopher Kilmartin and Julie Allison, *Men's Violence Against Women: Theory, Research, and Activism* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), 5.

¹²¹ Çiçek Tahaoğlu, "Male Violence Index 2012," *Bianet*, January 11, 2013, <http://bianet.org/english/women/143467-men-killed-165-women-and-raped-to-150-women-in-2012> (accessed March 7, 2013). In addition, the report of 2011 indicates "men killed 257 women, 32 men, 14 children and two babies. At least 102 women and 59 girls were raped. 167 women were harassed; 220 women were wounded. In 2010, 217 women and three children were killed by men." Çiçek Tahaoğlu, "Male Violence 2011," *Bianet*, January 13, 2012, <http://bianet.org/english/gender/135418-male-perpetrators-killed-257-women-in-2011> (accessed March 7, 2013).

¹²² Amnesty International, "Amnesty International Annual Report 2012: The State of the Worlds Human Rights," 344, http://files.amnesty.org/air12/air_2012_full_en.pdf (accessed March 7, 2013).

¹²³ Honor killing is the murder of a family member (generally female members are killed by male members) which is justified as the victim's dishonoring the family due to sexual contacts with someone else other than the spouse. These sexual contacts may involve getting raped, going to the cinema or requesting a song from radio via telephone. Filiz Kardam, *The Dynamics of Honour Killings in Turkey: Prospects for Action* (Ankara: UN

On the other hand, in the official discourse of the Turkish state, instead of 'men's violence, 'violence against women' or 'domestic violence' is preferred.¹²⁴ However, from a feminist perspective, it is not possible to identify problems and produce solutions for violence against women (domestic or not), while ignoring the power relations of masculine domination behind that violence.¹²⁵ Another problematical aspect of the Turkish state's approach is that men's violence against LGBTTI individuals is not officially recognized. It is possible to claim the presence of a systematic governmental violence (police violence) against LGBTTIs as well.¹²⁶ On February 12, 2013, current main opposition party in Turkey, CHP, petitioned to Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) with a motion, which underlined that present data on 'LGBT individuals' was inadequate and the parliament had to conduct a research on living conditions of these people and come with the solution offers for their problems. The motion was rejected on May 29, with some members of the Parliament announcing that homosexuality is 'immoral' and a sign of 'social deterioration.'¹²⁷

Population Fund, 2005). See also Ayse Onal, *Honour Killing: Stories of Men Who Killed* (London: Saqi, 2008). For gay honor killings in Turkey, see two discussions on the murder of Ahmet Yıldız in 2008, Nicholas Birch, "Was Ahmet Yıldız the Victim of Turkey's First Gay Honour Killing?," *Independent*, Jul 19, 2008, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/was-ahmet-yildiz-the-victim-of-turkeys-first-gay-honour-killing-871822.html>; Dan Bilefsky, "Soul-Searching in Turkey After a Gay Man Is Killed," *New York Times*, Nov 25, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/26/world/europe/26turkey.html?ref=world&_r=0 (accessed May 31, 2013).

¹²⁴ See T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, *Töre ve Namus Cinayetleri ile Kadınlara ve Çocuklara Yönelik Şideetin Sebeplerinin Araştırılarak Alınması Gereken Önlemlerin Belirlenmesi Amacıyla Kurulan TBMM Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu* (Ankara, 2006) as an example of TBMM Research commission reports on 'violence towards women.' See more reports on the web site of General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women (Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü), <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr> (accessed May 31, 2013).

¹²⁵ Ayşe Gül Altınay and Yeşim Arat, *Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet* (İstanbul, 2007), 52-3. (The book, together with a shorter English version titled *Violence Against Women in Turkey: A Nationwide Survey*, could be downloaded here: <http://kadinayoneliksidet.org>.) Altınay and Arat state that women's movements in Turkey mainly occurred and developed as an uprising against violence against women, which was widely accepted normal and natural especially before 1990s. Their survey shows that feminist politics have positively changed understandings of women and strengthened them, as well as affected state policies.

¹²⁶ Human Rights Watch, "Turkey: Stop Violence Against Transgender People," Human Rights Watch web site, Feb 22, 2010, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2010/02/19/turkey-stop-violence-against-transgender-people> (accessed May 31, 2013).

¹²⁷ Ömer Akpınar, "Hükümet LGBT'leri İnkâr Etmeye Devam Ediyor!," KaosGL's web site,

Although physical and sexual violence could be considered as the most 'visible' types of violence (regarding the research and statistics above), there are other types of men's violence: economical/financial, emotional, psychological, and verbal.¹²⁸ Complex connections between men's privileges, masculinities, and patriarchy are observed in all faces of gender-based violence,¹²⁹ and one characteristic repeats: the passion to dominate/control.¹³⁰

In terms of economic violence, the gendered division of labor has an important place in feminist discussions. Maria Mies draws a detailed table of methods and consequences of the gendered labor and exploitation in her book *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*.¹³¹ While the consequences are presented as natural results of the characteristics of humankind, they are actually constructed by the gender order. For instance, the comparison between the actions of women and men is based on gendered comprehension: maternity, childbearing, and breast-feeding are considered as completely depending on so-called human nature and women are depicted as 'helpless victims of their bodies;' however, Mies notes that "[...] women appropriated their own nature, their capacity to give birth and produce milk [generative and productive forces] in the same way as men appropriated their own bodily nature, in the sense that their hands and head, etc., acquired skills through work and reflection to make and handle tools."¹³² That is to say, in masculine perception, woman

May 29, 2013, <http://www.kaosgl.com/sayfa.php?id=14251> ; Tarık Işık, "Mecliste Eşcinsel Diyalogu," *Radikal*, May 29, 2013, http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/mecliste_escinsel_diyalogu-1135491 (accessed May 31, 2013). CHP's motion can also be accessed from here (in Turkish): <http://web.tbmm.gov.tr/gelenkagitlar/metinler/182095.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2013).

¹²⁸ Violence Prevention Initiative, "Types of Violence and Abuse," Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's web site, <http://www.gov.nl.ca/VPI/types/index.html> (accessed May 31, 2013). See also a research on verbal domestic violence among families in Turkey: Filiz Bingölçe, *Dil Dayakları: Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddetin Ortak Dili* (Ankara: UNFPA, 2007).

¹²⁹ Kilmartin and Allison, *Men's Violence Against Women*, 5. The research of Altınay and Arat, *Violence Against Women in Turkey*, also provides and analyzes data on institutional and individual social and historical connections in Turkey behind the maintenance of men's violence against women.

¹³⁰ Violence Prevention Initiative, "Types of Violence and Abuse."

¹³¹ Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1998, c. 1986).

¹³² *Ibid.*, 53-54.

body is identified with fertility and the activities of childbirth and breastfeeding are excluded from the labor force. In fact, for Mies, these are social, therefore conscious, activities: so childbirth and breast-feeding have to be included in labor. On the other hand, masculine perception regards penis as a 'tool.' Penis corresponds to weapon, hammer, screwdriver or screw in different lingual contexts, even to 'trade' in the harbor of Rotterdam – the city of commerce. Mies points out that this terminology demonstrates men's relationship with nature, their own bodies, and women's bodies. The terminology also demonstrates the relationship between men's apprehension of the process of labor and their bodies. These relations are all positioned culturally yet comprehended as 'natural.'¹³³

Exploitation materializes in women who work for relatively lower wages. Exploitation materializes in keeping LGBTTI individuals away from many areas owned by government or private sectors.¹³⁴ Exploitation materializes in not defining women as workers but housewives, and in labeling their works as “activities.” The logic behind ‘housewifization’ is “the externalization, or ex-territorialization of costs which otherwise would have been covered by the capitalists.”¹³⁵ Domestic work, child-care and other forms of care work (caring for the ill, disabled, or aged people of the family) are generally undertaken by women for 'free'¹³⁶ since these productive activities are excluded from the labor and culturally assigned to a “non-economic” category as women's duties.¹³⁷ Mies states that the perceptions of the body politics of masculine domination and ‘the structures of labor, body, and nature’ should be considered not as the precondition but as the result of the collaboration of patriarchy and capitalism.¹³⁸

¹³³ Ibid., 57. What else could be questioned here is the mainstream idea of defining penis as 'the sexual organ.'

¹³⁴ Mustafa Bilgehan Ozturk, "Sexual Orientation Discrimination: Exploring the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Employees in Turkey," *Human Relations* 64, no. 8 (2011): 1099-1118.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 109-110.

¹³⁶ See Marilyn Power, "Social Provisioning as a Starting Point for Feminist Economics," *Feminist Economics* 10, no. 3 (2004): 3-19; Fiona Carmichael, Claire Hulme, Sally Sheppard, and Gemma Connell, "Work-Life Imbalance: Informal Care and Paid Employment in the UK," *Feminist Economics* 14, no. 2 (2008): 3-35.

¹³⁷ Julie A. Nelson, "Feminism and Economics," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9, no. 2 (1995): 131-148, 141.

¹³⁸ Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*. On the other hand, some argue that patriarchy does not always collaborate with capitalism. For instance, Ayşe Düzkan and

The practice of capitalism is still gendered even if they are partially independent from patriarchy. For example, non-heterosexuals might be discriminated in workplaces, or might not be hired in the first place due to their sexual orientation.¹³⁹ Transgenders are marginalized in the socio-economical structures as well.¹⁴⁰ In comparison with women and LGBTTI individuals, men have higher wages and better opportunities to advance in the business life. In other words, many men still gain from 'patriarchal dividend' in the division of labor.

To conclude, men benefit from all types of gender-based violence, which aim to maintain masculine domination. Although its implementations and extent change locally and regionally, gender-based violence remains global.¹⁴¹

2.1.3.2. Maintaining the gender order: cooperation between individuals and

Handan Koç, who discusses Christine Delphy's ideas in *The Main Enemy* and issues in contemporary Turkey, states that capitalism and patriarchy are sometimes in contradiction with each other. [Ayşe Düzkan and Handan Koç, "Radikal Feminizm," in *İstanbul-Amargi: Feminizm Tartışmaları 2012*, 9-46 (İstanbul: Kumbara Sanat, 2012).] For Düzkan and Koç, patriarchy and capitalism together exploit women at home; but, capitalism might also want women to be 'outside' and integrated within the production. Because capitalism seeks for women labor which is considered more subservient and cheaper. However, according to Düzkan and Koç, women might develop strategies in the matter of participation to capitalism in order to strengthen their economical status and gain economical independence in their struggle against patriarchal power.

Nurcan Turan also criticizes neo-liberal politics in Turkey, in "Cinayeti Gördüm: Neoliberal Muhafazakar Dönemde Kadına Yönelik Şiddet," the web site of Sosyalist Demokrasi için Yeni Yol, Nov 24, 2012, http://www.sdyeni yol.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=739:cinayetigordum&catid=64:siyasal-guendem&Itemid=112 (accessed April 24, 2013). Neo-liberal capitalist politics, such as the policies of current AKP (Justice and Development Party) government in Turkey, might develop discriminative implementations that restrict women's and LGBTTI's daily lives and acts in the public and private space. These neo-liberal policies (such as promoting Islamist and conservative values, subliming heterosexual family as the core of the idealized society, calling families to have 'at least three children') can be considered as the new methods of patriarchy to continue in -neo-liberal- capitalism.

¹³⁹ Kitty Krupat, *Out at Work: Building a Gay-Labor Alliance* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Charlotte Watts and Cathy Zimmerman, "Violence Against Women Global Scope and Magnitude," *The Lancet* 359, no. 9313 (2002): 1232-7.

institutions

Violence is not only an individual occurrence, but also an institutional phenomenon. Violent practices in institutions, such as states, armies, and schools, are thought to be systematic rather than individual-based: it is widely believed that the institutional aim of violence is to provide order and discipline rather than maintaining gender based hierarchies.¹⁴² However, the heteronormativity and masculine domination as the basis of gender order, are maintained through the regulations and violent implementations of these institutions.¹⁴³ The institutional practices are for the benefit of men and/or the masculine. In short, men gain benefit as a result of these power relations: controlling the means of the institutionalized power becomes another domination mechanism.¹⁴⁴

Not only men but everyone can be convinced of, forced into, or unconsciously involved in the process of masculine institutionalization; for instance, let's take militarism. Masculinity is repeatedly granted privilege throughout the militarization process.¹⁴⁵ Not only men are taught the 'masculinity roles' which are to protect not only the society but also their own families, but also this role and related "masculine pride" are naturalized as well.¹⁴⁶ Besides these, militarization processes also produce strategies that can be included into the masculine oppression and involve women: women are "responsible for 'reproducing' and 'supporting' the nation's military force" as mothers, spouses, girlfriends, daughters.¹⁴⁷ Cynthia Enloe argues about the international and local 'maneuvers of militarizing women's lives,' which is possible even with a can of soup with Star Wars noodles. The involvement in the militarization of a mother, who buys this soup in order to

¹⁴² Bora and Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı*, 17.

¹⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 7-22.

¹⁴⁴ Demetrakis Z. Demetriou, "Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique," *Theory and Society* 30, no. 3 (2001): 337-361, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657965> (accessed March 21, 2013).

¹⁴⁵ Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 1-2, 32.

¹⁴⁶ Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, 50-51.

get her son's attention for the meal, does not have to be deliberate. Mother, probably unconsciously, feeds her son with war images, while supporting militarism and the market which benefits from militarist ideas. For Enloe, militarization relies on consents of both women and men:

Militaries rely on women, but not all women experience militarization identically. Militaries have needed, and continue to need, some women to provide commercialized sexual services to male soldiers, other women to commit themselves to marital fidelity in military families; simultaneously, they need still other women to find economic security and maybe even pride in working for defense contractors. At times governments even need some civilian women to act as feminist lobbyists promoting women's right to serve in the state's military. [...] They also have needed ideas, especially ideas about femininity. Just as important to the maintenance of military life as has been the ideology of manliness, just as important as parades, alliances, and weaponry have been certain feminized ideas: “the fallen woman,” “patriotic motherhood,” “marital fidelity,” “racial purity,” “national sacrifice,” and sexualized “respectability.”¹⁴⁸

In militarization process, the heteronormativity is granted privilege as well. An example of institutional maintenance of heteronormative perspective: soldiers are kept informed about AIDS but the information is given based on the knowledge that prostitutes disseminate the disease and it is inevitable for soldiers (male soldiers) serving away from home to buy their services.¹⁴⁹ In other words, soldiers are not kept informed about how they should protect themselves while having sex with each other. One may claim the reason might be that armies do not consider such coitus of a couple of male soldiers, or, a legal and military acceptance of such coitus might harm the heteronormative foundation of the military. In parallel, prostitution, which is the founding component of gender regimes of global sex industry,¹⁵⁰ is approved by the state.

Other institutions might borrow similar strategies in order to include the agency of both men and women to the maintenance of masculine domination. For example, shared

¹⁴⁸ Enloe, *Maneuvers*, xii-xiv.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁵⁰ Maddy Coy, ed., *Prostitution, Harm and Gender Inequality: Theory, Research and Policy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

ideas of man's body and its natural capability might marginalize women in workplaces.¹⁵¹ Policymakers in education might treat “women and men as homogenous groups in policy terms,” however, ignored consequences of past gendered experiences, ensure the continuity of gender inequalities.¹⁵²

Another maintenance strategy of the gender order is based on a dichotomy: private / public.¹⁵³ Although sexual desire and related practices are categorized in a heteronormative context and claimed as natural, they are directly related to the norms of society.¹⁵⁴ Family in which the norms of the gender order (masculine dominance) are reproduced and ensured is also treated as the space of intimate.¹⁵⁵ It means that culturally constructed privacy serves to the heteronormative and masculine subordination. Depending on the analysis of the dichotomy's collaboration with gender regimes, feminist theorists have offered politics to go beyond the private/public dichotomy (which are not independent of each other) and make their intersections of these two spaces visible.¹⁵⁶

The research of Aksu Bora and İlnur Üstün exposes that when it is coded as intimate, it again serves for being against the equality.¹⁵⁷ Public space is coded as the space for equalities and the private place is for differences. 'Difference' here refers to the norms of masculine dominant society. Being oppressed at home cannot be framed without any links to institutional mechanisms of the public space. Along with the depiction of women

¹⁵¹ Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender and Society* 4, no. 2 (1990): 139-158.

¹⁵² Kathleen Lynch and Maggie Feeley (NESSE), "Gender and Education (and Employment)," an independent report submitted to the European Commission, 2009, <http://www.nesetweb.eu/sites/default/files/gender-research.pdf> (accessed June 2, 2013).

¹⁵³ Catherine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

¹⁵⁴ Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, 24-25. According to him, emotional attachment (cathexis) depends on desire and emotions which may seem 'natural' but is actually connected to 'masculine dominant' society.

¹⁵⁵ MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, 61.

¹⁵⁶ See Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy," in *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 118-140; and a local and relatively contemporary reading, Gülnur Acar-Savran, "Özel/Kamusal, Yerel/Evrensel: İkilikleri Aşan Bir Feminizme Doğru," *Praksis*, no. 8 (2002): 255- 306.

¹⁵⁷ Bora and Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı*.

as low forms of humans (weaker, ignorant, irrational), the concepts and implementations of protection, love, and honor in the [so-called private] relationships between men and women serve the subordination.¹⁵⁸

In the family, physical violence and the threat are not the only controlling tools among personal relations. There is also love and honor.¹⁵⁹ Debates on the concept of honor (*namus*)¹⁶⁰ can appear under the concepts of 'private,' individuality, choice, or religious conscience; meantime, its consequences affect the public: such as protection of masculine norms of society, subjugation of woman, even honor murders. A child might protect the institutional interests of his/her family (honor, for instance) in the name of love; family is the institution in which the gender regime is defined and related discriminative practices are applied. Defining controlling tools within the concepts of love and honor makes the systematic gendered oppression invisible. Moreover, the dichotomy of public/private prevents interventions to the private space for a possible subversion of gender roles.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 87, 89.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 19, 26.

¹⁶⁰ A closer look into the concepts of honor (*namus*) and virginity, which become more of an issue in a conservative country such as Turkey, may draw an international frame to understand how things presented natural are in fact socially constructed. Hanna Blank in her book *Virgin: The Untouched History* shows how hymen differs from woman to woman (some do not bleed, some women even do not have it) but is used as a control tool related to patriarchal proprietorship. That pointing the virginity has a long history out means virginity is not natural -and even real- but it is only a social construction. [Hanna Blank, *Virgin: The Untouched History* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2007).]

The wish of controlling the women's body is tightly linked with the wish of controlling the land. Then animal breeding comes. According to Elisabeth Fisher, the domestication of animals and the domestication of women happen simultaneously. Man realized their capacity of reproduction by discovering that a bull could impregnate a lot of cows. Men appropriate the procreation by seizing control of the womb after discovering their role in procreating with the domestication of animals. The lineage is believed to be continued by men. Women turn into the possessions that must be protected against 'others,' i.e. enemies or men from other ethnic identities in a nationalist point of view, non-kins in order to protect the heritage/ the land. [Elisabeth Fisher, *Women's Creation: Sexual Evolution and the Shaping of Society* (New York: Garden City, 1979), 190-195.] The virginity is always in danger or it is dangerous as its potentiality of subvert. The conceptualization of guarding the women's virginity, which is undertaken by men, has turned woman into a border - not an individual. "*Female fear of an open season of rape, and not a natural inclination toward monogamy, motherhood or love, was probably the single causative factor in the original subjugation of woman by man, the most important key to her historic dependence, her domestication by protective mating.*" [Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 16.]

Therefore, the public/private dichotomy is a vitally problematic area in the struggles for democratic and free relations between genders.¹⁶¹

Analyzing the politics of violence does not demolish the public/private dichotomy but helps questioning the individual/institution split. For Mies, patriarchal state, which undertakes the direct violence, leaves some of practices of violence to individual patriarchy.¹⁶² The reason of constant appearance of gender-based violence in different forms under the structures of gender relations is to provide and ensure masculine dominance. The maintenance of the gender order is “marked by hatred for homosexuals and contempt for women, as well as more general conformity to authority from above, and aggression towards the less powerful.”¹⁶³ Consequently, gender-based violence that perpetuates the gender order does not function only for the subordination of women but also for the display of masculinities to each other: Gay men to straight men, Kurdish men to Turkish men, rich men to poor men... The argument at this point might be proceeded with the concept of masculinities.

2.2. A Brief Insight into Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities and Critical Men's Movements

In a rapidly changing world marked by contradictory forces of war, violence, disrupted ecologies and economies, fundamentalist backlash, enhanced opportunities for woman, the feminization of poverty, the casualization of labor, the decline of traditional male wages, the objectification of male bodies, the recognition of nationalities and ethnicities, the rise of liberating social movements, and what Donna Haraway calls the “paradoxical intensification

¹⁶¹ Bora and Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı*, 114.

¹⁶² Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, 74.

¹⁶³ Connell, *Masculinities*, 18.

and erosion of gender itself,” feminist theories continue to develop in conversation with men's and masculinity studies and other movements for social justice.

Judith Kegan Gardiner¹⁶⁴

In parallel to subversive and transformative inquiries of feminist, LGBT, and queer movements against the gender order, the focus of the sociology of masculinity has changed from studying regime's “cost to men” (1950s) to “hegemonic masculinity” (1985), and 1990s witnessed an increase in critical studies on men and masculinities.¹⁶⁵ Critical studies on men and masculinities, that search individual and institutional practices of “plural masculinities,”¹⁶⁶ are conducted within the guidance of feminism, LGBT, and queer studies.¹⁶⁷ Today, critical studies on men and masculinities (on academic level) together with a limited number of critical men's movements (on activist level) have joined struggles against gender regimes in order to reveal and subvert the gender order.¹⁶⁸

2.2.1. Basics: Why Do Men Problematize the Gender Order: Critical Debates on 'Emancipation,' and 'Responsibility / Shame'

¹⁶⁴ Judith Kegan Gardiner, "Men, Masculinities, and Feminist Theory," in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, eds. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R. W. Connell, 47 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 35-50.

¹⁶⁵ Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barnett, eds., "The Sociology of Masculinity," in *The Masculinities Reader*, 1-26 (Cambridge: Polity, 2000). The field is called as 'men's studies' in this book. Some scholars prefer to name the field as 'studies of men and masculinities' or "critical studies on men" as "they consider the symmetrical nomenclature misleading because of the assymetry of gender relations that led to the creation of 'women's studies.'" Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R. W. Connell, eds. "Introduction" in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005).

¹⁶⁶ Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barnett, “The Sociology of Masculinity.” They underline that critical studies on men and masculinities are also defined as the third wave of the sociology of masculinity.

¹⁶⁷ Michael Kimmel, noted from a roundtable discussion with M. Kimmel, "Masculinity Studies: Past, Present, and Future," held in Consulate General of Sweden in Istanbul, Jun 13, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ R. Connell, "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality." See also the examples of critical men's movements on pages 48-50.

If men are the primary beneficiaries of the gender order, why do they, or should they, involve in the struggles against the gender order? Throughout the years of outstanding struggle of women, LGBT and queer movements, it is possible to claim that men, or, at least, *some* men, have realized that they have a gender, masculinities are plural, and dynamic and “one 'has' not masculinity, one 'does' it.”¹⁶⁹ They have realized that “the construction of masculinity contains a political dynamic, a dynamic of power, by which 'the other' is created and subordinated.”¹⁷⁰ It is also possible to claim that men have also realized two more basic things about themselves. First, the gender order harms *also* men, or to put in different words, men will benefit from the gender equality, too.¹⁷¹ Second, they have a responsibility in gender equity, which could be connected to shame of being a man.¹⁷² Now, these two concepts will be thoroughly described.

2.2.1.1. Harms of manhood

Gardiner, based on the discussions of R. Connell and M. Kimmel, summarizes the harm of masculinities to men claiming it “narrowed their options, forced them into confining roles, dampened their emotions, inhibited their relationships with other men, precluded intimacy with women and children, imposed sexual and gender conformity, distorted their self perceptions, limited their social consciousness, and doomed them to

¹⁶⁹ Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barnett, "The Sociology of Masculinity," in *The Masculinities Reader*, 1-26 (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 18.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Kimmel, "After Fifteen Years: The Impact of the Sociology of Masculinity on the Masculinity of Sociology," in *Men, Masculinities, and Social Theory*, eds. Jeff Hearn and David Morgan, 93-109 (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 95.

¹⁷¹ Connell summarizes interests of men in categories as “relational” (men are not alone in the society, they have daughters for instance), “personal well-being” (social pressure, physical and psychological health issues, etc. due to male sex role), and “collective well-being” (economical, political, and social benefits from equality). [R. Connell, "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality," 12-13.]

¹⁷² For an interesting personal text on shame of being a man, see Steven Connor, "The Shame of Being a Man," an expanded version of a paper presented in the Gender and Sexuality seminar series, Institute of English Studies, Nov 30, 2000, <http://www.stevenconnor.com/shame/> (accessed May 30, 2013). He writes that "I am ashamed most of all of the violence that is inseparable from being a man. [...] I didn't get where I am today without being a man..."

continual and humiliating fear of failure to live up to the masculinity mark.”¹⁷³ In spite of the hierarchically upper status of men over women, hegemonic masculinity, “the currently most honored way of being a man,”¹⁷⁴ imposes a set of rules that are opposite to characteristics of -socially constructed- femininity: such as being violent, brutal, aggressive, tough, brave, competitive, risk-taker, emotionally restrained, successful, rich, dominant.¹⁷⁵ These rules and gendered myths together (of being a man or woman) compel not only women but also men to behave in certain ways. Men face risks of losing their social standings in case of contravening or failing to satisfy the characteristics/ principles of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, there is an “emancipatory interest” for men in the transformation of the gender order.¹⁷⁶ Some activists and theorists working on critical masculinities, such as Michael Kaufman and Bob Pease, point out that these interests must be addressed in order to integrate men and boys into struggles against gender regimes.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, harms of manhood also puts men in risk. In the gender order, in (masculine) power sharing, all bodies are exposed to violence and threat in order to be policed; however, in different extents and with different intentions. Being a socially acceptable man according to hegemonic masculinity criteria might turn into a burden, and these obligations might harm men psychologically or materially. It might confuse one if “manhood crushes men the most.”¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, privileges of manhood, which are

¹⁷³ Judith Kegan Gardiner, ed., *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 5-6.

¹⁷⁴ Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 832.

¹⁷⁵ Mike Donaldson, “What is Hegemonic Masculinity?” in *Theory and Society* 22, no. 5 (1993): 643-657, 645.

¹⁷⁶ Caroline New, “Oppressed and Oppressors? The Systematic Mistreatment of Men,” *Sociology* 35 (2001): 729-748.

¹⁷⁷ Michael Kaufman, “The Aim Framework: Addressing and Involving Men and Boys To Promote Gender Equality and End Gender Discrimination and Violence,” prepared under a contract with UNICEF, March 31, 2003, <http://www.michaelkaufman.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/kaufman-the-aim-framework.pdf> (accessed May 30, 2013); Bob Pease, *Recreating Men: Postmodern Masculinity Politics* (London: Sage, 2000).

¹⁷⁸ Tayfun Atay, “Erkeklik En Çok Erkeği Ezer! [Manhood Crushes Man the Most!],” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 101 (2004): 11-30.

available for all men at some extent, are “in the expense of women.”¹⁷⁹ Thus, reaching a conclusion as “manhood crushes men the most” is tragic since it makes the exploitation and subordination of women invisible or secondary.¹⁸⁰ Men's violence against men is related to the continuity of masculine domination and therefore men benefit from gender-based violence.

2.2.1.1.1. Masculinities in (no) crisis

There is another important argument related to harm of manhood: when masculinities are in crisis. Masculinists, who support male domination, heteronormativity, and sex based on unequal practices, are concerned about losing their superiority to, or hegemony over, women.¹⁸¹ Their arguments are based on essentialism or natural justification and

¹⁷⁹ Michael A. Messner, *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira, 2000), 5.

¹⁸⁰ Some examples can be provided at this point. The risks of being outside in the middle of the night for a man would generally be less than the ones for a woman. A man could be afraid, too, of being beaten, raped, and murdered. However, a man would probably be afraid of another man. Public space is invaded mostly by men. It depends on access. Men has more access to public space and its opportunities than women or any transsexuals. The result is the increase/continuity of masculine socialization following sustaining masculine domination, or vice versa. [See Kristen Day, “Constructing Masculinity and Women's Fear in Public Space in Irvine, California,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 8, no. 2 (2001): 109-27; Sophie Watson, “Bodies, Gender, Cities,” *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 4, no. 1 (2000): 101-5.]

A man would meet more opportunities since men show more respect to their *same-sex fellows* – unless *the fellow* subverts the fellowship and presents his strong opposition against the gender order directly to the other. Alberto states that “men should not be ashamed of betraying his same-sex fellows.” [Alberto Godenzi, *Cinsel Şiddet: Yaşayanların, Yaşatanların Anlatımlarıyla*, trans. Sultan Kurucan-Coşar and Yakup Coşar (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 1992), 156.]

Institutionalized access is ensured by transactions between men. Transactions do not have to be of goods, such as merchandise or guns, they also could be of ideas. A *male* murderer who killed one of his family member in the name of honor could get information and help from a *male* police officer. Police may help his testimony in order to reduce his punishment. [Ertan Özensel and Mazhar Bağlı, *Türkiye'de Töre ve Namus Cinayetleri* (İstanbul: Destek, 2011).]

¹⁸¹ Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 4.

relentlessly operate for the benefits of men.¹⁸² They blame feminists due to the increasing amount of violence against men or the lessening power they have today, and they want their unquestioned power back.¹⁸³ There are also men's rights activists (men's rights and father's rights groups) who victimize men in the gender order, as well as 'mythopoetic' movements which search to recover the lost myths of manhood.¹⁸⁴

Except 'men in crisis understanding' of masculinists, there is also a perception that the hegemonic masculinity itself causes a crisis among men today, which is also related with the change.¹⁸⁵ The crisis affects not only men but also boys. As William Pollock argues, boys (in the U.S.A.) are in crisis today due to "the boys code." They suffer from the myths of boyhood (social expectations and bias). They try to perform masculinity, which harms them in terms of hiding their emotions or trying to be someone else whom they don't want to be. They suffer since "we live in a man's world, not the boy's world."¹⁸⁶ This perception of crisis is again problematic in two senses. First, the word choice "today" is problematic: it means everything was once beautiful, which cannot be true.¹⁸⁷ Romanticizing the past means also romanticizing the masculine oppression and its discriminative practices of the past. Second, more importantly, men should deal with the problem of masculinities rather than finding solutions for their own crisis. Men, who expect to solve only their own

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ An example of a Turkish masculinist work is Sinan Akyüz's *Etekli İktidar: Erkek Hakları Kitabı* (İstanbul: Alfa, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ Messner, *Politics of Masculinities*, 2. See also the leading book of the mythopoetic men's movement by Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book About Men* (Boston, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1990).

¹⁸⁵ Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," 840; Anthony McMahon, "Male Readings of Feminist Theory: The Psychologization of Sexual Politics in the Masculinity Literature," *Theory and Society* 22, no. 5 (1993): 675-95.

¹⁸⁶ William Pollock, *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boys* (New York: Owl Books, 1999). An overview of the book can be reached at William Pollock's web site, http://www.williampollack.com/real_boys_book.html (accessed May 3, 2013).

¹⁸⁷ Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families And The Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992). In addition, last few centuries of Europe has witnessed several crisis of masculinity, eras of anxieties, due to major changes in socio-economics and ideologies as a result of industrialization, wars, and democracy. See Elisabeth Badinter, *XY: On Masculine Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Michael Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis' of Masculinity in Historical Perspective," in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod, 121-153 (Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

problems based on the oppression of hegemonic masculinity, might anticipate gaining more comfort and power in different gender regimes, in new types of masculinities.¹⁸⁸

2.2.1.2. Responsibility and shame

The concept of responsibility can be considered together with the concept of agency. Remembering Butler's claim that there is "a domain of agency or freedom" in the face of culturally constructed gender norms, an individual can find strategies to resist the violence and discrimination.¹⁸⁹ Alberto Godenzi also discusses one's possibilities to say yes or no, although it is not possible to recognize a moment of choice in every case in practice.¹⁹⁰ According to him, it is an effort of whitewashing one's own crimes to blame historical context of masculine domination for individual actions. Otherwise, it would be only that men are 'victims' of the gender order and they are not responsible for their actions.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, being a man, as discussed above and will also be discussed below, means belonging to the political category of 'primary beneficiary.' Messner underlines that "men, as a group, enjoy institutionalized privileges at the expense of women, as a group."¹⁹² Unless openly rejecting gender roles, it corresponds to benefiting privileges and access supplied by the gender order. Although men, too, are suppressed, they are generally the secondary victims of the gender order and mainly the perpetrators.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ See notes 189-190 below and the related discussions on risks of the emergence of men's movements.

¹⁸⁹ Butler, "Your Behaviour Creates Your Gender."

¹⁹⁰ Godenzi, *Cinsel Şiddet*, 156-157. He discusses men's violence over sexual violence; however, as mentioned before, all types of gender-based violence are connected to each other.

¹⁹¹ Michael Kaufman expresses this idea from a slightly different perspective. According to him, boys learn the characteristics of manhood "for survival: hence it is important not to blame the individual boy or man for the origins of his current behaviors, even if he is held responsible for his actions at the same time." [M. Kaufman, "The 7 P's of Men's Violence," Michael Kaufman's web site, Oct 4, 1999, <http://www.michaelkaufman.com/1999/the-7-ps-of-mens-violence/> (accessed March 30, 2013).]

¹⁹² Messner, *Politics of Masculinities*, 5.

¹⁹³ Kaufman writes about "the importance of using language of responsibility rather than blaming; its implications to end violence against women are seen most acutely in work.

At this point, the distinction should be clarified between biological determinism and the idea of responsibility of being a man. 'Labeling' an individual, as 'male' at born depending on the penis he has, cannot make him an active agent of discriminative and violent practices of masculine domination. Nevertheless, through the socialization of the gender order, the individual would most probably attend to a conscious or unconscious integration process of performing hegemonic masculinity. Questioning gender regimes and his own contribution to them could be the milestone for a man; however, his major and minor subscriptions to the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity might still remain.

Because of emancipatory interests or positive benefits, or because of ethical responsibility, gradually more men are getting involved in struggles against gender regimes.¹⁹⁴

2.2.2. Appearance of Critical Masculinities

In spite of the improvements in academia in critical studies on men and masculinities, the efforts of men against gender regimes are still in question. One question might arise in size, growth, and sustainability of critical men's struggle. Men's resistance to end masculine domination is still significant: the majority of men still seem to support the gender inequality.¹⁹⁵ They are inclined to justify the seizure of their status or simply ignore

Following the lead of practitioners such as Dale Hurst, let us avoid terms such as 'violent man' or 'perpetrator.' It is preferable to use the more awkward, but more accurate phrase, 'a man who uses violence against women.' This is because most such men selectively use violence." [M. Kaufman, "The Aim Framework," 13-14.]

¹⁹⁴ Connell, "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality."

¹⁹⁵ Few examples that demonstrate and prove men's resistance are: Cynthia Cockburn, *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1991); David L. Collinson and Jeff Hearn, eds., *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements* (London: Sage, 1996); Janet Holland, Caroline Ramazanoglu, Sue Sharpe, and Rachel Thomson, *The Male in the Head: Young People, Heterosexuality and Power* (London: Tufnell Press, 1998); Deniz Kandiyoti, "The Paradoxes of Masculinity: Some Thoughts on Segregated Societies," in *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*, eds. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne, 197-213 (London, Routledge, 1994); Michael A. Messner, *Taking the Field: Women, Men and Sports* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

the current inequalities. The reason is obvious: they are unwilling to give up on their status.¹⁹⁶ Existence of men's rights activists and 'mythopoetic' movements might be considered within this perspective.¹⁹⁷

Second, doubts are cast upon the appearances of critical men due to the danger of transition of these movements into tools of men's empowerment. It is argued, "by mobilising men collectively as men and thus drawing on their shared interests, activists will inadvertently entrench gender privilege."¹⁹⁸ While risking limited resources reserved for women's empowerment, it is a question whether men's movements would use funds in order not to stop gender-based violence and discrimination but for their own reinforcement and benefits.¹⁹⁹

Third, from academic perspective, a separation of masculinity studies from feminist and queer studies might cause a perception that critical studies on men are "a code term for heterosexual masculinity studies."²⁰⁰ The concept of masculinity evokes a slippery entity due to the urge of men conquering spaces of others and claiming agencies. Consequently, together with considerations on anti-feminist, anti-women, and heteronormative men's movements mentioned above, some believe that feminist gendering movement and/or queer movement is necessary in order to undo gender, but it is not necessary in critical studies on men or critical men's movements. There are some debates over whether "masculinity studies should be autonomous or conjoined with women's studies, or gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer studies."²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ M.T. Schmitt, N. R. Branscombe, and D. M. Kappen, "Attitudes toward Group-based Inequality: Social Dominance or Social identity?," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42, no. 2 (2003): 161-186.

¹⁹⁷ See a response to mythopoetic movement by Michael Kimmel, ed., *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (And the Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁸ Michael Flood, "Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice: The Case of Anti-Violence Activism," in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, eds. Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell, 458-466 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage), 458-9.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Bryce Traister, "Academic Viagra: the Rise of American Masculinity Studies," *American Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2000): 274-304.

²⁰¹ For an overview of the debates, see J. K. Gardiner, *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory*, 7-10. [1-30]

On the other hand, the importance of men's engagement into struggles against gender discrimination and gender-based violence is signified and supported by global politics, such as by UNICEF, UNESCO, or UN meetings and reports: "The achievement of gender equality is now clearly seen as a societal responsibility that concerns and should fully engage men as well as women."²⁰² Kaufman argues that men's engagement is also needed in decision making owing to the fact that the majority of "gatekeepers" in gender regimes in institutions of politics, economics, religion and media are men.²⁰³ Moreover, man is a gender; therefore they *de facto* are included in gender politics.²⁰⁴ Engaging men and boys into anti-gendered discrimination struggles is also important since it shows /proves that men can change and take action against gender regimes; however, the important point is how and in what ways this change and action will be achieved.²⁰⁵ According to Flood, there must be "partnerships across gender," with women and women's groups in order to benefit from their experiences and critique, which also prevents deviations in the aim.²⁰⁶

2.2.2.1. Examples from the world and Turkey

Critical men's movements are pioneered by non-heterosexual men, who are discussed above with a longer history of organizing and producing discourses "in anti-discrimination campaigns, the gay liberation movement, and community responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic."²⁰⁷ Independently for the sexual orientation, there are also –limited but

²⁰² The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), "Aide-Mémoire" for expert group meeting on The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Sep 24, 2003, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/aide-memoire.html> (accessed Mar 30, 2013). Before this meeting, the role of men and boys was affirmed in 1995 in Beijing Platform of Action and was stated again in the next meeting, 2000. Ruth Hayward, "Needed: A Culture of Masculinity for the Fulfilment of Human Rights," *Development* 4, no. 3, (2001): 48-53, 49.

²⁰³ Michael Kaufman, "The Aim Framework," 2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Bob Pease, *Men & Sexual Politics: Towards a Profeminist Practice* (Adelaide: Dulwich Centre Publications, 1977), 76; Messner, *Politics of Masculinities*, 2.

²⁰⁶ Flood, "Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice," 463.

²⁰⁷ R. Connell, "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30, no. 3 (2005): 1802-1825, 1814.

significant– critical men's movements in the world. There are many anti-violence groups in the U.S.A and in Canada, and they are emerging in the other parts of the world, as well.²⁰⁸ One of the most well-known international movement is *The White Ribbon Campaign*, which is declared as "the world's largest movement of men and boys working for the end of violence against women and girls, promotion of gender equity, healthy relationships and a new vision of masculinity."²⁰⁹ Another significant organizations are NOMAS in the U.S.A²¹⁰ and The European Profeminist Men's Network and The Men for Change Network in the U.K.²¹¹

These movements, as well as the studies, can be considered as pro-feminist, anti-sexist, or anti-patriarchal.²¹² For Kaufman, tags as anti-sexist, anti-patriarchal, or anti-masculinist rather than pro-feminist evoke the issues and consequences of "male-dominated society on men themselves."²¹³ NOMAS defines itself as not only "pro-feminist," but also "gay affirmative, anti-racist, dedicated to enhancing men's lives."²¹⁴ Michael Kimmel, a prominent spokesperson for NOMAS, underlines that they believe it is not possible to reach the enhancement of men's lives without pro-feminist, gay-affirmative, and anti-racist approaches.²¹⁵ Therefore, critical men's struggle draws a broader perspective than 'supporting' women's rights: it is a struggle that searches for the harm of gender regimes to all humans and possible strategies not to change but *to be changed*, aiming at gender equality. It also means that critical men do not struggle for increasing their social

²⁰⁸ Flood, "Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice," 462-463.

²⁰⁹ White Ribbon, "Who We Are," official website of The White Ribbon Campaign, <http://www.whiteribbon.ca/who-we-are/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

²¹⁰ Jon Cohen, "NOMAS: Challenging Male Supremacy," *Changing Men* (1991): 45-46.

²¹¹ Flood, "Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice," 463.

²¹² Profeminism is a term for men and it specifies an active support for feminism as well as the work for gender equality. Since feminism depends on individual experiences of women as a political category, men, as a political category can only be 'pro' for feminism. Michael Flood, "Pro-Feminist FAQ's," Chebucto Community Net, Jan 30, 1997, <http://www.chebucto.ns.ca/CommunitySupport/Men4Change/prof.html> (accessed Jun 3, 2013).

²¹³ Kaufman, "The Aim Framework," 6.

²¹⁴ National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS), "38 Years of NOMAS," NOMAS' official web site, <http://www.nomas.org/> (accessed Jun 3, 2013).

²¹⁵ Kimmel, round-table discussion on "Masculinity Studies."

conditions but for critical questioning and changing masculinities they *practice*.

Excluding homosexual or transgender men experiences and struggle, there have been some brand new signs of micro stir of anti-sexist men's movements in the last five years of Turkey, which may be considered as an inception. In April 2008, after the rape and murder of Pippa Bacca, one of the first critical men initiatives published a manifesto, titled as: “*Biz Erkek Değiliz (We Are Not Men)*.” After that “tragic but not extraordinary” incident, a group of men, with the shame and responsibility of their sex, declared that they were not men if masculinity is equal to rape, murder, homophobia, and violence on women.²¹⁶ The general strategy of the initiative, as the title suggests, was to declare the rejection of man's identity. The initiative is not active today.

Another initiative, which is still active, is *Erkek Muhabbeti (Men Talk)*, founded in 2010. Their strategy and discourse differentiate from 'Biz Erkek Degiliz Initiative' since they neither claim they do not practice masculinities, nor reject being a representative of the political category of men. Men Talk aims to change the description of being a man, it aims at an internal change.²¹⁷

Except Men Talk, two more men's initiatives against masculine dominance are active in Turkey: *Rahatsız Erkekler (Disturbed Men)*, since 2012, who are 'disturbed' by “gender

²¹⁶ Biz Erkek Degiliz Inisiyatifi's blog, www.bizerkekdegilizinsiyatifi.blogspot.com (accessed May 3, 2013). Pippa Bacca was an artist, who appeared in a performance in order to promote 'world peace' and prove 'trust among humans.' She, wearing a bridal, aimed to hitchhike from Milan to Jerusalem, but got lost in Turkey. Later her raped body was found, and her rapist/murderer got arrested. Between 2008 and 2011, Biz Erkek Değiliz conducted several interviews and protests and published declarations against masculine domination and its violent practices.

²¹⁷ Erkek Muhabbeti (Men Talk)'s website, www.erkekmuhabbeti.com (accessed May 3, 2013). SOGEP, which aims at the strengthened continuity of the struggle against discriminative practices and the violation of rights experienced by women, launched a project to help men to gain a responsible perspective on gender equality, and enable their participation in the struggle for these issue. Awareness raising discussions among young male university students led to the establishment of Men Talk. To provide young men an egalitarian attitude and behavior in public and private space, the initiative works on non-formal education and a sustainable activism: such as organizing nation-wide workshops; producing and disseminating videos, posters, and alternative discourses via social media campaigns; visiting universities; launching working groups related to the problematization of male domination and gender discrimination; and publishing online documents.

I myself joined the initiative in 2011. Some ideas of this thesis were improved during the discussions and seminars of Men Talk.

discrimination, hetero-sexism, and masculine violence” and who recently changed their names as *Ataerkiye Karşı Erkekler (Men Against Patriarchy)*.²¹⁸ Another one, *Voltrans*, is a trans men's initiative but works more as a platform since 2008.²¹⁹ It has contributed to the visibility and recognition of trans men.

2.3. Conclusion

Gendered perception of masculine domination constantly reappears in the public and private space. The result is the establishment of the durability of masculine domination. Other results are violence and related discriminative practices. Almost all of the perpetrators are male individuals; nevertheless, both monitoring and continuing the struggle in social and governmental level against men violence, hate speech and hate crimes are mainly conducted by women and LGBT communities.²²⁰ On the ground of the contrast above, the repetition of the analysis, which is not realized and/or vocalized by the majority of men, seems crucial: Gender regime is a “men's problem.” Men are responsible for the discriminative and violent implementations of gender regimes since they are the primary beneficiaries of the gender order. The responsibility comprises both active and passive participators, and the ones in between. Liability arises from not only personal based but also governmental regulations to which men are subjected and by which they gain privilege.

Due to the increase in men's violence in Turkey, Bülent Somay once wrote: "it is a must that we, men, leave ourselves together with taking the characteristics that make us

²¹⁸ Ataerkiye Karşı Erkekler's blog, <http://ataerkiyekarsierkekler.blogspot.com/> (accessed June 3, 2013).

²¹⁹ Voltrans' blog, <http://vol-trans.blogspot.com/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

²²⁰ According to LGBTTT Rights Platform's, LGBTTT Individuals' Human Rights Reports 2007 and 2008, additionally Human Rights Watch Report 2008, “We Need a Law for Liberation: Gender, Sexuality and Human Rights in a Changing Turkey,” 2008, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/turkey0508/turkey0508webwcover.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2013).

men, and return after being freed of them."²²¹ Referencing to Oscar Wilde, he asked if we are not tired of being one of those men who kills the beloved ones in the end. Masculinities and the relations between masculinities “are inherently historical,” writes Connell, and continues “their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change.”²²² In order to set the characteristics, dig deeper and find the strategies to eliminate them; men need to make their manhood and agency visible. Different masculinities mean different strategies. For the change, it is required to analyze the previous patterns, which have been defined over contempt towards women and feminine.²²³ Without the recognition, no change can be achieved.

CHAPTER 3

WHY HAVE THERE BEEN NO MEN ARTISTS?

²²¹ Bülent Somay, “Fallusunu da Al Git,” *Radikal*, March 6, 2011, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal.aspx?type=radikalyazar&articleid=1041998&categoryid=41> (accessed May 10, 2013). (The translation is mine.) “Biz erkekleri 'erkek' yapan birçok şeyi alıp gitmemiz, bunlardan kurtulduktan sonra geri dönmemiz şart.” In the sentence, as well as in the title “Go and Take Your Phallus with You,” there is a reference to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's famous phrase: “Ananı da al git! (Go and take your mother with you!)” [“Terbiyesizlik yapma artistlik yapma lan,” *Hürriyet*, Feb 12, 2006, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/3922271.asp?m=1&gid=69> (accessed Jun 4, 2013).]

²²² Connell, *Masculinities*, 44.

²²³ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, 115.

“It is men, men, only men, from the first to the last, that we have to do with!”

This ‘bitter complaint’ belongs to a woman who was a sex worker and was arrested due to Contagious Diseases Acts in Britain in the second half of 19th century.²²⁴ She had to please men in the first place and the last: she was abused, policed, handled, doctored, read prayers, judged, all by men. Leaving the academic language aside for a moment, in order to gain insight into what this anonymous woman says, men seem to have been *a very serious pain in the neck for women*. Nevertheless, as explained in the previous chapter, there is also a continuous subordination not only between men and women but also among men: sex and sexual orientation, class, ethnic roots, handicap, infertility, religion and other components of the social order may cause individuals to be discriminated.²²⁵ However, as will be discussed below, gender still seems to play the most crucial role in social hierarchies. With reference to contemporary criteria of the hegemonic, the majority of the agents of masculinities (who are mostly men but not necessarily²²⁶) do not only subordinate women, but also subordinate each other. In other words, all humans have to endure the majority of men.

²²⁴ Narrated by Josephine Butler, quoted in Janet Murray, *Strong Minded Women and Other Lost Voices from 19th Century England* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 436. "It is men, men, only men, from the first to the last, that we have to do with! To please a man, I did wrong at first, then I was flung about from man to man. Men police lay hands on us. By men we are examined, handled, doctored. . . . In the hospital, it is a man again who makes prayers and reads the Bible for us. We are had up before magistrates who are men, and we never get out of the hands of men till we die!"

²²⁵ As examples of different discriminative practices in gender regimes related to hegemonic, see Jana Evans Braziel, *Artists, Performers, and Black Masculinity in the Haitian Diaspora* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008); M. Donaldson, and S. Poynting, "The Time of Their Lives: Time, Work and Leisure in the Daily Lives of Ruling-class Men," in *Ruling Australia: The Power, Privilege and Politics of the New Ruling Class*, ed. N. Hollier, 127-153 (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2004).

²²⁶ As masculinities are performances, they could be adopted by women, too. See Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

3.1. The Construction of the Question

The question in the title is based on where these men of the contemporary art world, to whom others have to 'endure,' are. It is a search for men notwithstanding the types of the masculinity they perform based on their sexual orientations, ethnic roots, class, or other social components. The efforts of women for their own visibility in the public space are undeniable as explained and exemplified in the previous chapter. What about men, what about their efforts to make their masculinities visible, regardless of their sexual orientations? The thesis asks this question specifically for the contemporary art world: Do men appear in art? If yes, in what forms, under which adjectives? Do they appear as 'men artists,' 'male artists' or only 'artists?' Why does the phrase *men artists*, sound 'weird,' but *women artists* sound 'fine'? What could a 'man artist' mean?

Do men artists question their masculinities? Do they ask if non-heterosexual or non-hegemonic men might still perform some types of masculinities, too?

Interestingly enough, until now, no men artists' association or initiative related to gender issues and critical masculinities have been established. Neither has any men artists' declaration been published. However, it should not be forgotten that some men who participated in collectives or associations of LGBT and/or queer communities might be artists.

3.1.1. Google Research for Men Artists

According to Google, men appear in art, but not as 'men artists.' One may reach 475 million results in Google by searching "men artists" without using the apostrophes. However, the result of the search with the apostrophes is 46 thousand.²²⁷ In the first ten,

²²⁷ Google search was conducted between September 2012 and March 2013, repeated at monthly intervals. The results remained pretty much the same throughout the process.

only two results (articles) have direct links with the context (of the thesis) and both are listed under the page of “The Top X-Men Artists.”

One article, “Why are all the blockbuster art shows by men?” is a critique of the masculine art world and “gender bias” of the British contemporary art scene despite its revolutions.²²⁸ “Male artists” is used instead of “men artists” in this text. The second article, titled “Men Artists vs. Women Artists,” involves an essentialist discourse: “Their [women's] maternal instincts are so strong that they will sacrifice life & limb and personal gratification to protect and serve their families.”²²⁹ The phrase “men artists” is borrowed in this second text, however, used for a gender biased comparison between men and women. Applying 'man' (or mostly 'male') as a modifier only to compare 'men professionals' with 'women professionals' in the text is not a coincidence – and it seems as a common usage in the art world: Google results of “male artists” with the apostrophes rise to a million; however, the phrase is generally in use for categorizations, mainly for musicians, actors etc. rather than contemporary artists. The categorization seemingly serves the market principles, whereas it mostly regards awards. For instance, first two results of the search happened to be “Male Artists - Celebrity Booking Agent” and “Male artists lead 2013 Grammy nominations.”

A search for the art world in Turkey as '*erkek sanatçı*' (men/male artists)²³⁰ produces similar results: categorizations that are market oriented, mainly about musicians and actors, and especially for awards such as MTV or Kral TV music awards. Consequently, one can argue that the distinction between male and female artists appear in this sort of categorizations, on the other hand, the same distinction is not visible in the art world's daily discourses. For an award categorization or not, men artists only appear in the context of women appearances. However, “women artists” and/or “female artists” (or their Turkish equivalent “*kadın sanatçılar*”) also appear independently when there is no comparison to a [man] artist. The reason seems that being a woman has cultural connotations; therefore, a woman artist might make her gender visible in her critical stance against power relations

²²⁸ Jonathan Jones, "Why Are all the Blockbuster Art Shows by Men?," *The Guardian*, Apr 4, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/shortcuts/2012/apr/04/blockbuster-art-shows-men-artists> (accessed February 28, 2013).

²²⁹ Rod Jones, “Men Artists vs. Women Artists,” Rod Jones Art Studio Blog, March 19, 2011, <http://www.rodjonesartistblog.com/men-vs-women-artists.html> (accessed Dec 17, 2012).

²³⁰ *Erkek*, whose root 'erk' means 'power,' is used for both man and male in Turkish.

and masculine domination, in order to “exploit existing social contradictions.”²³¹ Respectively, a search of 'woman artist' or 'female artist' concluded with more than two million results (in the Turkish version, the results declines to 82.500, however, the number is nearly twice the search results of “*erkek sanatçı*/man artist”). The results are not only comparisons or award based categorizations, but articles and debates that emphasize being a woman and adhere to the socio-cultural constructions. There are also links of women artists' associations, institutions, etc.

Judy Chicago says “We women artists refuse to be written out of history: The macho art world has ignored the contribution of women. But we have the power to change this.”²³² Interestingly enough, throughout the research, no saying as “we men artists” has been encountered - a critical and prominent saying on gendered art world. A male artist's (or even a curator's) sex category does not come before his artist identity as a modifier. Some are rarely mentioned as 'men artists' in order to compare their works with the artworks done by women.²³³ Ignoring rare mentions of comparisons, one might ask why the presence of some artists do not need the indicative / modifier of the sex category. Another formulation of the question, parodic and sensational, is: “Why have there been no men artists?”

3.1.2. The Usage of 'Man Artist' as a Political Choice

²³¹ Sandy Flitterman and Judith Barry, “Textual Strategies: The Politics of Art-making,” *Screen* 21, no. 2 (1980): 35-48. The discussion on four feminist strategies in this text will be analyzed further in the conclusion, in parallel to the discussion on possible strategies for 'men artists.' Flitterman and Barry offer an artistic strategy that “analyzes the social representations of women.”

²³² Judy Chicago, “We Women Artists Refuse to be Written Out of History,” *The Guardian*, October 9, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/oct/09/judy-chicago-women-artists-history> (accessed February 28, 2013). Reading comments give a lot more material to analyze our macho world, however it is not possible to touch upon comments within the scope of the thesis.

²³³ For instance, Vasıf Kortun, a 'man' curator, mentioned “Exhibited” / “Sergilendi” exhibition as “confronting artworks of women artists and men artists in a tamed environment painted in soft colors.” Mehmet Refik, “Küratörlük Araştırmaları Merkezi,” Resmi Görüş web sitesi (from Arredamento Dekorasyon, 1995, April), <http://www.anibellek.org/?p=412> (accessed Dec 17, 2012). [(The translation is mine.) “...kadın sanatçılarla erkek sanatçıların işlerini yumuşak renklere boyanmış evcilleştirilmiş bir ortamda karşı karşıya getiriyordu.” Interestingly, in the same text, Kortun also mentions “Europe's male dictator curator army.”]

The choice of the word, 'man' instead of 'male,' is also a political choice, which might point to the gendered grounds of language and question the neutral position of men in society as well.

3.1.2.1. Gendered lingual roots in the comparison of the words woman and man

In English,²³⁴ 'woman' basically means 'an adult female human.' The professions it corresponds to are 'cleaning lady' or 'char' (as same as in the Turkish). It is also associated with some negative usage, such as 'minx' or a peremptory form of address (as “don't be daft, woman!” exemplifies The Oxford Dictionary). The visual thesaurus also points the usage of woman 'as a class.'

On the other hand, man, 'the generic use to refer any human being,' have many more connotations: It is a synonym of several professions, such as police/cop informally, depending on its meaning as 'a group or person in a position of authority over others, such as a corporate employer or the police' (Oxford). Interestingly enough, it is linked to the verb 'subordinate' through 'authority.'

²³⁴ The referenced dictionaries are: "Oxford Dictionaries" by Oxford University Press, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>; "Cambridge Dictionaries Online" by Cambridge University Press, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>; "The Visual Thesaurus" by Thinkmap, Inc., www.thevisualthesaurus.com; "Thesaurus" by Dictionary.com, LLC, <http://thesaurus.com> (accessed Apr 12, 2013). It exceeds the scope of the thesis to present a detail examination of gendered roots of languages and linguistic sexism: see Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff, eds., *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).

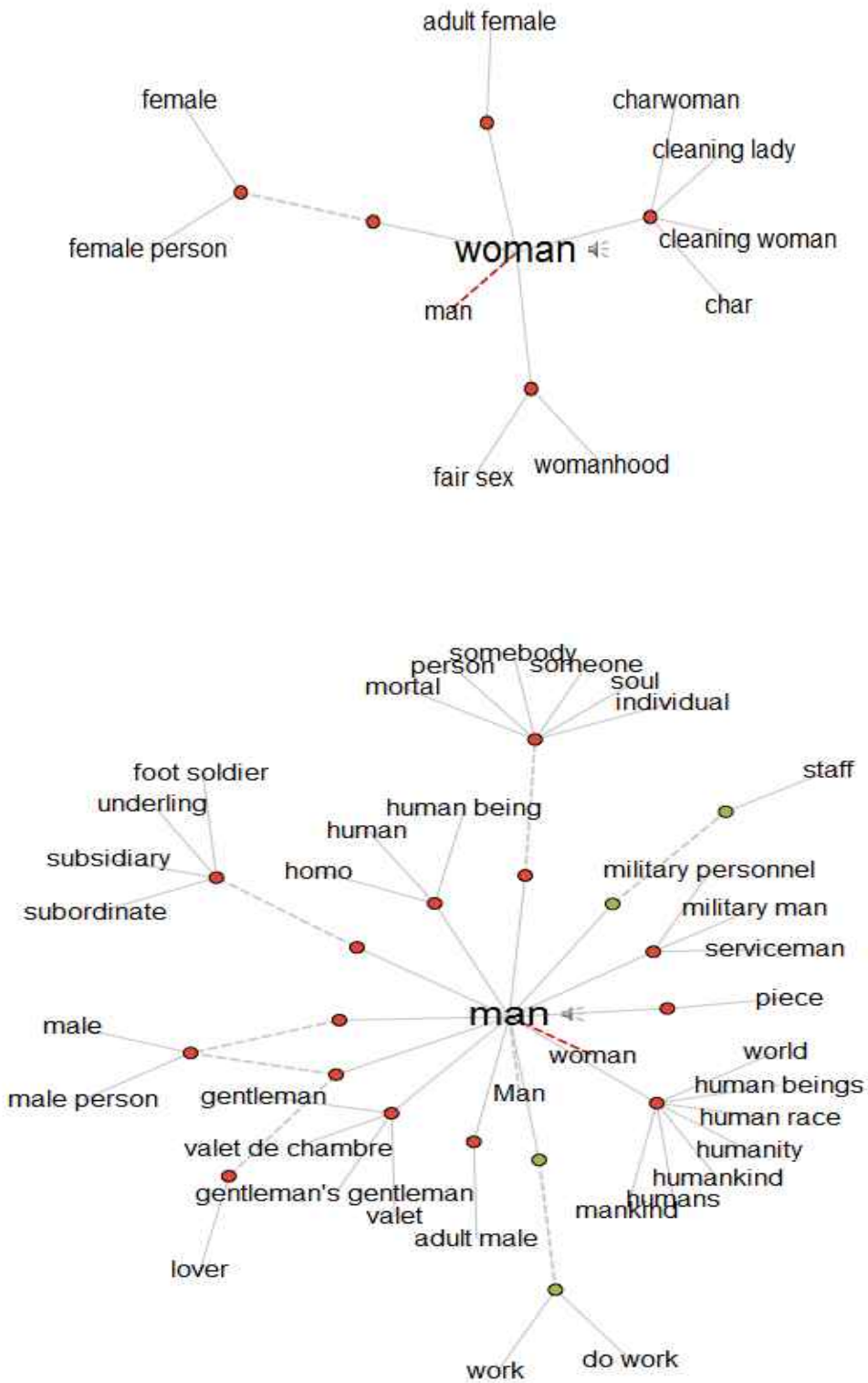


Fig 1. The comparison of the words “woman” and “man” in The Visual Thesaurus. © 1998-2013 Thinkmap, Inc, www.thevisualthesaurus.com (accessed Apr 12, 2013).

Not only authority, but also labor is associated with the word, 'man.' Man can be used as a verb for 'taking charge of a certain job, being employed or providing with staff, providing with workers (Cambridge). Its verb form means 'work at, run, or operate (a place or piece of equipment) or defend (a fortification),' connoted with 'tools' and 'courage.'

Nevertheless, despite its extensive usage, 'man' is not a modifier. On the other hand, 'woman' can be used to modify the meaning: a woman doctor, a woman driver, a woman artist. What may this modification mean?

A modification is 'a transformation,' explains Oxford, "from its original anatomical form."²³⁵ It can be seen as a 'development' or 'evolution.' However, within the structures of the language glimpsed above, it seems that what is being referred is a subaltern with the usage of woman as a modifier, not an evolution. The original form of the words (doctor, driver, or artist) is taken for granted as 'man.' Man is the essence, in this sense: 'neutral position' of the state of being.

3.1.2.2. Questioning the neutral position of men

In the art world, the symmetrical usages of 'man and woman,' or 'male and female' are generally based on comparisons as it is discussed above. This is to say, "only as a matter of form, as on legal papers," as Simon de Beauvoir remarked more than sixty years ago.²³⁶ "In actuality," she says, "the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity."²³⁷

The general implementation of the art world, in which the sex is not defined unless the subject is 'presumably' female, instantiates the continuity of historical and social

²³⁵ Oxford Dictionaries, "modify," Oxford University Press, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/modify?q=modify> (accessed May 23, 2013).

²³⁶ de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 15.

²³⁷ Ibid.

contexts of how the maleness set as the norm. The invisibility of the sex of men artists could be related to a lack of critical awareness of the gender order. It is not only the society's overall awareness but also the artists – since it appears that men artists neither mention their sex intentionally to the contrary of this gendered implementation of the society.

After de Beauvoir, the 'neutral position' of men was also pointed out by Linda Nochlin, as a null subject of the academic researchs. Nochlin, in her well-known article "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" criticizes the hitherto: "the hidden 'he' as the subject of all scholarly predicates," white and occidental 'he' in specific.²³⁸

Instead of trying to answer the question about so-called insufficient achievements of women, Nochlin offers a criticism of the question itself. By doing so, she tries to avoid reproducing and hardening gender biased and putative facts of engendered society. She refutes the prevailing myth of 'artist as genius' by discussing the access. She considers the opportunities and privileges in education, apprenticeship, using domestic and public resources that all appertain, not to women but to men (i.e. the era's consideration of great works recognizes nude paintings, whereas women are not allowed to draw nudes). The status of being great does not come as the gift of the omnipotence, but 'the access' can be considered as 'the gift' of the gender regime to a limited group of humans: so-called men. In other words, there is no sacrosanct and divine, but gender, roles, and access.

The question "Why have there been no great women artists?" has led us to the conclusion, so far, that art is not a free, autonomous activity of a super-endowed individual, "influenced" by previous artists, and more vaguely and superficially, by "social forces," but, rather, that the total situation of art making, both in terms of the development of the art maker and in the nature and quality of the work of art itself, occur in a social situation, are integral elements of this social structure, and are mediated and determined by specific and definable social institutions, be they art academies, systems of patronage, mythologies of the divine creator, artist as he-man or social outcast.²³⁹

²³⁸ Linda Nochlin, "Why There Have Been No Great Women Artists?," in *Art, Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 145-179.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

Linda Nochlin's inspiring inquiry and analysis may open a space for men artists, the primary beneficiaries and agents of the regime, to begin to ask questions, not over women but over themselves. Who benefits from the myths? Who makes the myths visible, but the benefits and the opportunity of the access invisible? Similar to the formulation of the questions, the formulation of the problem itself may be problematic. The formulation has the potentiality to hide the ground of the problem. May naming the current situation as “women's problem” itself be the pursuance of the problem? To answer the question, we may look back again to the conceptualization of de Beauvoir: “[t]he whole of feminine history has been man-made. [...] so the woman problem has always been a man's problem.”²⁴⁰

For a man, being attached to the privileges, holding the access, but reaching the conclusion of that gender is “women's problem,” seems a continuation of an understanding of the masculine domination. Men may start with realizing and vocalizing the gender regime in the total opposite axis, as it is “men's problem.”

If it is men's problem, then should/must not men act against it? In the sense of an 'emerging appearance' of men 'in the struggle,' new questions may be formulated: What are the reasons of men artists who have not felt the necessity of using “man” as the modifier in a world in which women have to name their gender to address social inequalities? While the woman artists are constantly being reminded of their gender by the art world, could men artists start to confront with their masculinities and manly privileges by emphasizing that they actually have a gender as well, in other words, by making their gender visible? What could men artists do while women artists question the grounds of the regime by developing methods for visibility?

Overall, an umbrella question about the gendered art world may be formulated as “Why have there been no men artists?” – a question whose addresses are directly men.

²⁴⁰ de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 148.

3.2. Debates on Masculinities in Turkish Contemporary Art Scene

Throughout the research, rare debates on masculinities have come across in Turkish contemporary art scene. Debates related to the gender regime mainly correspond to the women and feminist issues, and recently important queer discussions. Women artists take precedence over in debates on gender, not only because they have a strong influence but it seems that men artists leave the stage when gender is the subject. Interestingly enough, it is possible to see men involved in the debates of gender, as artists or curators; however, they often mention women artists' practices (or bodies) but do not talk about their masculinities.

According to Ahu Antmen, women artists especially started to 'emphasize' their gender after 1990; however, she indicates an interesting discovery based on both her research "among women artists from different generations" and Jale Erzen's article (dated 1983): neither the presence of hegemonic masculinity nor the women issues had been encountered in Turkish contemporary art scene in the 80s and 90s. According to women artists' statements, Turkey had experienced a non-sexist art environment throughout those years.²⁴¹ In particular to discriminative practices of gender of today's Turkish contemporary art environment, no debates have been encountered over the course of the research. If we combine these findings neither of which considers LGBT individuals, we reach a conclusion that the gender inequalities in Turkish art scene have been solved without even happening in the first hand. Nevertheless, another logical explanation might be that, as Antmen offers, hegemonic masculinity is being perceived so natural that apart from its obvious forms, it is generally invisible.

The subtle has many faces. "It is not seen as a feminine choice or approach in the subject and technique," is written in a catalog of an exhibition of women artists (dated 1992), signed by a man. On the same catalog, there is an expression such as "our women's brave attitudes."²⁴² Except the unclear but sexist touch on femininity, the language bares

²⁴¹ Ahu Antmen, "Why do the Pioneers of Contemporary Art have Pink Ids?" in *Dream and Reality: Modern and Contemporary Women Artists from Turkey (Exhibition Catalogue)*, ed. Esin Eşkinat, trans. Nazım Dikbaş, Nermin Saatçioğlu, Fred Stark, Linda Stark (İstanbul: İstanbul Modern Museum of Modern Art, 2011), 71, 79. [66-89]

²⁴² Tomur Atagök, *Yirminci Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türk Kadın Ressamları (Katalog)*, Yıldız

also a paternalistic treatment, a possessive attitude, which sees women as “theirs,” as if a public property. Is there any similarity between this discourse and analysis of Levent Çalıkođlu in the catalog of the exhibition *Dream and Reality*? Çalıkođlu, one of the curators of this important exhibition on modern and contemporary women artists from Turkey, dated 2011, writes as:

“...female identity remains within the troubled regions of relationship of production and consumption to a great extent -and this is also valid for many dynamics of the art public. [...] In most examples we see that female artists, instead of countering power head on, embarked on a struggle to adhere to the identity of the modern artists which is defined by the patriarchal art world; and that even female artists with outstandingly different ways of life, preferred to be called as modern artists rather than female artists.”²⁴³

Çalıkođlu's argument is different from the first example which is clearly based on gender discrimination. Çalıkođlu perceives that the art production and consumption are gendered. However, is it possible to trace patriarchal perceptions in his point of view? Although he agrees that the art world is patriarchal, his analysis sounds as if there is some power at the top and it is implemented on its own term. He mentions the identity (or the idea of the identity) of modern artist, but who are these modern artists? Do they have sex? Only if female artists have problems to “adhere to the identity of the modern artists,” and the rest of the artists do not have problems with adhering, it means that the identity of the modern artist referred here indicates the male sex. Çalıkođlu's arguments probably cannot directly be claimed as sexist; however, once again 'man' is absorbed in the language as the null object of (modern) artist (and throughout the catalog of the exhibition there is no reference to men artists). The masculinity in art may be visible with a constant underlying. Otherwise, the criticism of masculine domination will be limited to the common idea that 'the art world is patriarchal' but the cooperation of men artists with the domination would remain abstract, granted as non-existing.

Üniversitesi Yüksel Sabancı Sanat Merkezi, İstanbul (21 Nisan - 2 Mayıs 1992). The translation is mine (from the catalog): “Konu ya da teknikte kadınsı bir seçim ve yaklaşım görülmez.” “Kadınlarımızın cesur tavırlarını örnekleyen...”

²⁴³ Levent Çalıkođlu, “Dream and Reality, Modern and Contemporary Women Artists from Turkey,” in *Dream and Reality*, ed. Esin Eşkinat, trans. Nazım Dikbaş et al, 16-25 (İstanbul: İstanbul Modern Museum of Modern Art, 2011), 18, 23.

There is a discussion, titled *Offside But a Goal: The Scene in Turkey*, held between curator Vasif Kortun and art critic Erden Kosova.²⁴⁴ “Gender” part of the discussion, which was published in German and posted in a blog in Turkish without an editorial process, might be the most comprehensive debate on men artists in Turkey so far. It involves direct or related clues on the modes of the masculinities in the contemporary art scene in Turkey. Kortun and Kosova mentioned men artists and women artists as 'bad boys' and 'fragile girls,' with inverted commas. Due to the scope of the thesis, the analysis on women artists will be briefly summarized. Europeans, who consider that Turkey lies within the Middle East and that Turkish people are Muslim stereotypes, are surprised that women artists take part in the spine of the art scene in Turkey. On the other hand, Kortun claims that the figure of woman is institutionalized in the secularism of the republic and lost her sexual *donnée*. In relation to women in Turkey, who are trapped between traditional (Islamist) and secular conservatism, the sexual presentations of the female body are uncommon among the artworks of Turkish women artists.²⁴⁵ Erden Kosova adds that “'bad boys' have not gone further than the 'fragile girls' in terms of the nakedness or the visual materials that threaten the integrity of the body.”²⁴⁶

Whereas the term 'woman artist' is used in the discussion 11 times, 'man artist' appears only once and for a comparison, as it could be expected, between men and women artists. Comparisons may allow some indirect analysis for men artists. For instance, according to Kortun, middle-class women were not dealing with the social demands as that their gender should not have been interested in arts. That helped them to produce in an area

²⁴⁴ Vasif Kortun and Erden Kosova, "Ofsayt ama Gol, İkinci Bölüm: Cinsiyet," ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com, Jun 28, 2007, <http://ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com/2007/06/gender.html> (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

²⁴⁵ It can be stated that feminist movement in Turkish contemporary art has more interest in identity politics than in nudity. As Ahu Antmen states, although there has never been a powerful feminist movement in Turkey, some women artists, such as Nur Koçak, Nil Yalter, Şükran Moral, İnci Eviner, CANAN, Selda Alsall, Gül Ilgaz, Nezaket Ekici and Pınar Yolaçan, has contributed to the identity politics. [Ahu Antmen, "A History of Modern and Contemporary Art in Turkey," in *Unleashed: Contemporary Art from Turkey*, ed. Hossein Amirsadeghi, 12-33 (London: TransGlobe, 2010), 30-31.] Two artists, Taner Ceylan and Erinç Seymen, who were given as only examples to male artists producing works on “gender identity” by Ahu Antmen will be examined in *Chapter 5*.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. (The translation is mine.) "...bedenin çıplaklığı konusunda ve bedenin bütünlüğünü tehdit eden görselliklerin kullanımında 'kötü çocuklar'ın 'kırılgan kızlar'dan daha öteye gittiklerini de düşünmüyorum."

emptied by the non-solicitation. For men and boys who want to be artists, it could be considered as a negative effect of engendered labor, in which art is not seen as a proper field of profession for men.

The term 'man artist' appears again in the footnotes, this time in order to differentiate the characteristics of an artist, Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin, from “the man artist figure that is inclined to stabilization and possession.”²⁴⁷ It is vague whether the referred figure is local, regional, or global; however, even if it appears in the footnotes, this rare usage is worth mentioning.

Nevertheless, the discussion abstains from shaping man artist figure in flesh and bones. The transition from abstract (figure) to physical (applied practices), from a rare usage of 'men artists' to a comprehensive discussion of masculinities, is interrupted by invisibility of masculine domination. Do men deny seeing and vocalizing the agencies of men in the gender order? A small part of the discussion between Kortun and Kosova will be given as an example for ignoring the relationship between the gender order and masculinities in the debates in Turkish art scene. First, Kosova criticizes the artistic approaches of some men artists as sexist:

On the production ground which have expanded since the middle of 90s onwards, two communities were formed in our sense of humorous cliches: 'fragile girls' and 'bad boys.' [...] While I used 'fragile girls,' I actually didn't intend to find a femininity that internalized a moral conservatism. [...] However, it is obvious that you do not attribute the state of womanhood/femininity to the natural preconditions but social conditioning. But here is another danger to condemn womanhood to the inside of the structural, mark women with conservatism, and create a absolute closure. [...] On the other hand, some works of 'bad boys,' who seems more carefree about sexuality and who are reputed to be gone beyond the restrictions of political correctness, *lean on a serious lack of criticism in the context of sexuality, even misogyny and homophobia sometimes*, although comprising a depth in different meanings (Halil Altındere's "Hard & Light," 1999; Tunç Ali Çam's "Fuck A Work of Art," 2000; Serkan Özkaya's "Kaynak Olarak Sanatçı," 1999; Şener Özmen's "The Story of Tracey Emin," 2000; Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt's "The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons," 2004). [...] Phallus-happiness must not turn into phallus-insolence.²⁴⁸ [Italics are mine]

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. (The translation is mine.) "90lı yılların ortalarıyla beraber genişleyen üretim zemini üzerinde bizim [Kosova ve Kortun] mizahi şablonumuzda iki topluluk oluşmuştu: 'kırılğan

According to Kortun's response to Kosova's criticism of the works of 'bad boys' as homophobic, these artworks are only the outcome of a generation in post-political-correctness era rather than being 'homophobic.' The term political correctness, which especially influenced the multicultural politics of the USA in the second half of 1990s, refers to careful attitudes in discourses, policies, and practices applied in order not to offend and/or alienate disadvantaged groups (due to gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, class, etc.) of the society.²⁴⁹ In the text referred above there are not certain clues about what Kortun exactly means by saying "post-political correctness era" in Turkish art scene; however, in another text, he underlines the "burden" and "self-censorship" that are caused by political correctness: he indicates that "[w]e are very careful not to go wrong, not to dwell on the imagination, not to make too many mistakes, not to hurt too many people and so on and so forth."²⁵⁰ Therefore, according to Kortun, language in the works of 'bad boys' through which artists express themselves independently of political correctness is one which goes beyond the personal censorship. On the other hand, these questions come to mind: Is going beyond personal censorship and not being sexist at the same time not possible? Can the homophobic, misogynic or heteronormative discourses this 'bad boy' produces be excused if a bad boy is defying political correctness and putting his statements forth without applying self-censorship? (*All the artworks mentioned above except Şener*

kızlar' ve 'kötü oğlanlar. [...] Benim 'kırılğan kızlar' ifadesini kullanırken aklımda aslında ahlaki bir muhafazakarlığı içselleştirmiş bir kadınsallık bulma niyetim yoktu. [...] Yine de kadınlık durumunu doğal bazı önverilere değil ama toplumsal bir koşullanmaya bağladığımız açık. Ama burada da kadınlığı yapısal olanın içine mahkum etmek, onları muhafazakarlıkla işaretlemek ve mutlak bir kapanma yaratmak gibi bir tehlike var. [...] Bunun yanında cinsellik konusunda daha tasasız görünen ve siyasal-doğruluğun kısıtlamalarının ötesine geçtiği söylenen 'kötü oğlanlar'a ait kimi işlerin (Halil Altındere'nin "Hard & Light," 1999; Tunç Ali Çam'ın "Bir Sanat Eseri Sik," 2000; Serkan Özkaya'nın "Kaynak Olarak Sanatçı," 1999; Şener Özmen'in "Tracey Emin'in Hikayesi," 2000; Serkan Özkaya ve Ahmet Ögüt'ün "11 Karpuz Taşıyan Türk Anıtı," 2004) farklı anlamlarda içerdikleri derinliğin yanında, cinsellik bağlamında ciddi bir eleştirelilik eksikliğine hatta kimi zaman misojeni ve homofobiye yaslandıklarını düşünüyorum. [...] Fallus-mutluluğu, fallus-arsızlığına dönüşmemeli."

²⁴⁹ Martin E. Spencer, "Multiculturalism, 'Political Correctness,' and the Politics of Identity," in "Multiculturalism and Diversity," ed. Vincent N. Parrillo, special issue, *Sociological Forum* 9, no. 4 (1994): 547-67, 548, 559.

²⁵⁰ Vasif Kortun, "Interview with Wim Delvoye," Vasif Kortun's blog, April 6, 2007, <http://vasif-kortun-eng.blogspot.com/2007/04/interview-with-wim-delvoye.html> (accessed Jan 22, 2013). It is possible to encounter other debates in which political correctness leads to a censorship on free expression: see Robert Atkins and Svetlana Mintcheva, eds., "Introduction: Censorship in Camouflage," in *Censoring Culture: Contemporary Threats to Free Expression*, xv-xxiv (New York: The New Press, 2006).

Özmen's "The Story of Tracey Emin" will be summarized and interpreted in the next chapter.)

Kortun presumes that an *innocent* homophobia could be traced among the artists within the axis of Diyarbakır, in which women seem to have no right to get involved. One might argue first of all that the exclusion of women is related to the misogyny rather than the homophobia. Second, both the misogyny and homophobia are the strategies which construct hegemonic masculinities. The link between masculine strategies of de-legitimization and denial of the discriminative practices or their correlation to innocence have been discussed above. Men's approaches as the denial of gendered agencies of men in masculine domination also prevent the discussion on masculinities from deepening. In such debates as of Kortun and Kosova's, the conceptualization of masculinities in Turkish art scene and its link to the the gender order remains unmentioned.

Overall, the debates on the gender regime in the Turkish contemporary art scene seldom touch upon masculinity issues. The debates mentioned above are rare examples. Even in an example in which masculinities are taken into discussion, we see that homophobia and misogyny might be slid over or underestimated, even if they are being related to the concept of innocence. Query and criticism of the masculinity of the self by the artists and curators are not encountered.

Ahu Antmen remarks that "[t]he art world in Turkey was rather late in making the acquaintance of women artists [...] who consciously bare the female identity, who are able to discern social dimension of personal, who have an interest in the 'woman issue,' and who perceive art as a social struggle."²⁵¹ Today the question could be: When will the art world in Turkey make the acquaintance of 'men' artists who consciously bare/play upon critical masculine identities, who have an interest in the 'men issue' regardless of perceiving art as a social struggle?

²⁵¹ Antmen, "Why do the Pioneers of Contemporary Art have Pink Ids?," 70.

3.3. Conclusion: Understanding the Meaning of 'Man Artist'

Considering the art scene in detail, what could men learn from feminism, LGBT, and queer movements? How could they adapt feminist strategies into their artistic and daily practices in order to develop critical identities against masculine domination?

Judith Barry and Sandy Flitterman analyzes art-making politics of women under four strategical categories.²⁵² According to Barry and Flitterman, art, which glorifies essential female power, such as emphasizing vaginal power, remains in the westernized framework of dualism and essentialism. Another art-making strategy is positioning traditional women's production, such as handcrafts, as a sub-culture resistance. Despite its reactionary context toward masculine hierarchy, this strategy might also be considered as essentialist in regard to the emphasis on the inner creativity, as they state. Third category involves art that does not include women's cultural activity within the borders of the gender order. This strategy does not reify, even though it ignores the ways of social production of the meaning -the concept of womanhood. Therefore, Barry and Flitterman offers a 'textual strategy,' that analyzes and operates over social representations and contradictions. The social construction of women and sexuality remains at the forefront; however, the meaning is not fixed while the audience is positioned as the active producer of the meaning. According to them, artist has to take the responsibility of the images s/he produces since his/her production is inevitably a social and a political rather than only a personal expression.²⁵³

What is suggested here is the instability of gender identity. A man's identity or any other identity is neither fixed, nor singular. Feminism acquaints critical men's movement with this very point: "Considering personal instead of fictionalizing monolithic masses" of victims and agents.²⁵⁴ Men, who would like to join to the struggle against the gender regime, might adopt self criticism strategies rather than a denial policy of their own identity. It is not enough to discuss violence towards women, exploitation of women's labor

²⁵² Flitterman and Barry, "Textual Strategies."

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Interview with Deniz Kandiyoti by Serkan Delice, "Bir An Durup Düşünmek: Dayatılan Kimlikler ve Temsil Siyasetinin Bedelleri," in *Cinsellik Muamması*, 131-161.

or exclusion of homosexuals in detail; men also have to face themselves and the other problematical areas of masculine domination in order to identify men victims and agents.²⁵⁵ Despite men's possible acquisitions from feminist, LGBT, and queer movements, the positions of these identities cannot exactly be evaluated in parallel to the each other. For instance, a different dimension might be observed in an artistic rejection of the woman identity. A women who specifies she is an artist before being a woman might position herself strategically in order to avoid being judged from an engendered perspective towards her artworks. Could a man who underlines that he is first of all an artist be considered in the same way? Does he try to avoid gender bias, or put continuous emphasis on his sex, or serve to public discrimination? On the contrary, men artists, whose sex is granted as the neutral state of being, might elaborate a critical stance by playing on their conventional agency. This sort of strategy would not lead to the engendering of the art world, but disclose what has been perceived as natural, and therefore invisible.

²⁵⁵ I am inspired by the discussions held in Erkek Muhabbeti (Men Talk) Initiative during “Masculinities and Art” meetings in SOGEP, Istanbul, 2012. Especially, I owe this questioning to Bilhan Gözcü. He asked a very simple but important question after looking at the news and the discussions on media following the recent, frequent deaths of the colliers and dockers in “work accidents” in Turkey: “Why men speak of these deaths of colliers and docker pursuant to capitalism, but do not discuss the relations of these deaths with the gendered labor force?” See, for instance, Mike Head, “Trapped Miners Found Dead in Turkey,” World Socialist Web Site, May 22, 2010, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2010/05/mine-m22.html> ; Isaac Finn, "Eight Workers Killed in Turkish Mining Disaster," World Socialist Web Site, Jan 12, 2013, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/01/12/mine-j12.html> (accessed Jan 15, 2013).

CHAPTER 4

MEN ARTISTS' LACK OF CRITICAL AWARENESS OF MASCULINITIES

The focus of the present research is on men artists' artworks that address masculinities in the gender order. Due to gendered social life, many concepts and practices (such as violence, oppression, poverty, labor) criticized or referenced in artworks could be correlated with the discussions on gender. It is a possibility that artworks, which portray men and boys participating in institutional structures and/or daily individual practices, question the gender order; however, not necessarily. Therefore, artworks are included into the discussion of critical awareness of masculinities only if an intention is detected to connect their subject(s) and masculinities. Moreover, some works handling masculinities and correlating directly with the practices of gender regimes, can contain gendered perception again although they seem to criticize the gender order at first glance. In other words, while criticizing gender regimes and male dominance on one side, they may include implicit or explicit sexist elements on the other. These kind of artworks should not be evaluated within the scope of critical awareness of masculinities.

Throughout this chapter, artworks that are excluded from the research criteria (see *Methodology*) will be exemplified for the justification of this criteria itself. The claim of the thesis is that the examples discussed in this chapter do not present any awareness of masculinities, they even lack (or severely lack) criticism of it, although their subjects might be correlated with the components of gender regimes. The reasons for excluding artworks from representing critical awareness of masculinities will be pointed out as; either presenting unclear connections between their subjects and masculinities (or, lacking of correlation between institutional criticism and gender regimes); or, being about (the bodies

of) women; or, reproducing masculine understandings of manhood, phallus, or the idea of sexual intercourse as an assault to women.

Although the research does not aim to identify sexist artworks of men artists in Turkey, the examples in this chapter might help reader to trace various macho stances, sexist elements, homophobic and heteronormative approaches among men artists in the late contemporary art scene of Turkey.

4.1. On Artworks that Are Excluded from the Criteria of Critical Awareness of Masculinities

Süreyya Evren analyzes Turkish contemporary art in *101 Artworks* and underlines that the art world in 1990s in Turkey reached its most political and critical state.²⁵⁶ He expresses that artists in 1990s did not hesitate to oppose 'national myths,' 'political and sexual taboos,' and 'ideological state apparatuses.'²⁵⁷ He mentions 'opposing sexual taboos,' but he does not particularly mention any artwork of men artists that opposes the gender order.

Subsequent to this the analysis of 1990s, Evren wrote on the transitions "From Political Criticism to Feminism."²⁵⁸ Naming such transitions *from political criticism to feminism* could make reader think that not only women artists but also men began to discuss social issues regarding feminist politics. In fact, the names of men also appear

²⁵⁶ Süreyya Evren, "Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art Through 101 Artworks: A Thematic and Conceptual Mapping," in *101 Artworks: Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art*, eds. Halil Altındere and Süreyya Evren (İstanbul: art-ist, 2011), 39-63.

²⁵⁷ The term was coined by Louis Althusser in 1970, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 121–176, 135-139. To briefly mention, institutions as religion, family, education are examples of ideological state apparatuses in which ideology is practiced individually. Although Evren does not mention, we might add artists' oppositions to another definition of Althusser, "repressive state apparatuses," (such as police, military, courts) that repress and police individuals.

²⁵⁸ Evren, "Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art," 44-63.

along with those of women between the pages of Evren's analysis. However, Evren does not refer to any men artists in relation to feminism while he is writing about the transitions in Turkish contemporary art. It is not a criticism on Evren's analysis, rather a point to make reader realize the lack of artworks of men artists who do not indicate any connection between their approaches and feminist ones. Examples presented in Evren's analysis, which are identified as “gazing at macho society” or “hitting masculinity with masculine power,”²⁵⁹ belong only to women. For instance, neither Selim Birsell's shocking installation *Sleep of Lead* (1995), nor Erdağ Aksel's *Foul Weather* (1999-2000)²⁶⁰ correlates artist's critique of militarism with feminist debates or critical debates on men and masculinities. The presentation of institutional analysis together with gender analysis cannot be considered as a must; however, one might ask whether masculinities go generally unquestioned in works of men artists.

4.1.1. Unclear Connection to Masculinities

Reviews, artist declarations and/or interviews are examined in detail when an artwork has ambiguity as to whether the artist addresses a connection between his subject(s) and masculinities or not. In such cases, artwork is excluded if no intent of addressing masculinities is identified within reviews, declarations, and/or interviews about it. These sort of works do not point to the lack of awareness of masculinities; but, at the same time, they are not present such awareness.

4.1.1.1. Ahmet Ögüt and Şener Özmen: *Coloring Book*

Ahmet Ögüt and Şener Özmen's *Coloring Book* (2004)²⁶¹ can be read over the issue

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 52.

²⁶⁰ For a debate on these artworks, see pages 81-88.

²⁶¹ 16 pages, black and white. See Fig. 2 taken from Ahmet Ögüt's web site, <http://www.ahmetogut.com/ahmetwebcoloring.html> (accessed Jun 7, 2013).

of masculinities. Ögüt and Özmen formed a children's coloring book by depicting scenes of “violence, badness, inequality, and violations of innocence” in it.²⁶² It can be considered as an adaptation of “ethnic, geographical, and political realities”²⁶³ waiting to be painted by children. It also brings to mind the education of children but in terms of social learning of daily violent practices. The question is whether the artists intend to correlate institutional analysis of violence with discussions on masculinities.



Fig 2. Ahmet Ögüt and Şener Özmen, *Coloring Book*, 2004. 16 pages, black and white. Reproduced from Ahmet Ögüt's website, <http://www.ahmetogut.com/> (accessed Jun 6, 2013).

There are sixteen pages in *Coloring Book* and on each page there is a 'slice of life'

²⁶² Evren, "Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art," 55.

²⁶³ Vasif Kortun and Erden Kosova, "Ofsayt ama Gol, Üçüncü Bölüm: Siyaset," ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com, Jun 28 2007, <http://ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com/2007/06/politik.html> (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

which refers to the socio-economic life in Turkey. In these 'slices' of life which are not unfamiliar to a person living in Turkey or for those closely acquainted with this country, there are social realities containing violence and discrimination are depicted: a man and a child getting high while sitting next to a garbage dumpster near an art gallery; a girl and a boy, watching a kissing couple on television and two adults turn their heads to this scene. Black and white figures in these scenes, which are waiting to be colored, disturb the audience because coloring books are usually designed for children and normally contain 'innocent' scenes.

Violence and discrimination have many relations to masculinities, and some scenes in Ögüt and Özmen's *Coloring Book* might be discussed by referring to the ideas of gender-based violence. For example, one of the sixteen scenes depicts a boy who is about to hit the skull of a woman who is lying on the floor with a camping cylinder. From where/whom that boy has learned the practice of violence? Or yet how/why does he practice violence? Does it have anything to do with his social construction of masculinity? According to some sociologists, the answer is yes; it is at least a strong probability: not only toughness but also violence and crimes are acceptable tools in the construction of masculinity.²⁶⁴ When one's masculinity is in danger or threatened, or when one has no other means to prove/express his masculinity such as having a decent job or being "good provider", he may practice/project violence.²⁶⁵ Through socialization, a boy learns characteristics of requested masculinity, such as domination, toughness, willingness to fight, the practice of violence, from his "peers, media, school, books," and his father.²⁶⁶ The boy with the camping cylinder depicted by Ögüt and Özmen might remind not only of gender-based domestic violence but also of the socialization of a boy while constructing his masculinity. Although *Colouring Book* provides an in-depth analysis of masculinities neither artists nor critics and audiences have so far spoken of a connection between the scenes in this artwork

²⁶⁴ See Lee Bowker, *Masculinities and Violence* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998); M. Kimmel and M. A. Messner, eds., *Men's Lives* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2001); James W. Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 1993); M. Messner and Donald Sabo, *Sex, Violence & Power in Sports: Rethinking Masculinity* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1994); Sandra Walklate, *Gender and Crime* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995).

²⁶⁵ John Archer, *Male Violence* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 135; Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime*, 70, 81-83.

²⁶⁶ Myriam Miedzian, *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 83-85.

and masculinities.

4.1.1.2. Erkan Özgen: *Adult Games*

The unconnectedness of the subject to the issue of masculinities occurs in *Adult Games* (2004)²⁶⁷ by Erkan Özgen as well. The children who invade the playground with snow masks on their faces are boys. While the playground is actually being used as a “military training area”,²⁶⁸ the children playing there are, consciously or unconsciously, turning into actors of an adult game.²⁶⁹ In the reviews about this work, the gender of the children are missed out: to say the least, in the analysis and interviews following the presentation of the work, while the Kurdish identity is emphasized, male gender remains unstressed. If however one were to put an emphasis on the fact that all the children (or vast majority of them)²⁷⁰ in the video are boys, it would have been possible to make deductions as to the usage of gendered public space and furthermore comment on the masculinities and socialization of boys. The fact that the children, who are pushed into an ‘adult game’ and look as if they are drilling like soldiers, are Kurds is an artistic choice: by choosing Kurdish children the artist emphasizes the ethnic identity conflicts in Turkey and the “damned shared destiny” which results from being born within the borders of Middle East.²⁷¹ Within Özgen’s words, they are children on whose “foreheads it is written 'born to be a terrorist'”, and “the apparent state is struggling to assimilate” them.²⁷² But is it a coincidence that these children are boys?

²⁶⁷ Video, 4 min., 2004. Erkan Özgen, "Adult Games," Erkan Özgen's blog, <http://erkan-ozgen.blogspot.com/2008/01/video-adult-games.html> (accessed June 13, 2013).

²⁶⁸ Kortun and Kosova, "Ofsajt ama Gol: Siyaset."

²⁶⁹ Özgen, "Adult Games."

²⁷⁰ To claim that all or most of the snow masked children are boys is only an assumption. I make this assumption based on their clothes, tones of voice and body types.

²⁷¹ Şener Özmen, quoted in Özgen, "Adult Games."

²⁷² Erkan Özgen, quoted in Nafas, "Photo Tour: Erkan Özgen," Nafas Art Magazine's web site, http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/nafas/articles/2010/not_easy/photos/07_erkan_ozgen (accessed Jun 13, 2013).



Fig 3. Erkan Özgen, *Adult Games*, 2004. Video, 4 min. Still image is reproduced from *Universes in Universe*, <http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/index.html> (accessed Jun 6, 2013).

It is seen that Erkan Özgen uses the word ‘human’ instead of ‘man’ and ‘kids’ instead of ‘boys’ in his speeches about his work.²⁷³ *Adult Games* misses out a criticism on the relation between masculine domination and 'assimilation' of state apparatus by failing to notice the gender of its subjects. In an interview, the artist also speaks of the women’s oppression by “the male-dominant culture along with the national and cultural discrimination.”²⁷⁴ He emphasizes that imported policies are not useful in the struggles against exploitation of women; what is useful are the efforts related to the local dynamics.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, he does not mention men’s opposition in this change (men opposing or questioning gender regimes have not been identified in the discourses of

²⁷³ Özgen, "Adult Games."

²⁷⁴ Erkan Özgen, interview by Damla Akgül, "Contemporary Art @ Bosphorus Interview Project, 2010-2011: Erkan Özgen," Istanbul Contemporary Art Museum's web site, 2010, <http://istanbulmuseum.org/artists/erkan%20ozgen.html> (accessed Jun 13, 2013).

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

Özgen during the research process). Besides saying ‘our women’ he uses a possessive and paternalistic language. It means that, the artist does not realize the analogy between the state he criticizes and his gendered language: both are in relation with hegemonic masculinity.

4.1.1.3. Bülent Şangar: *Untitled (Father's Advice)*

When we approach to *Untitled (Father's Advice)* (1995-2008) by Bülent Şangar, it is considerably difficult to suggest that a situation as mentioned above (namely skipping the relation between the issue discussed and artist’s masculinity) occurs in his artwork. We sense the gendered structure of ‘things’ represented in his work, *Untitled (Father's Advice)*, A father and his son. In the background there is a special type of decoration of a living room (with the television on, stereo of those times, books) which resembles the decoration in the houses of Turkish families in late 80s-early 90s.²⁷⁶ Father raises his forefinger towards the son. Son’s head is dropped and his fist is clenched: it is obvious that he is angry at the father, wants to rebel against him; but his head is dropped, and he silently listens to his father. The title is *Father's Advice*. However in this work, the father looks as if he is scolding his son. Work acquires a self-referential dimension when the audience learns that the father and son in the photograph are the artist himself and his father.

This painting was assessed in the book named *Images of Tensity* by Ali Akay, a detailed work on Şangar, under the title of “sacrifice” among the issues that artist discussed.²⁷⁷ There are other works of Şangar in which he deals with the sacrificial ritual: the photographs (*Feast of Sacrifice*, 1999) depicting (in the meantime, probing the relation between urban and rural areas) the animal slaughter in public space in the time of sacrifice holiday.²⁷⁸ *Untitled (Father's Advice)* can be assessed together with especially Şangar’s

²⁷⁶ Ali Akay, *Bülent Şangar: Images of Tensity*, trans. Liz Amado and Ogün Duman (İstanbul: YKY, 2009), 34.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 32-42.

²⁷⁸ Vasıf Kortun and Erden Kosova, "Ofsayt ama Gol, Birinci Bölüm: Mekan," ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com, Jun 28, 2007, <http://ofsaytamagol.blogspot.com/2007/06/space.html> (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

other work on the concept of sacrifice holiday, *Untitled (Sacrifice)*.²⁷⁹ Şangar and his father are again in *Untitled (Sacrifice)*. This time, with the Taksim square in the background, we witness a scene in which the father is about to sacrifice his son. Referring to the scene in which Abraham is about to sacrifice his son as described in Koran,²⁸⁰ can this work be related to the issue of masculinities? Or is it simply about religion and social relations?



Fig 4. Bülent Şangar, *Untitled (Father's Advice)*, 1995-2008. Photography, dimensions variable. Reproduced from the artist portfolio held at Salt Galata, İstanbul.

We might have a sense that referring to the relationship between his father and himself (in other words, referring his own masculinity in relation with the masculinities of others), Şangar produces works parallel to the masculinities phenomenon. On the other

²⁷⁹ Akay, *Bülent Şangar*, 41.

²⁸⁰ *Holy Quran*, Saffat 37: 102-103, www.barkati.net (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

hand, an analysis on his works with a specific emphasis on masculinities has not been observed in the contemporary art discussions yet. For instance, Kortun and Kosova analyze Şangar's works as the “internalization of violence by the individuals”,²⁸¹ and Akay analyzes the same works in respect to social relations rather than masculinities.²⁸² Although it is implied that Şangar deals with ‘masculinity’ in Akay’s analysis, there is not a detailed assessment on how the artist discusses ‘masculinity.’²⁸³ (At this point, it is also necessary to emphasize that the concept of masculinities is very rarely used, or implied, and when it is, it is always mentioned in its singular form -as 'masculinity'- in the contemporary art discussions in Turkey. Throughout this research, although the word 'masculinity' has showed up in several places, usage of its plural form -as 'masculinities'- has not been yet found.)



Fig 5. Bülent Şangar, *Untitled (Sacrifice)*, 1994. Serigraphy on canvas, 240 cm x 170 cm. Reproduced from the artist portfolio held at Salt Galata, İstanbul.

²⁸¹ Kortun and Kosova, "Ofsayt ama Gol, Üçüncü Bölüm Siyaset."

²⁸² Akay, *Bülent Şangar*.

²⁸³ Ibid.

To understand whether the artist has an emphasis on masculinities, finally let's look at his own statement:

"A series that comprise some of my recent works, such as *Suret*, *Meanwhile*, and *Bird's Eye View*, [...] traces the way in which components of the society such as women, youth, and university students are being criminalized, marginalised, and victimized, by appropriating both the gaze of the power and the lexicon of the international norms. The suspension of my use of my own image in my works was conditioned by my objective to problematize the veiled character of the male gaze by situating myself as an agent of the language of male power, and thereby spotlighting it."²⁸⁴

Distinct from many other artists, Şangar's emphasis on the relationship between the language of masculine power and his masculinity is important. However, if we look at his own statement, it looks as if he opens the gendered structures into discussion only through his works on women. It is apparent that Şangar probes the relationship between father and son in *Untitled (Father's Advice)*, and thus refers to the gendered structures. Nevertheless, considering the statement of the artist and the reviews on his works, it becomes clear that it is hard to specify Şangar's criticism on masculinities. Therefore, Şangar's depiction of a father figure and a son, who seems to construct his personality through opposing or not being able to oppose to his father, does not seem to be opening the doors of a discussion on the establishment of masculinities – an establishment acquired by opposing to other masculinities, or, on the contrary, not being able to oppose them.

4.1.1.4. Lack of correlation between institutional critique and gender regimes: militarism in particular

It is not surprising that militarism is an attractive issue to touch upon for the contemporary artists in Turkey where military service is mandatory for men, the myth “Every Turk is born a soldier” is still widely promoted by the public.²⁸⁵ In Turkey the army negatively affected the democratization process by intervening the politics in the years

²⁸⁴ Erden Kosova, "An Interview with Bülent Şangar," additional booklet in *Bülent Şangar: Images of Tensity*, 11.

1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997.²⁸⁶ Especially after the military coup in 1980, oppressive militarist order suppressed the majority of the people,²⁸⁷ the minorities, especially the Kurds, who have already been oppressed for many years by the militarism.²⁸⁸ However, militarism can not be associated only with the regulations and oppression of the society by the state it is also closely related to gender: as has been stated in the second chapter of the research by deliberating over the ideas of Cynthia Enloe, with militarization, women and men are told apart indisputably and social gender roles are “defined and administered by the state.”²⁸⁹ Military which tightly related to masculinities, stands out with the gendered policies not only in army, but also in streets, homes, schools and such.

As an interesting claim, it can be put forward that when looked at the contemporary artworks in Turkey, it can be asserted that men artists criticize militarist violence and oppression rather frequently but very few of them directly handle the issue of masculinity which intertwines with militarism, namely, the individual and institutional gendered practices.²⁹⁰ Gender regimes can be addressed not only in military, but also, in other institutions of education, law, family, religion for sure; likewise, these institutions may have the doctrines and practices that serve masculine dominance. Therefore, besides questioning or exemplifying, as in *Coloring Book* and *Adult Games* above, these institutions, in the artworks touching upon the large scaled concepts like violence, the issue of whether the criticism of the work parallels with the gender mainstreaming may be

²⁸⁵ Pınar Ögünç emphasizes that no one is born a soldier. See stories of 14 conscientious objectors by Pınar Ögünç, *Asker Doğmayanlar* (İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı, 2013).

²⁸⁶ Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 2.

²⁸⁷ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey), "Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu," TBMM's official web site, 2012, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/sirasayi/donem24/yil01/ss376_Cilt1.pdf (accessed Jun 13, 2013).

²⁸⁸ Kerim Yıldız, *The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

²⁸⁹ Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 34.

²⁹⁰ For some men artists except for Kutluğ Ataman and Erinç Seymen, see the discussion on pages XX. I would also like to mention some women artists who produced influential artworks about collaborations between, and intersections of, state, violence, militarism and masculinities: Nur Koçak's *Mutluluk Resimlerimiz Series* (1981), Hale Tenger's *Benim Böyle Tanıdıklarım Var / I Know People Like This* (1992), CANAN's *İbretnüma / Exemplary* (2009), See Nur Koçak, *Mutluluk Resimlerimiz* (İstanbul: Reyo, 1982); Ahu Antmen, ed., *Hale Tenger: İçerdeki Yabancı* (İstanbul: YKY, 2007); WHW and İlkey Balıç, eds., *11th International Istanbul Biennial, Catalog* (İstanbul: IKSIV, 2009), 240-243.

investigated. On the other hand, militarism is closely intertwined with the gender order. The relation of the gender order with militarism is different from the relations of it with other institutions since militarism is directly based on hegemonic masculinity: Military service is a “public service” which only men have to fulfill (apart from the exceptions) and military training based on heteronormativity, homophobia and contempt of women who are seen of secondary importance, is a process in which “hegemonic masculinity” is taught.²⁹¹ Thus, it becomes almost impossible to speak of militarism, which grounds on gender policies, independently of masculinity discussions. Although masculinities and militarism are intertwined, as the examples below will reveal, emphasis on masculinity or militarism-masculinity relation is invisible in most of the works of men artists in Turkey, who aim to criticize militarism. Which is why militarism is particularly considered in order to exemplify the 'lack of correlation between institutional critique and gender regimes' in artworks.

Two artists (Selim Birsnel and Erdağ Aksel) who are discussed under the title of “*From Political Criticism to Feminism*” in Evren’s analysis but the topics they handle and their relations with feminism are not explained, their works given as examples (*Sleep of Lead ve Foul Weather*) and their other works with similar themes may be examined more closely.

4.1.1.4.1. Selim Birsnel

Selim Birsnel's work *Sleep of Lead* (1995)²⁹² which is identified with him, was only displayed for one day in Ankara Gar Sergisi. The explicit references *Sleep of Lead* and Vahap Avşar's *Last Drop* (1995), which were displayed in Ankara Station pursuant to “Tabus and Art Symposium,” as a part of the exhibition held by *Görsel Sanatları Destekleme Derneği* (an association of virtual arts), make reference to the deaths caused by on-going armed struggle between Turks and Kurds, and thus disturbed public so much that

²⁹¹ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, 153-157.

²⁹² Selim Birsnel, interview by Burcu Üver, "Contemporary Art @ Bosphorus Interview Project, 2010-2011: Selim Birsnel," Istanbul Contemporary Art Museum's web site, 2010, <http://istanbulmuseum.org/artists/selim%20birsnel.html> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

the exhibition was censored in one day.²⁹³ Birsell's *Sleep of Lead* consists of twelve dusk colored paper molds in the shape of human bodies. Installed on the floor, paper molds make one recall the dead human bodies flush-seamed on the ground covered by blankets.



Fig 6. Selim Birsell, *Sleep of Lead*, 1995. Installation, 12 paper molds of human bodies, dimensions variable. Still image is reproduced from Salt's web site, http://www.saltonline.org/SALT_files/Press_Images/004.jpg (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

Vasıf Kortun summarizes Birsell's installation and the meanings this work created as follows:

Sleep of Lead, is no more the work which caused the exhibition Gar in Ankara Station to be shut down in one day in the days of an unnamed civil war. In those times, soldiers used to show the faces of the PKK members they killed, and stocking up, display their dead bodies. This installation, which was right beside the trains waiting in the station, was quietly indicating those dead bodies covered with a cloth. Train was a very strong metaphor regarding the

²⁹³ Fisun Yalçınkaya, "'Kurşun Uykusu'ndan 17 Yıl Sonra Uyandı," *Sabah*, Feb 8, 2012, http://www.sabah.com.tr/kultur_sanat/sergi/2012/02/08/kursun-uykusundan-17-yil-sonra-uyandi (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

youngsters and their mothers who see them off knowingly. Lead is one of the heaviest metals and that is real lead.²⁹⁴

Selim Birsell takes the topic of military order not only in his work named *Sleep of Lead*, but also frequently in his subsequent works. He particularly repeats the image of tank. Even though the images repeated in Birsell's works make reference to other institutions (for instance school or hospital) of state mechanism,²⁹⁵ elements concerning military are repeated the most: he designs tanks made up of stickers, flowers made up of tanks²⁹⁶; applying the image of tank to the walls of the corridors of exhibition hall over and over with the help of a tank shaped stamp, he almost makes "a colony out of minuscule tanks."²⁹⁷ He leaves stamps which have the images of soldiers, tanks and war-crafts on them and which are chained to the wall. This allows the visitors to participate in a militarist game by applying these stamps onto the walls.²⁹⁸ The works of Birsell convey to the audience a criticism of the state which actually "terrorizes the society with its militarist,

²⁹⁴ Vasif Kortun, "Santral İstanbul ve İstanbul Bienali," Resmi Görüş, 2007, <http://www.anibellek.org/?p=315> (accessed Jun 15, 2013). (The translation is mine.) "Sleep of Lead, adı konulmamış bir içsavaşın sıcak günlerinde Ankara Gar'ındaki Gar adlı serginin bir gün içinde derdest edilip kapatılmasına neden olan iş değil artık. O zamanda askerler öldürdükleri PKK'luların yüzlerini gösterir, bedenlerini balık gibi istifleyip teşhir ederlerdi. Tren istasyonunda bekleyen trenlerin hemen yanında duran bu enstelasyon üzerlerine örtü serilmiş ölü bedenleri sessizce imliyordu. Tren, genç çocuklar ve onları bile bile uğurlayan analara dair çok güçlü bir metaforu. Kurşun, metallerin en ağırlarından biri, ve bildiğimiz kurşun."

²⁹⁵ Burçe Çelik, "En Çok Da Rezalet," *Radikal* 2, Mar 3, 2013, http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/en_cok_da_rezalet-1123773 (accessed Jun 15, 2013). Referenced to Selim Birsell's *Grown In The Backyard* (2012), displayed in the exhibition "Envy, Enmity, Embarrassment" in Arter, Istanbul, between 24 January-7 April 2013, curated by Emre Baykal. Arter, "Envy, Enmity, Embarrassment," Arter's web site, <http://www.arter.org.tr/W3/?sAction=PastExhibitions> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

²⁹⁶ Işın Önel, "Seriously Ironic, Positions in Turkish Contemporary Art Scene," Işın Önel's web site, 2009, <http://isinonol.com/seriously-ironic-positions-in-turkish-contemporary-art-scene/> (accessed Jun 15, 2013). Referenced to Selim Birsell's participation into the collaborative installation titled *Table of Collected Memories* (2008), exhibited in Lebanon.

²⁹⁷ M. Kemal İz, "Haset, Husumet ve Rezalet Üzerine," the web site of SanataTak, Jan 28, 2013, <http://sanataTak.com/view/Haset-Husumet-ve-Rezalet-uzerine/139> (accessed Jun 15, 2013). Referenced to Selim Birsell's *Grown In The Backyard* (2012).

²⁹⁸ Adnan Yıldız, "Selim Birsell'in Sanat Pratiği Üzerine: 'bazan bir şey görünür gibi oluyor' (Selim Birsell, 2009 / "Arka Bahçe" sergisine paralel katalog)," Feb 11, 2009, <http://adnanyildiz.blogspot.com/2009/02/selim-birsellin-sanat-pratigi.html> (accessed Jun 15, 2013). Referenced to Selim Birsell's *Göbek Bağı* (2005).

conservative and authoritarian” structure.²⁹⁹ An artwork dealing with militarism, which is intertwined with masculinities, has a specific potential to generate many questions on the relationship of, and/or on the intersections between, militarism and masculine domination. Do the artworks of Birsal point out to any connections between gendering the social life and the politics of military? Do they relate the maneuvers of the military to the construction of masculinities? During the research process, the visibility of “masculinities” has been identified neither in Birsal’s own remarks nor his works, the comments and critique on these works. Hence, it can be stated that repeated themes of militarism and related institutional violence in the works of Selim Birsal are only mentioned independently of masculinities.

4.1.1.4.2. Erdağ Aksel

Another artist who can be claimed to handle the topic of military violence without referencing to the discussions of masculinities (yet using phallic symbols considerably) is Erdağ Aksel. The frequently used theme of Aksel’s works is “the criticism of military spirit which is ingrained in the society of Turkey.”³⁰⁰ Aksel touches upon the topics such as the militarist effects of military coups on the society of Turkey or the results of the armed struggles implemented against the Kurdish people in Turkey.³⁰¹ For instance, *Foul Weather* (1999-2000), “is a ventilator manufactured from crutches”³⁰²; and crutches refer to the ongoing ‘civil war’ in that period in Turkey, as well as to the veterans who lost their limbs or became permanently disabled. The traces of masculinity can, of course, be found in the productions of the artist who establishes his own conceptual and symbolic framework around the criticisms of militarism and nationalism: the veterans whose crutches turn into

²⁹⁹ Çelik, "En Çok Da Rezalet."

³⁰⁰ Müge Akgün, "Siviller Askerlerden Daha Militarist," *Radikal*, Feb 28, 2011, http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/muge_akgun/siviller_askerlerden_daha_militarist-1041336 (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

³⁰¹ Kyla McDonald, "Erdag Aksel: Reflection of Craft (1999-2000)," Tate's web site, August 2010, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/aksel-reflection-of-craft-t13244/text-summary> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

³⁰² Müjde Yazıcı, "Bakmayın Konuşmadığıma," *Radikal*, Apr 18, 2005, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=150046> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).

ventilators are men, for sure. However, are there any direct discussions over masculinities in the criticism of militarization by Aksel? An explicit emphasis on 'masculinities' can not be noticed in *Foul Weather*.³⁰³



Fig 7. Erdağ Aksel, *Foul Weather*, 1999-2000. Mixed media kinetic installation. Still image is reproduced from Erdağ Aksel's portfolio, entitled "Early Works," http://academia.edu/873915/Early_Works (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

On the other hand, in his other works again shaped around military violence, there exist phallic elements that could be considered to emphasize the masculinities discourse.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ For an interesting analysis on disabled veterans in Turkey and their construction of masculinities, see Salih Can Acıksoz, "Sacrificial Limbs of Sovereignty: Disabled Veterans, Masculinity, and Nationalist Politics in Turkey" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2011).

³⁰⁴ For example in *Patriot (1995)* which is one of the retour de force objects, in which sword is used as a phallic symbol, Fatih Sultan Mehmet's sword is stuck into a bucket full of coins. [See Erdağ Aksel, interview by Ferhan Güloğlu, "Contemporary Art @ Bosphorus Interview Project, 2010-2011: Erdağ Aksel," Istanbul Contemporary Art Museum's web site,

To give an example, in his work named *Remembering/Do Not Remember!* (2007), the artist reminds the audience of the bayonette statue which was put up in front of the AKM in Taksim in the 1960 military coup and demolished in the 1980 military coup: the new model Aksel places, instead of bayonette, is a radiating resistance which again emphasizes the phallicism with its shape.³⁰⁵



Fig. 8. Erdağ Aksel, *Remembering/ Do Not Remember!*, 2007. Mixed mediums, height: 180 cm. Still image is reproduced from Erdağ Aksel's portfolio, entitled "Recent Works," http://academia.edu/3099698/Recent_Works (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

2010, <http://istanbulmuseum.org/artists/erdag%20aksel.html> ; for the images of the artwork, see Erdağ Aksel, "Patriot," the web site of X Hall – Adanet, <http://x-hall.ada.net.tr/aksel/patriot.html> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).] In the exhibition *Remembering and Forgetting* (Galeri Nev, 2009) of the artist, there are works named *Remembering/Do Not Remember!* (2007) ve *Forgetting* (2009), which have objects bearing phallic symbols and besides phallic symbols. [David Ebony, "Erdağ Aksel," *Art in America*, Jan 15, 2010, <http://www.artinamericamagazine.com/reviews/erdag-aksel/> (accessed Jun 15, 2013).]

³⁰⁵ Ebony, "Erdağ Aksel."

Is it possible to establish a critical bond with the masculinities based on the pure ‘phallic object’? The answer may be partially searched in this fact: above and beyond stating that these symbol are ‘phallic,’ the relation between masculinities and militarism was not brought up for discussion in the critiques and comments written on the works of Aksel up to now,³⁰⁶ and in his own declarations,³⁰⁷

Moreover, the use of phallic symbol has the potential to reproduce masculine ideology when any contingent power is assigned to the phallic object. In Aksel's works, there is no clue that use of phallic symbol is problematized and in one of his declarations, power and phallus are intertwined in a way far from being critical. The artist puts forward that his work named *Remembering/Do Not Remember!* is a subject of resistance (this ascription belongs to another artist, Serkan Özkaya but it is also embraced by Aksel): the statue is a resistance against military coup.³⁰⁸ The phallism of the bayonette, which evokes the military order, is emphasized. In this respect a link is established between masculinity and military violence. On the other hand, phallic object is accepted as a resistance symbol against military coup. In this sense, it can be claimed that the phallic symbols in the artworks of Aksel, do not go beyond making references to the phallism of state ideologies and militarism in terms of masculinity criticism. It can be stated that in some points, this phallism is adopted also by the artist owing to the critical deficiency on gender order.³⁰⁹

In brief, as long as gender regimes and violent practices of militarism or any other institution, or phenomenons in strong relations with gender, such as violence, are evaluated apart from masculinities, co-operations between masculine institutions and gendered

³⁰⁶ The claim is based on the research conducted among articles and reviews on internet, as well as art books and catalogs.

³⁰⁷ See Güloğlu, "Contemporary Art: Erdağ Aksel," ; Ayşegül Sönmez, "Sanat Dünyanın En Önemli Meselesi Değil," *Radikal*, May 18, 2009, http://www.radikal.com.tr/kultur/sanat_dunyanin_en_onemli_meselesi_degil-936342 (accessed Jun 15, 2013). In the interview by Sönmez, Aksel mentions a correlation between his usage of phallic symbolism and criticism on militarization of women's lives. He emphasizes that his work *Forgetting* (2009) from the exhibition *Remembering and Forgetting*, in which phallic symbol, olive drab and objects like lipsticks and nail polishes referring to women are used, is relevant to the militarization of the lives of women.

³⁰⁸ Sönmez, 'Sanat Dünyanın En Önemli Meselesi Değil.'

³⁰⁹ Ibid. In the same interview Aksel, together with stating that the 30 cm. wooden rulers he used in his exhibition can be correlated with penises, adds further: "After all, all men want a 30 cm penis."

practices of individuals might remain invisible. In addition, obvious or subtle gendered perceptions of masculine domination has the potential to be reproduced within such artworks.

4.1.2. Talking About (the Bodies of) Women

One might argue that questioning one's own agency is extremely important, even vital for a critical awareness of masculinities, because, as explained throughout the second chapter, 'man position' is a power position, in which the power, politics, and dynamics are constructed over "otherization," i.e. by means of the discourses about someone else, that is 'the other' (man over woman, Turkish over Kurdish, heterosexual over homosexual, et cetera, and interestingly, vice versa).³¹⁰ Feminism also underlines men's failure in realizing "masculinity and their own part in the expression of masculinity as a problem," in Cockburn's words.³¹¹ Consequently, the author supports the idea that in order to subvert their gendered power position, men should produce critical discourses about themselves, and question their agency. From this idea, it can be deduced that men's critical awareness of masculinities towards gender regimes could arise (or could *only* arise) from the personalization of the gender problem, as well as auto-critical practices and ideas. Even if artist's own agency is not in question, it is hard to suggest an awareness of masculinities without producing discourses on, or making visible the representations of masculinities.

Two distinct attitudes may be identified in the works of men artists, who question the gender order over its woman representatives rather than male ones, and who make reference to the gender regimes over social and economic practices into which women participate/are forced to participate. In the very first of these attitudes, these Works are pro-feminist or anti-sexist and they criticize gender order within these contexts. Although these sort of works contain a critical awareness of gender regime in itself, they do not produce an overt discourse on masculinities. Besides, making an analysis based only on the women

³¹⁰ Kimmel, "After Fifteen Years," 95; Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, 16.

³¹¹ Cynthia Cockburn, "Masculinity, the Left and Feminism," in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, ed. R. Chapman and J. Rutherford, 303-329 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988), 309.

raises doubts as to whether the gender problem is ‘personalized’ and seen as a manly problem. To say the least, it does not provide any clue. Moreover the real perpetrators are not pointed out, male perpetration is not emphasized. The second attitude that can be identified in the works of men artists, who refer to gender order over the representations of women, is discrimination based on gender. It may occur explicitly or implicitly. In both of the attitudes, the works which does not discuss gender order over masculinities are not included in this study due to their distance to critical masculinity awareness.

4.1.2.1. Servet Koçyiğit: *Blue Side Up*

Blue Side Up (2005)³¹² by Servet Koçyiğit could be discussed as an example to the first attitude. The artist firstly displayed this work of his in İstanbul Biennial with other works referring to the day-works of Turkish housewives.³¹³ Turkish idiom “*saçını süpürge etmek*” (equivalent, to exert oneself; literally means to make one’s hair into a broom) came into existence as *Blue Side Up*: having been given the impression of belonging to a woman, hair was made into a broom. This broom was tied to a rail system in the ceiling and roamed mechanically in the corridors of the exhibition hall.

The work symbolizes the brutality of domestic violence directed to women as “the brutality that works without blood.”³¹⁴ In addition to that, it can be thought that technical portions to which the broom is tied and the mechanical processes involved carries the domestic violence outside the borders of individualism and systematizes it. In this way, the relation of domestic violence with the order/ institutionalism can be perceived.³¹⁵

³¹² *Blue Side Up*, installation: mixed media, dimensions variable, 2005. Deniz Ünsal, ed., *9th International İstanbul Biennial, Catalog* (İstanbul: IKSİV, 2005), 25.

³¹³ November Paynter, "Servet Koçyiğit," in *9th International İstanbul Biennial, Catalog*, 24.

³¹⁴ Evren, "Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art," 62.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*" 63.



Fig 9. Servet Koçyiğit, *Blue Side Up*, 2005. Mixed media installation, dimensions variable. Still image is reproduced from Servet Koçyiğit's web site, <http://www.servetkocyigit.net/2005/w05-1.html> (accessed Jun 1, 2013).

In *Blue Side Up*, a criticism about the passiveness of the audience may come into question as well: Audience only watch this order but do nothing on the face of the violence which they witness. Besides, as broom also sweeps clean the places audience walk, it can further be claimed that the audience (or the owners of the exhibition) benefit from this process. By observing these different layers (labor, exploitation, domestic violence and institutionalism/ mechanism) that job creates, one understand the connection of *Blue Side Up* to the feminist discussions. However, in other respects, there is no additional emphasis and information on the institutionalism of domestic violence and the identities (thereby gender) of the perpetrators of this order. To put it differently, while the person on whom the violence is exerted is gendered, the perpetrating institution (or the individual collaborating with that institution) remains ungendered.

4.1.2.2. Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin: *In Vagina Veritas*

Works that create discourses on gender order over representations of women, does not always reflect men's discrimination and violence from pro-feminist perspectives. They may continue to use a gendered language and a masculine perspective even when they seem to criticize the masculine hegemony. The same critical deficiency may be observed in the critiques of these works as well. This attitude is going to be exemplified through the work of Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin.

Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin interprets the artwork of Courbet named *Origin du Monde* (1866) with the method of appropriation and reappropriation³¹⁶ in *In Vagina Veritas* (1999).³¹⁷ Alptekin, leaves the vagina, which was in Courbet's painting portraying a vagina closely without depicting practically any other parts of the body, as it is but shaves the 'hair.' Alptekin accepts 'the origin of the world' suggested by Courbet as it is and defines it with his own words: "whose content is unknown and within which lies a lost forest; it is an untouched order, a meditative thing;" however, he shaves the vagina and writes "In Vagina Veritas" which means "the reality is in vagina" on it.³¹⁸

Alptekin draws the painting as two copies in the size of the wall of the exhibition hall: in one of the copies vagina is bikini shaved and a Viagra blue tulle curtain covers the painting; in second copy pubic hair is completely shaved and a Prozac green tulle curtain covers the painting.³¹⁹ Süreyya Evren peruses this shaving gesture of the artist as "trying to cancel woman's frightening, dark, cave-like appearance."³²⁰ Evren also labels this gesture

³¹⁶ Writer unknown, "Hikayeler Anlatan Sergi," *Hürriyet*, May 14, 1999, <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=-79446> (accessed June 13, 2013).

³¹⁷ *In Vagina Veritas*, digital prints on vinyl installed behind Prozac-green and viagra blue transparent screens, 1999. Vasif Kortun, "Interview with Hüseyin Alptekin (from Dulcinea Gallery Catalog, 1999)," in *I'm not a Studio Artist: Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin*, ed. Duygu Demir, trans. Işıl Alatlı et al., 144-154 (İstanbul: Salt, 2011).

³¹⁸ Kortun, "Interview with Hüseyin Alptekin," 147.

³¹⁹ "Hikayeler Anlatan Sergi."

³²⁰ Evren, "Forty Years of Turkish Contemporary Art," 45.

as a “masculine ritual” and states that the underlying reason is “castration anxiety.”³²¹



Fig 10. Hüseyin Bahri Alptekin, *In Vagina Veritas*, 1999. Digital prints on vinyl installed behind Prozac-green and viagra blue transparent screens, from the exhibition “Kriz VIVA VAIA” in Dulcinea Gallery, Istanbul. Still image is reproduced from Dulcinea Gallery's web site, <http://www.dulcinea.org/archive/kriz/cdrom/24.htm> (accessed Jun 13, 2013).

While forging a link between castration anxiety and the ritual of shaving, Evren does not touch upon the fact that this link is established over woman's body rather than man's body. Otherwise, a critical link with power structures could be established over the men's pubic hair shaved distinctly. Nevertheless, as Evren stated, “power relations and gender were not [Alptekin's] main interest” anyway.³²² However, going beyond this remark, it can be claimed that Alptekin, who does not prioritize the act of pushing power structures, unwittingly serves these powers with *In Vagina Veritas*. Likewise, the adjectives attributed

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

to the vagina (fearsomeness, darkness, cavernous), are not problematized while passing from one man to the other in –what’s more– different centuries [from Courbet (1866) to Alptekin (1998), and further from him to Evren (2011)]. Alptekin states that the statement “in vagina veritas” is a direct answer to Courbet's origin of the world: “[t]hat is, it is in the context of the real source.”³²³ Hence, the recognition of vagina as the origin/source of the world can not be problematized as well. This situation can be given as an example of the transfer of gendered masculine perception from generation to generation. In this artwork which was designed with the method of appropriation, it can be alleged that another appropriated product is the “masculine perception of art.” Once again without problematizing, a man artist (Alptekin) appropriates the unproblematized masculine perception of another man artist (Courbet) demonstrated in his work created in the second half of the 19th century, through his work which he created in 1999. So does a man art critic (Evren) in his statements in 2011.

4.1.3. Reproducing Masculine Understandings of 'Manhood,' 'Phallus,' and 'the Idea of Sexual Intercourse'

Among the works of men artists, the ones in which the deficiency of critical masculinity can be identified more apparently are primarily the works that criticize power intentionally or indirectly through “masculinities.” The artworks exemplified in this chapter on one hand criticize power, and on the other hand reproduce the inter-gender hierarchical structures of power/ masculine dominance. Could the reason for this situation be the fact that men artists do not sufficiently ponder upon gender regimes and their own perpetration?

Now, let's discuss the works *Hard & Light* (1999) and *Fuck the Curator* (2002) by Halil Altındere, *Fuck a Work of Art* (2002) by Tunç Ali Çam, *Artist as a Fountain* (1999) by Serkan Özkaya, *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons* (2003) by Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt, *Be a Man!* (2012) by Batu Bozoğlu and various *Arture* paintings by Yüksel Arslan which belong to the series *Man II* (1990-94) and *Man III*

³²³ Kortun, "Interview with Hüseyin Alptekin," 147.

(1994-2000).

4.1.3.1. Halil Altındere: *Fuck the Curator and Hard & Light*

Halil Altındere states that, while living in an artist residency he did not choose to host the curators in his studio as the way the artists in the neighbouring studio did with cakes and pastry; he wrote “fuck the curator” in capital letters onto the wall of his studio.³²⁴ This sentence was demonstrated in the exhibition named “Oh, It's a Curator!” in 2002, and was used in the invitation and poster of the exhibition as well.³²⁵ Altındere, who says "fuck you!" to curator, states that his aim is actually not to criticize curatorship as a field of occupation.³²⁶ The aim of the artist is mostly to criticize the system which “even if you curse, holds this curse in high esteem, gives consequence to you for your art work.”³²⁷ In other words, the artist tries to prove this: when you attack the system (there is an intentional attack in this example), system changes this in itself by elevating the words of the artist to the status of an art work, and sublimates it. However, when this system elevates this verbal attack into such a status, does not it approve and hold this cursing practice which humiliates women, sublimes hegemonic masculinity and constitutes the basis of this attack “in high esteem”? The artist says the system will sublime your art “*even if you curse*” it; however, maybe the cursing is a practice belonging directly to the system itself. In this sense, “*even if*” in the artist's statement becomes meaningless.

³²⁴ Nazlı Gürlek, "Halil Altındere ile Fikirler Suça Dönüşünce Üzerine Söyleşi," Nazlı Gürlek's blog, 2010, <http://nazligurlek.blogspot.com/2011/01/fikirler-suca-donusunce.html> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³²⁵ Interview with Halil Altındere, "Suç İşlemek İstemeyen Geri Dönsün," the website of KAOS GL, Sep 29, 2010, <http://www.kaosgl.com/sayfa.php?id=5577> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.



Fig 11. Halil Altındere, *Fuck the Curator*, 2002. Photography. Image is reproduced from Halil Altındere's web site, <http://halilaltindere.wordpress.com/works/2000-2005/#jp-carousel-87> (accessed Jun 1, 2013).

Filiz Bingölçe examines “the common language of domestic violence against women in Turkey” in her research named *Dil Dayakları*.³²⁸ Bingölçe, describes the common usage of this gendered profane language by men towards women as a practice “which is demoralizing, confidence breaking, humiliating and which creates a dense preclusion feeling.”³²⁹ According to her, profane language may have a potential to be a vanishing point of public against official ideology just as Mihail Bakhtin describes in “carnival spirit” (for instance, in Europe, the folk which relaxed for a while cursing even the king when carnival arrived); however, when judged in the present gender conditions, this profane language corresponds to a oppressing and silencing violence practice applied by men towards

³²⁸ Filiz Bingölçe, *Dil Dayakları: Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddetin Ortak Dili* (Ankara: UNFPA; 2007).

³²⁹ Ibid, 4. Bingölçe refers to Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993; © 1941, 1965).

women.³³⁰ Of course, ‘cursing’ is not only towards women, from a hegemonic masculine perspective it also targets what is feminine: to give an example, homosexuals are humiliated and isolated as “fucked” bodies against “fucking” men bodies.³³¹ On the other hand, creating a common rage language against official ideology could be possible only if this language is constructed in a way that the language does not reproduce social gender hierarchy. For that purpose, feminist collectives conduct workshops to produce “slang and swear words with which women’s sexuality would strengthen without humiliating men’s sexuality”³³² Another feminist strategy against the verbal violence of gender regimes is recognition and embracement of adjectives marked offensive (for example, *cunt*), as honoring not insulting by women: a ‘subversive’ response to the intentions of people to ‘insult and oppress.’³³³

What about Altindere’s usage of "the most used swearword by men to threaten women (fu..ing)"³³⁴ in order to and insult/threaten the curator? In Altindere’s usage, does

³³⁰ Bingölçe, *Dil Dayakları*, 4.

³³¹ Aslı Zengin, "Feminist Argo ve Küfür Atölyesi Üzerine," *Bianet*, Apr 17, 2010, <http://bianet.org/biamag/toplumsal-cinsiyet/121389-feminist-argo-ve-kufur-atolyesi-uzerine> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³³² Ibid. This text was written on "Feminist Jargon and Swear Words Workshop" which took place in Bağyan Feministival (9-11 Nisan 2010). Gezi Park Resistance in June 2013 can be examined as a more recent example. Feminist groups applied two different strategies against the sexist language in street writings and slogans of activists protesting the government. The first one of these strategies was covering the swear words in the street writings which were protesting the government and drawing feminas in place of these words. [Çiçek Tahaoğlu, "'Küfürle Değil İnatla Diren'," *Bianet*, Jun 4, 2013, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/bianet/147234-kufurle-degil-inatla-diren> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).] As a second strategy, a "swearing" workshop was held in Gezi Park. In the summons text of this workshop it was written as: "By changing and transforming present jargon and swear words of the language itself, namely an area in which male-dominant and sexist perspective constantly bombards our bodies, in fact, we can reconsider swearing." [Fakfukfon (nickname), "Gezi Parkı’nda Küfür Atölyesi (summons text)," Fakfunfon's blog, Jun 7, 2013, <http://fakfukfon.wordpress.com/2013/06/07/gezi-parkinda-kufur-atolyesi-cagri-metni/> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).] The work of Filiz Bingölçe on “women jargon” (in Turkish) before *Dil Dayakları* is the first in Turkey: F. Bingölçe, *Kadın Argosu Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Metis, 2001).

³³³ Inga Muscio, *Cunt: A Declaration of Independence* (New York: Seal Press, 2002).

³³⁴ An analysis by Nilüfer Zengin, based on the work of Bingölçe: N. Zengin, "Erkekler Kadınları En Çok 'S.kmekle' Tehdit Ediyor," *Bianet*, Apr 22, 2008, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/106473-erkekler-kadinlari-en-cok-s-kmekle-tehdit-ediyor> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

swearing have a meaning apart from being a practice of masculine violence? Is that used for more than referring to a masculine sexuality based on 'banger/banged' dichotomy in which the banger is glorified while the banged is humiliated? The answer is a simple and clear no. Altındere does not apparently question the fact that swearing is already a practice in the system, and the fact that both sexuality and the power relations are defined by a masculine ideology. He -as a man- does not avoid performing the practice of swearing. Shortly, *Fuck the Curator* is a work which completely belongs to the system since he performs a practice which completely belongs to the system. By doing so, he enables the recreation of the system to glorify his practice. Since swearing, at least in the social life of Turkey, is labeled³³⁵ as one of the prerequisites of masculinity, the real resistance, the real off-system movement may be not swearing.³³⁶

Another important factor here is the fact that the joke of the artist has not been discussed in respect of gender discrimination by other artists, curators and critics in Turkish contemporary art. Some curators describe this joke as an 'opposing attitude'³³⁷ while others describe it as 'the correct timing'³³⁸ referring to the artist-curator relationship in the world of art. A sexist artwork is evaluated apart from the body-power relations. Moreover, this is not the first work of Altındere in which he swears. He has already used the phrases 'to bang' and 'being banged' without problematizing them.

In the work of *Hard & Light*, we see two Marlboro packages shaped in the form of two people. Light cigarette package is on hands and knees, while the other package is placed behind it, put an extension of its, which we can assume to be its penis, into the Light package. The package at the back doesn't actually have a label saying it's 'hard', which means 'hard' is a concept that 'light' brings up to mind. This association must have triggered another association, because the artist has put an erect penis to it. Just like in the work of *Fuck the Curator*, Altındere reproduces the relationship between 'banger' and

³³⁵ Based on a personal story, exemplified by Aslı Zengin, "Feminist Argo ve Küfür Atölyesi Üzerine."

³³⁶ "Resist with obstinacy, not with swearwords!" was one of mottos of women in Gezi resistance who are against the sexist expressions in anti-government protests. [Ç. Tahaoğlu, "Küfürle Değil İnatla Diren'."]

³³⁷ Nazlı Gürlek, "Fikirler Suça Dönüşünce."

³³⁸ son:DA (Metka Golec and Horvat Miha), "Interview with Basak Senova," May 2006, <http://sonda.kibla.org/basak.html> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

'banged' with a man dominant perception, and this reproduction is done through cigarette packages which are -still- used in the formation of the image of manhood.³³⁹



Fig. 12. Halil Altındere, *Hard & Light*, 1999. Photography, 100 x 150 cm. Image is reproduced from the web site of M-est, <http://m-est.org/2013/03/19/in-conversation-halil-altindere-and-vasif-kortun/> (accessed June 24, 2013).

The only criticism to the sexism in *Hard & Light* seems to belong to Erden Kosova.³⁴⁰ It is possible to make an observation on the collectiveness of male artists' lack of awareness of manhood through another male artist Şener Özmen's comments on Altındere's works. Özmen writes that Altındere took over the mechanism called command

³³⁹ Michael Eriksen, Judith MacKay and Hana Ross, *The Tobacco Atlas – Fourth Edition* (Atlanta, GA: American Cancer Society and New York, NY: World Lung Foundation, 2012), 30; Barbara Pease and Allan Pease, *The Definitive Book of Body Language* (New York: Bantam, 2006), 268-9.

³⁴⁰ See note 248 above.

on his adventure of art and criticized "phallus-centered biopower"³⁴¹ (meaning the power that gives privilege to phallus and those who become men by using phallus)³⁴². However, he doesn't offer explanations about how Altindere criticizes phallus centered power (for example, what kind of paradox *Hard & Light* offers or what kind of a deconstruction Altindere suggests). He then talks about the artist's work *Fuck the Curator* and interprets these two works without any kind of criticism about their discriminative discourse based on gender. This critical deficiency of Özmen appears to be an irony, unintentionally placed between his pages: an irony exemplifying the fact that with their 'masculinities,' men artists are actually a part of the order which they seem to criticize but in fact fail to notice. Can men artists only make the criticism of phallus centered biopower within the frame of art, by only saying "fuck the curator?"³⁴³

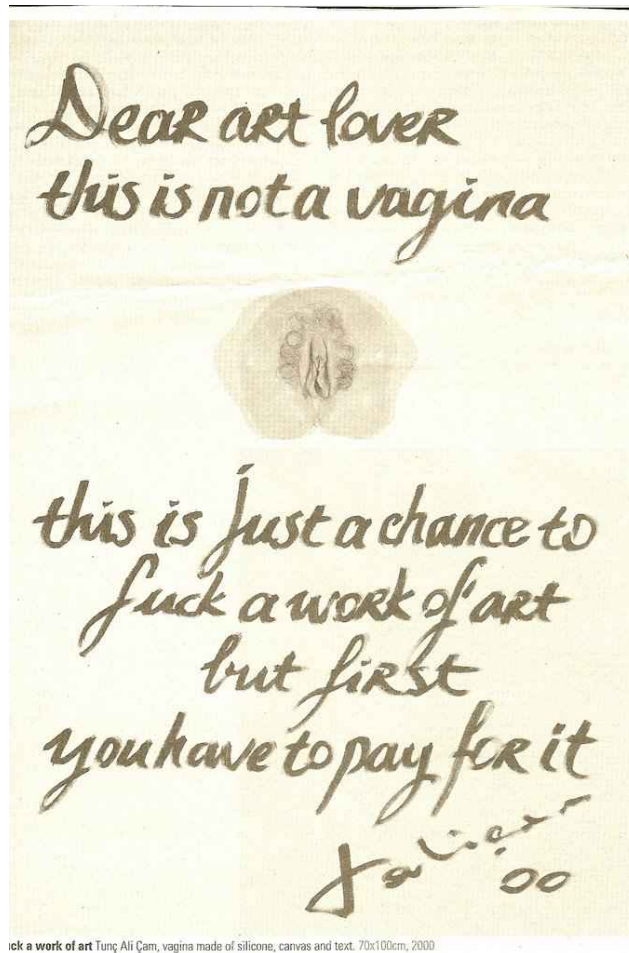
4.1.3.2. Tunç Ali Çam: *Fuck a Work of Art*

Another example to the works which put phallus into the center in a heteronormative manner and again reproduces 'banging' as a symbol of power is *Fuck a Work of Art* (2002) by Tunç Ali Çam. Composing a vagina on a canvas with hair and rubber, Çam writes a note on canvas as such: "Dear art lover, this is just a chance to fuck a work of art, but first you have to pay for it."

³⁴¹ Şener Özmen, *Travma ve Islahat* (Diyarbakır: LİS, 2007), 67-70.

³⁴² The term phallogocentrism, which was coined by Jacques Derrida, was later discussed and improved by feminist theorists in order to point out the relationship between the hierarchy of masculine domination and binary systems. See Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, *The Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wang.(Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Carole Dely, "Jacques Derrida : The Perchance of a Coming of the Otherwoman: The Deconstruction of Phallogocentrism from Duel to Duo," trans. Wilson Baldrige, Sens Public, Oct 2006, <http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2008-09-24-dely-en.pdf> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³⁴³ It can be put forward that the best answer given to the men artists, who can not pull the power criticisms through the masculine language of gender regime, who over and over positions 'banging' as a power element and a masculine assault, in the contemporary art history of Turkey probably belongs to Erinç Seymen. See note 410 below and the related discussion.



uck a work of art Tunç Ali Çam, vagina made of silicone, canvas and text. 70x100cm, 2000

Fig 13. Tunç Ali Çam, *Fuck a Work of Art*, 2000. Hair and rubber on canvas, and text, 70x100 cm. Still image is reproduced from Miles Allinson's blog, <http://photos1.blogger.com/blogger/4435/1869/1600/art.0.jpg> (accessed June 24, 2013).

That is to say, this work, on which there is an element resembling a vagina but actually “not a vagina” as the artist states, gives a chance for the “art-lovers” to fuck the artwork. It can be claimed that artist tries to contempt “the ones accepted superior” (the art, artwork) as also occurs in the *Fuck the Curator*. However, why did Çam choose to make reference to vagina and thus woman’s body in this contempt and ownage against payment? Has not the artist already assigned both gender and sexual orientation to the person he addresses as “dear art lover”?

As Çam expresses, one of the first presentations of the artwork was performed on a screen: the painting was presented in a video, also there were two bodyguards standing in

both sides of the painting and before it, a red cord and a protective glass were placed.³⁴⁴ In Çam's statement, there is not an emphasis on the gender of the 'bodyguards,' but it can be estimated that they are men. In other words, it is a work which revives the feeling that it was produced for heterosexual(?) men(?) by a man, to top it all off, for heterosexual men who would like to 'fuck' when they see a vagina. It is also a work which is protected by men while it contains a vagina evoking "woman figure" in itself. Referencing to the discussion that men obtain their power positions by speaking over the others, it can be regarded as a considerably problematic work in terms of critical masculinity awareness; however, as the artist states, it is "poetic and witty."³⁴⁵ On the other hand, the fact that this work has currently been sold for a fairly high price in Sotheby's also gives an idea about the gender regime of the art market (with respect to the value appointed to the works which contribute to masculine ideology).

4.1.3.3. Serkan Özkaya: Artist as a Fountain

While art market canonizes the works produced under the influence of masculine ideology of white men, men artists can create gendered "artist myths" on their own as well. For example, is the artwork *The Artist as Fountain* of Serkan Özkaya dated 1999, an ironic response to the artist-audience relation and canonization of artists or just another phallus centered work of a man artist in which penis is canonized?

In a catalogue of an exhibition in which Vasif Kortun took charge as curator, *The Artist as Fountain*, is explained as follows:

Serkan Özkaya's photograph "The artist as fountain", 2000 shows a young man sitting by a window. In front of him, in black leather pants, is a woman who seems to perform oral sex on him. The man's expression is gleefully idiotic, almost scary. Özkaya predicates the work on Bruce Nauman's "self-portrait as a fountain" where the elegant eroticism of Nauman - (referring to Duchamp's

³⁴⁴ Tunç Ali Çam, interview by Andi Nahmias, "Contemporary Art @ Bosphorus Interview Project, 2010-2011: Tunç Ali Çam," Istanbul Contemporary Art Museum's web site, 2010, <http://istanbulmuseum.org/artists/tunc%20ali%20cam.html> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

urinal) as a public sculpture, a living work of art, and a fountain of inspiration by way of the rhetoric of creation through an outpour from the orifice— becomes down right ridiculous.³⁴⁶



Fig 14. Serkan Özkaya, *The Artist as Fountain*, 1999. Photography. Still image is reproduced from the blog "ofsayt ama gol," <https://picasaweb.google.com/sekizkilometre/OfsaytAmaGol02#5081412990553347986> (accessed June 24, 2013).

How do we understand that the person standing in front of the young man in the photograph is a woman? This judgement, at which we arrived from the clothes and posture of this person whose face is not shown, can be thought to result from our deductions made according to the social body practices assigned to women and men. Another ground for this judgement may be that we assume that men are heterosexual unless otherwise is told. If the

³⁴⁶ Vasif Kortun, curator, "Confessions of a Voyeur," Dulcinea's web site, 2001, http://www.dulcinea.org/archive/izleyenin/etkinlik_eng.html (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

person seeming as if giving the young man a blowjob is a woman, ‘woman hips’ are presented for audience’s peek. In this very point, with the red curtain in background,³⁴⁷ scene may be associated with pornography and prostitution. Prostitution still depends largely on heteronormativity and masculine dominance; it is an order established on objectification of women and suppression of homosexuality.³⁴⁸ Despite the feminist and queer pornography which gives a chance to destroy heteronormative perception,³⁴⁹ pornography is still widely criticized as a powerful tool which reproduces masculine ideology (over its features like masculine violence, contempt and objectification of women).³⁵⁰ With the composition he produced, Özkaya directly or indirectly refers to prostitution and pornography. On the other hand, he marks the ‘artist’ as the source.

As Özkaya states, woman’s positioning in the picture was also criticized as sexist by Yvonne Rainer but when Özkaya said that the photograph was a “parallel” to the Bruce Nauman's work named *Self Portrait as a Fountain* (1966), Rainer changed her mind.³⁵¹ In

³⁴⁷ Nils Johan Ringdal, *Love For Sale: A World History of Prostitution* (New York: Groove Press, 2005, © 1997), 45, 140.

³⁴⁸ Mary McIntosh, "Who Needs Prostitutes?: The Ideology of Male Sexual Needs," in *Women, Sexuality and Social Control*, eds. Carol Smart and Barry Smart, 53-64 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), 63-4; Lily Cheng, Leendert de Die and Eefje de Kroon, "Just Business? The Unknown World of Male Prostitution in the Netherlands," the website of Humanity in Action, <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/369-just-business-the-unknown-world-of-male-prostitution-in-the-netherlands> (accessed June 26, 2013). See also Leslie Ann Jeffrey, *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); an analysis on economical critique of prostitution, C. Heike Schotten, "Men, Masculinity, and Male Domination: Reframing Feminist Analyses of Sex Work," *Politics & Gender* 1, no. 2 (2005): 211-240; and a research on "indoor prostitution, male and transgender workers, customers, and managers," Ronald Weitzer, "New Directions in Research on Prostitution," *Crime, Law & Change* 43, no. 4-5 (2005): 211-235.

³⁴⁹ Cherie Seise, "Fucking Utopia: Queer Porn and Queer Liberation," *Sprinkle: A Journal of Sexual Diversity Studies* 3 (2010): 19–29; Jessica Valenti, "Chapter 4: The Porn Connection," in *The Purity Myth: How America's Obsession with Virginity Is Hurting Young Women* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2009), 81–100. See also a book about the porn industry.

³⁵⁰ Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography, Men Possessing Women* (New York: Perigee Books, 1979); Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Francis Biddle's Sister: Pornography, Civil Rights, and Speech," in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 163-97; Robin Morgan, "Theory and Practice: Pornography and Rape," in *Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist* (London: Random House, 1977), 163-9.

³⁵¹ Vasıf Kortun, interview with Serkan Özkaya, "Serkan Söyleşi," Resmi Görüş blog, Oct 6,

his work named *Self Portrait as a Fountain* Nauman, spreads his arms in both sides and sprays water out of his mouth. What he does is actually a parallel to Duchamp's upside-down pissoir (*Fountain*, 1917) which marks an era in contemporary art and questions the creativity and authenticity in art; Nauman, turns his body into a parodical sculpture, into a "source."³⁵² Even if we assume that use of artist's body as a source draws a parallelism between Özkaya and Nauman, we may think that unlike Özkaya, Nauman directly objectifies only himself, presents his masculinity with a homoerotic stance to the audience.³⁵³ Making parallelism to Nauman does not change the fact that Özkaya objectifies a women between the legs of the 'artist,' and by putting phallus into the center assigns power to it and consequently produces a sexist artwork. According to Vasif Kortun, this work "teases with male dominated art history of the West."³⁵⁴ It has been put forth that in order to criticize the institution, Özkaya first disguises in the identity of the institution (masculinity of institution). Namely he cooperated with masculinities, however, later "suspended and caricatured the artist identity [when] he was identified with" the expression on his face.³⁵⁵ This means that 'what is ridiculous' exists within the boundaries of male dominant language as is the case with the other works exemplified in this chapter. While being teased, masculine dominance was reproduced concurrently. Therefore, even the humor in this work is both masculine and sexist just like the humor in *Fuck a Work of Art* or *Hard & Light*. In my opinion it is impossible to speak of a humor in all of these works.

Fatih Balcı, a man academician and artist, interprets *The Artist as Fountain* as Özkaya's humorous response to the enlightening role which the audience expects from the

2006, http://resmigorus.blogspot.com/2006_10_01_archive.html (accessed June 25, 2013).

³⁵² Andrew Salgado, "Sexualized: The Queer Masculine Body Considered in Nauman and Barney," in *Theorizing Visual Studies: Writing Through the Discipline*, eds. James Elkins, Kristi Ma Guire, et al., 246-8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2013).

³⁵³ Ibid. See also Joost de Bloois, "The Artists Formerly Known as... or, the Loose End of Conceptual Art and the Possibilities of 'Visual Autofiction'," *Image [&] Narrative [e-journal]*, no. 19 (2007), <http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/autofiction/debloois.htm> (accessed June 26, 2013).

³⁵⁴ Kortun, "Serkan Söyleşi."

³⁵⁵ Erden Kosova, "Can You Dance My Beat?," *Geocities* archive, 2001, <http://www.geocities.ws/guncelsanat/cobcg.htm> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

artist.³⁵⁶ According to Balcı, the audience who expects and the artist who has to keep producing are forced into a pornographic relationship and in this work the absurd state of this relationship has been questioned.³⁵⁷ When we look at the comments on both this example and the exhibition catalogue, we can not see an intention of the world of art to spark a debate on manhood. However, Vasif Kortun stated that after *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons* (2004), an artwork that Serkan Özkaya has done together with Ahmet Ögüt, he had to read *The Artist as Fountain* again and mentioned the problem of ‘phallus’ which appears repeatedly in works of these male artists. Let us briefly introduce the work of *The Turkish Monument...* before we talk about the problem of ‘phallus’ that Kortun discussed.

4.1.3.4. Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt: *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons*

This monument which was made by Özkaya and Ögüt was inspired by a joke, which goes as: A Frenchman was asked "How many watermelons can you carry at a time?" and he replied as "Four: two under my arms and two in my hands." The same question was asked to a Japanese man and he replied as "Six: two under my arms, two in my hands, one over my head and one on my penis." Finally a Turkish man was asked and he replied as "Eleven: two under my arms, two in my hands, one over my head and I would put the Japanese onto my dick."

Apparently, men artists in Turkey love to take an interest in humour and while doing this, they do not feel anxious as to whether they reproduce masculine ideologies. It’s being a “monument” can be perceived as a parodical response to the monuments which reflect government ideology and which is used in the construction of “nation.”³⁵⁸ Government

³⁵⁶ Fatih Balcı, "Güncel Sanat ve Karikatür İlişkisi," *ebenzin*, Jul 14, 2008, <http://ebenzin.blogspot.com/2008/07/güncel-sanat-ve-karikatr-ilikisi.html> (accessed Jun 24, 2013).

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ Meltem Ahıska, "Monsters that Remember: Tracing the Story of the Workers’ Monument in Tophane, İstanbul," *Red Threat [e-journal]*, no. 3 (2011), http://www.red-thread.org/dosyalar/site_resim/dergi/pdf/4932435.pdf (accessed June 26, 2013).

policy, at least in Turkey, stands on the idea that: “great events or great men cannot be considered dead. The nations build monuments in their name in order to keep them alive. They make them immortal through artworks..”³⁵⁹ The words ‘Turk’ and ‘monument’ in the title of the work may give us a chance to come to the conclusion that Özkaya ve Ögüt criticize Turkish nationalism hidden in the joke and in the same time, nationalism of monuments produced around the government ideology. Özkaya and Ögüt have taken the ‘protagonist’ of a joke as ‘the major man’ of this country and made him immortal. But, still there are some questions to ask to these artists: As you make a sexist, nationalist and even racist joke into a sculpture, when you do not criticize these sexism, nationalism and racism and take them as they are and use them, would you not produce male-dominant ideology again? Is there a strategy that you use in order to prevent discrimination from being produced again through this work of yours?



Fig. 15. Serkan Özkaya and Ahmet Ögüt, *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons*, 2004. Sculpture. Image is reproduced from the

³⁵⁹ Words of a Turkish republican ideologue is narrated by Aylin Tekiner, *Atatürk Heykelleri: Kült, Estetik, Siyaset* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010) and quoted in Ahıska, Meltem, "Monsters that Remember."

website of Sparwasser HQ, <http://www.sparwasserhq.de/> (accessed June 25, 2013).

When we look at the monument, we see a Turkish man, with moustache, another man who is attached to his penis, who looks like a kid, but after hearing the joke we understand is a Japanese man, and small watermelons put on the heads, in hands and on the Japanese man's penis. The joke actually has not been monumentalized in the full sense of the word, because the joke is only based on an idea. The Frenchman, the Japanese man and the Turkish man state what they can do and prove how they use their minds through words. But, what Ögüt and Özkaya do, goes beyond the joke, it realizes the moment, which doesn't happen in the joke. These ideas are applied and realized. The artists obviously ridicule the power of the Turks, however, what they probably do not know is this representation of power is actually materialized through their efforts. For a moment, when we forget about the emphasis of the man behind being a Turk, and only look at the monument in front of us, we again see the dominance of phallus materialized through the artists efforts.

Going back to 'criticism of phallus' that Vasıf Kortun made looking at *The Turkish Monument...*, we can say that this criticism actually is the criticism Erden Kosova had made under the discussion *Offside But a Goal: The Scene in Turkey*.³⁶⁰ Kortun summarizes this criticism of Kosova as "the fact that artists of the 90+ generation resort to a symptomatic secretion while approaching to sexual relationships in a macho way[...]. The indispensable absence of penis in the work of *The Turkish Monument...* has been linked to the certain scene with clothes on [of *The Artist as Fountain*]."³⁶¹

First of all, we should highlight the fact that this criticism of Kosova is not directed to 'the artists of 90+ generation', it is actually directed to 'the male artists of 90+ generation' and their macho attitude. Kortun does not use the words 'male artists' even when he cites this criticism; is this only a slip of the tongue?

Another problem about manhood *The Turkish Monument...* has, other than the problem of implying but hiding penis, and presenting it as an element/ a source of 'power',

³⁶⁰ Kortun and Kosova, "Ofsayt ama Gol." See notes 248 and 250 above.

³⁶¹ Kortun, "Serkan Söyleşi." (The translation is mine.) "90+ kuşağı sanatçılarının cins ilişkilerine maço yaklaşırken semptomatik bir gizlemeye girişmek... "Karpuz taşıyan..." içinde penisin vazgeçilmez yitikliği, malum giysili sahneye ulanmış oldu."

is ignoring the connection between nationalism and gender discrimination. Just like the connection between manhood and militarism, which was mentioned before, there is a connection between nationalism and gender discrimination. Like manhood, nationalism assumes itself 'superior' and 'unique' over 'the other'.³⁶² Besides, the ideology that nationalism is based on matches with the male-dominant ideology: nationalism, as Enloe states, "has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope."³⁶³ Of course, although it is depicted in *The Turkish Monument...* in a pretty problematic way, there is an emphasis on the connection between nationalism and manhood. However this emphasis only goes as far as pointing out phallus, just like Erdağ Aksel's works. Is manhood all about phallus? Is there only one manhood? Is not there anything these artist can say about militarism, nationalism, and even the relationship between art as an institution and –plural– *masculinities*?

4.1.3.5. Yüksel Arslan: 'Arture's from the series *Man II* and *Man III*

Another artist who has worked on manhood through phallus is Yüksel Arslan, who was born in 1933. What makes him different from 90+ generation is that he presents penis over and over again, not hiding it. It is possible to talk about an obsession to phallus or being charmed by phallus, looking at this repeated use. Both in his works before 90s and his later works, Arslan has drawn penis in varying forms with references to humans, animals and evolution. Unlike the generations after him, he does not hide the penis behind a woman's head or in a Japanese man's anus. On the contrary, he places penises in minarets of mosques (*Arture 442*, 1993), in totems (*Arture 637*, 2007), in chimneys of factories (*Arture 653*, 2009) or in place of human heads (*Arture 316*, 1983)³⁶⁴ : this way, it can be

³⁶² Arif Köse, interview with Tanıl Bora, "Milliyetçilik Doğallıkla Meşrulaştırılmaz," *Altüst*, no. 5 (2012): 30-34. See also Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed., *Vatan Millet Kadınlar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000) and Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu, ed. *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013).

³⁶³ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 45.

³⁶⁴ The resources applied in the analysis of the artworks of Arslan, especially the ones from the series *Man II* (90-94) ve *Man III* (94-2000), are: Levent Yılmaz, ed., *Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan, Catalogue*, trans. Nazım Dikbaş et al. (İstanbul: santralistanbul, 2009);

claimed that he has criticised that individual and institutional practise like religion, faith, perception are phallus centered. A person who looks at his paintings see literally penis headed men; men that are leaded by their penis-heads in daily life. Still, this sharp criticism of Arslan, directed at man dominant perception can be read as the continuation of a phallus centered ideology. Arslan paints with a charm of phallus; he is not attracted to the phallus of humans, but to phalluses of other insects and other animals and even to "phallus worship in ancient cults."³⁶⁵

Arslan is an artist interested in words as much as drawings.³⁶⁶ That's why, looking only at his visual images would not be enough to understand the artist's works, we should also examine what he wrote. In his autobiography, Arslan has written these for the year 1937 (when he was 4 years old):

First memory: I've got long, blond and curly hair and they caress me like I'm a little girl. One day, In Eyup market place, I show everyone my "little thing" and yell "I'm a boy!"³⁶⁷

Same year, he watched animals and insects like horses, frogs and houseflies having intercourse and recorded these as "first lessons of sex"³⁶⁸ In 1958 he produced a series named *Phallisme* and attempted to start the *Phallisme* movement with Orhan Duru and Ferit Edgü, and for a while he signed his works with the name of *Comte de Phallus*.³⁶⁹ So we can conclude that Arslan's interest in phallus is totally a passion, and the reason Arslan is examined under the title *lack of critical awareness of masculinities* is not his passion, but his heteronormative attitude repeated in his paintings and statements.

Oliver Zybok, ed., *Yüksel Arslan: Artures* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012); Yüksel Arslan, *Defterler [Cahiers de Travail] : 1965-1994* (Ankara: Dost, 1996).

³⁶⁵ Jacques Vallet, "At the Side of 'L'Homme:' New Encounters with Arslan," in *A Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan*, ed. Levent Yılmaz, trans. Nazım Dikbaş et al., 301-405 (İstanbul: santralistanbul, 2009), 388.

³⁶⁶ Ali Artun, ed., "Preface," in Yüksel Arslan, *Defterler [Cahiers de Travail] : 1965-1994* (Ankara: Dost, 1996), 9.

³⁶⁷ Arslan, *Defterler [Cahiers de Travail]*, 15.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

³⁶⁹ Ferid Edgü'den aktaran Levent Yılmaz, ed., *Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan*, 18.

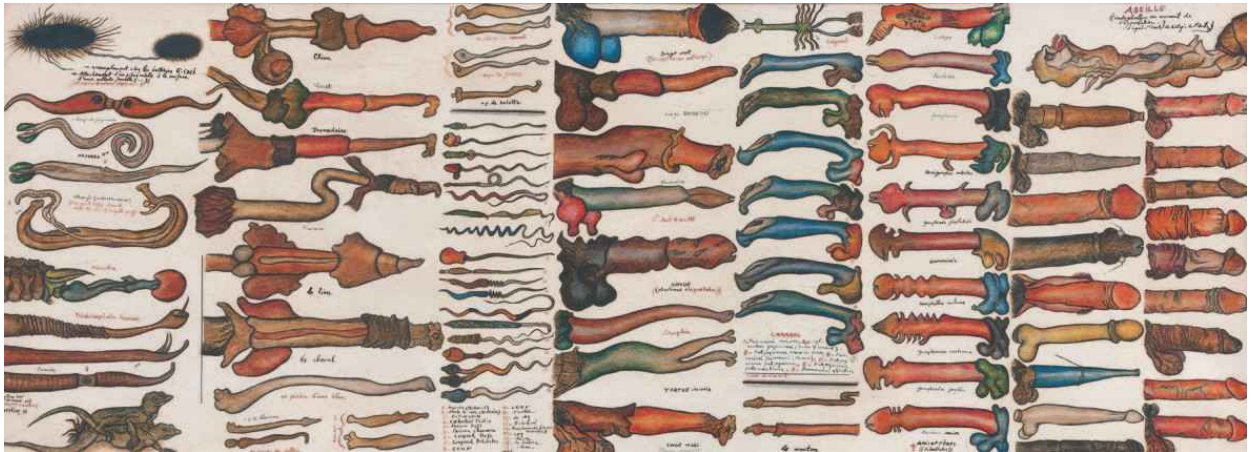


Fig 16. Yüksel Arslan, *Arture 441, Man 82: Furitti Frotta*, 1997. Mixed media on paper, 40 cm x 109.8 cm. Image is reproduced from *Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan, Catalogue*.

Arslan had a conversation on animals' sexual intercourses with Jacques Vallet and said "What can be more fantastic than a penis finding a vagina that is waiting for and wanting him too!"³⁷⁰ Looking at this expression, the sexuality described in heteronormative attitude and male dominant ideology repeated in Arslan's works gets easier to see. For example, in *Arture 509* (1998), 'homme' expressed with wood blocks demonstrates an erect wood block, and 'femme' demonstrates a horizontal and holey wood stock. It is obvious that in the painting, male and female are segregated with certain lines and this segregation is defined through penis and vagina. But not only this, Arslan also identifies plants and animals' sexual organs with humans'. Vallet, without questioning Arslan's heteronormative attitude, writes these:

He has come to the final point of his *Man* series with an arture on the subject of sexuality in plants. Pistils, stamens. Pistils look like a woman's sexual organ, with the idea in mind he has drawn the pistils as a series of vaginas. "I will compare them to the female organ; this is goint to be fun."

In other words, Arslan's works has a perspective that 'naturalizes' sexual organs,

³⁷⁰ Jacques Vallet, "At the Side of 'L'Homme:' New Encounters with Arslan," in *A Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan*, 384.

human sexuality and man dominant ideology. We do not encounter hermaphrodites or doubtful sexuality in *Arture 482* (1997), which is about how to harden a penis or keep it hard, or in *Arture 493* (1997) which involves men (of a primitive tribe?) gathering and playing with their erect penises – just like many other paintings of Arslan.



Fig. 17. Yüksel Arslan, *Arture 509, Man 150*, 1998, detail. Mixed media on paper, 37 cm x 35.5 cm. Image is reproduced from *Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan, Catalogue*.

Again, during their conversation, Vallet says, "You have completed your series in a veritable phallic frenzy. *Man* could be entitled 'Hands and Dicks!'"³⁷¹ During the same conversation, Arslan, who sees penises everywhere (signs on roads, lanterns, stelas etc.), describes penis as an extraordinary organ. Going back to the discussion of male dominant perception of Arslan's works and their place in male dominant ideology, we can say that although the series of *L'Homme* has raggedy women and pudenda in some places, is obviously dedicated to 'mankind', not 'humans' as it was translated to Turkish (*insan in Turkish: human*). It is a series dedicated to penis. And what is more, it's dedicated to a penis defined as 'erect' all the time, be it horizontal or vertical, and thus 'extraordinary'.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 387.



Fig. 18. Yüksel Arslan, *Arture 482, Man 123: Cures*, 1997. Mixed media on paper, 30 x 21 cm. Image is reproduced from *Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan, Catalogue*.

In another conversation with Arslan on the series *Man III* (1994-2000), we encounter the fact that sexuality is secluded into organs, the phallic is blessed, and there are expressions of sexual ‘instincts’ –to be more clear, instincts of male sexuality- (moreover, ‘the definition of instinct’ is accepted with no questioning).³⁷² Because of all these reasons, it gets hard to say that Arslan questions sex regimes and his own phallic, and produces opponent works to the present order of sex. But still, he is in a different gesture than other male artists: he reveals his own bodily practise and its problems. For example, *Arture 482* is related to his andropause and is about how to treat inability to become erect because of old age. After a research that they made with women and men in Turkey, Bora and Üstün concluded that while women face no problem related to their womanhood expressing the heavy supervision on their bodies and its results, but for men this kind of ‘confession’ contradicts with their role of man and talking about these things becomes harder than it’s

³⁷² Jacques Vallet, *Of Artures and Man*, in *A Retrospective of Yüksel Arslan*, 509-553.

for women.”³⁷³ Yüksel Arslan holds a different position than other male artists who say that they are criticising the ideology but he still uses its jargon when he he talks about his bodily problems by generalizing them. He doesn’t present his problems and his obsession with phallus as a criticism of manhood.

4.1.3.6. Batu Bozoğlu: *Be a Man!*

Finally let us talk about Batu Bozoğlu’s work named *Be A Man!* (2012) which he displayed in his personal exhibition *Homework: Make My Day*. This exhibition was based on the duties that audience assigns artist with and the actions an artist takes in response to these duties.³⁷⁴ The artist has recorded the actions he took in response to the duties he was assigned with and made a painting related to each homework and process. And for the homework of ‘being a man’, he wore woman’s clothings and went around in city (Istanbul). This gesture of Bozoğlu, in a way, can be read as what ‘being a man’ may come to mean. It a humorous work that questions the social structure of manhood. On the other hand, as one thinks it over, when he goes outside wearing woman’s clothing and a wig, meaning he goes around in the city as a transvestite / cross-dresser, he practices his homework of ‘being a man’. Like it was mentioned before, Turkey is a country with ongoing murders of and discrimination against LGBT; so, a man wearing woman’s clothes in public makes way for contempts and physical attacks. And what is interesting is that exactly for this reason, this action Bozoğlu performed reminds of another social meaning of being a man, ‘the courage’ or ‘the myth of courage’.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Bora and Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı*, 64. (The translation is mine.) “Kadınlar, bedenleri üzerindeki ağır denetimi ve bunun sonuçlarını ifade ederken kadınlık rolleriyle ilgili bir sorun yaşamazken, erkekler için böyle bir “itiraf,” erkeklik rolleriyle çelişebiliyor ve bu konudaki konuşmaları kadınlara göre çok daha güçleşiyor.”

³⁷⁴ Kasa Galeri, "Homework: 'Make My Day'," Kasa Galeri's web site, 2012, <http://kasagaleri.sabanciuniv.edu/portfolio/40/> (accessed June 25, 2013).

³⁷⁵ Chris Blazina, *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* (Westport, CT: Greenwood,2003), 25, 51.



Fig 19. Batu Bozoğlu, *Be A Man!*, 2012. Video, Video, 5 min. 32 sec., from the series *Homework: Make My Day*. Still image is reproduced from Kasa Galeri's web site, <http://kasagaleri.sabanciuniv.edu/portfolio/40/> (accessed June 25, 2013).

The question is if Bozoğlu strengthens masculinity myth by reproducing the bond between courage and being man instead of deconstructing masculinity and the gender concept. Does Bozoğlu queerizes masculinity or not? Does the artist try to turn the dominant one among the social gender identities to which he himself belongs, namely the identity of man as a political category, upside down? Regardless of the people's unaccustomed looks, Bozoğlu, walking about the city goes shopping for clothes, goes to the pubs with his girlfriends, dances and drinks. These rather sterile practices do not bear any clues for how Bozoğlu establishes a bond between being a cross-dresser and sexual orientation. Moreover, it should be noted that there was a camera accompanying him throughout this process. So people may have a question mark in their minds as to whether this process is fictional or not. Although Bozoğlu is in public space, this situation puts question marks in the minds in the relations he establishes as a cross-dresser with public space and people. Consequently, even though he got into the public space wearing woman clothes, it becomes difficult to claim that Bozoğlu, as a man, attempts to subvert the social construction of hegemonic masculinity and the gender norms of the society.



Fig 20. Batu Bozoğlu, *Be a Man!*, 2012. Mixed media on canvas, 80 x 60 cm, from the series *Homework: Make My Day*. Image is reproduced from Kasa Galeri's archive.

This work has a close resemblance with the aforementioned, phallus centered works as well. Another output of 'be a man' assignment is the painting Bozoğlu drew about the process he went through. In this painting, we see accessories such as woman clothes and lipstick which Bozoğlu used while disguising. At the right side of the painting, there are a penis from which semen drips (even a drop drips on the high heels) and balls giving the impression that they were pulled off/ripped off. The artist presents castration anxiety, that is the fear of losing masculinity and related power³⁷⁶ to the audience. It is possible to see this as a payoff of the artist with his masculinity, masculine perception he has. On the other hand, identification (and visual representation) of femininity with castration anxiety belongs to the masculine ideology.³⁷⁷ So does identification of wearing woman clothes with penis loss. There are also men who wear woman clothes, who like wearing woman clothes

³⁷⁶ Todd W. Reeser, *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 102-4. 148.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-4.

and does not feel as if lost his penis while wearing woman clothes.³⁷⁸ As a consequence, it can be suggested that Bozoğlu looks at being a man, cross-dressing and castration anxiety from a very masculine perspective and presents his performance in this way.

3.2. Conclusion

When considering men artists' artworks which discuss masculinity implicitly or explicitly (and in most of the examples, masculinity is discussed explicitly) in Turkey, it is possible to identify a number of problems as ideologies of masculine domination remain unquestioned. One of these problems is that although some works deal with related issues of masculinities, they do not put a particular emphasis on masculinities. It may not be perceived as a problem because sexist elements are not always found in this sort of works. Artists do not probe what people or practices in their works account for in the gender order. They also pass over the relation of their topics with their own or other masculinities (Öğüt and Özmen, *Coloring Book*, 2004; Özgen, *Adult Games*, 2004). However, when this act of 'passing over' turns into a 'man artist pattern' (Birsal, from *Sleep of Lead*, 1995 to *Grown In The Backyard*, 2012) particularly in the criticism of institutions such as military, which are directly based on masculinities, a more apparent deficiency of *critical masculinities* can be noted. This deficiency becomes more visible in artworks in which phallic elements are used but there are no other bonds established between gender regimes of institutions and the criticism of the artworks (Aksel, *Remembering/Do Not Remember!*, 2007 and *Forgetting*, 2009).

While probing the themes related to the components of the gender order such as sexuality and labor force, some men artists prefer to do it through women's bodies instead of using men's bodies. These works are not always sexist as well; for instance, they may be criticizing the violence against women (Koçyiğit, *Blue Side Up*, 2005). However, the

³⁷⁸ See stories about heterosexual cross-dresser in Peggy J. Rudd, *My Husband Wears My Clothes* (Katy, TX: PM Publishers, 1999). Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle's (eds.) *The Transgender Studies Reader* also contain essays that provide anti-normative perceptions about transgender issues.

deficiency of these works in terms of awareness of masculinities is that they remain silent in naming the perpetrator (man). The obscurity of whether the artist perceives the gender order as a 'men's problem' or not prevents the occurrence of critical awareness of masculinities in these works. Some works carrying women's bodies to galleries, position women with the ideology of masculine domination which is essentialist and misogynistic (Alptekin, *In Vagina Veritas*, 1999).

Nevertheless, it is not always possible to mention the strict lines and judgments. For example, *Untitled (Father's Advice)* (1995-2008) by Bülent Şangar, gives chance to be examined under the discussion of *masculinities* since it probes the relationship between two male family members (father and son). *Father's Advice*, which depicts the artist himself and his own father, also has a potentiality to refer artist's own masculinity and its relationship with other masculinities. As already discussed, it is important for men to make themselves visible. However, despite the possibility to make some attributions to the masculine ideology in this work and Şangar's other works, clear 'masculinities' discussions can not be traced in the statements of the artist and comments. The example of Şangar shows that some artists' intentions of whether to bring masculinities into question through their works are unclear but, on the other hand, it is impossible to claim that these artists do not indicate critical awareness of masculinities at all.

Some men artists criticize the power but do not realize that they use the masculine language of the power in these criticisms. In this type of works, we observe that masculine ideology is reproduced as a result of an insufficient masculinities questioning. In other words, criticized power/ideology partially reproduces itself over the masculine language of the artist. Even if these type of works threaten or humiliate power mechanisms with 'banging' (Altındere, *Fuck the Curator*, 2002; Çam, *Fuck A Work of Art*, 2002), even if they put penis into the center of humorous criticisms without questioning the fact that they actually attribute a ideological importance to it (Altındere, *Hard & Light*, 1999; Özkaya, *The Artist as Fountain*, 1999; Özkaya and Ögüt, *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons*, 2003), they all speak the sexist language of masculine ideology. Describing phallus as something 'extraordinary,' they sometimes portray the heteronormativity repeatedly (Arslan, *Arture 441*, 1997 and *Arture 509*, 1998). Maintaining the homophobic and trans-phobic masculine perspective, they sometimes believe that they subvert the ideology of masculine domination (Bozoğlu, *Be a Man!*,

2012).

Apparently, men artists will continue to be a part of misogynist, homophobic and heteronormative discourses of masculine language if they put their phallogocentric perspectives and their own positions in the gender order out of inquiry.

CHAPTER 5

RARE MASCULINITIES THAT TRY TO RUN OUT OF THE GENDER ORDER

In this chapter, artworks, which question male dominance, try to challenge the values of masculine ideology and offer alternative sexualities and masculinities, will be examined. The examined artworks are as follows: *Ruhuma Asla / Never My Soul* (2001) by Kutluğ Ataman, *Rainbow and Tedium* (2004) by Taner Ceylan, *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû* series (2004) by Murat Morova and *Boys' Club* (2004) by Erinc Seymen. If there are other masculinities-related critical works of above-mentioned artists, they will also be briefly touched upon, however, due to the limitations of the thesis, above-named works will be on the focus. The claim of the author is that these artists are rare and unique pacemakers who have presented *critical masculinity awareness* in the contemporary art scene in Turkey so far.³⁷⁹

5.1. Kutluğ Ataman: *Never My Soul*

Kutluğ Ataman artistically operates within the fluid transitions from femininity to masculinity, fiction and documentary, fictitious to real, hinting they are no antipodes, all of

³⁷⁹ It is an important detail that artists in this chapter were also assessed under 'queer analysis' before: meanings of this situation will be discussed in the conclusion chapter.

them are nothing but constructions. He is in favor of a postmodernist playfulness. Women, drags, transsexuals, and also men appear in his works. Sometimes *Women Who Wear Wigs* (1999) tell personal experiences of identity and gender, sometimes he disguises his body as a belly dancer (*Turkish Delight*, 2007).³⁸⁰ He puts not only his body but his personal life on display as well. Probably his most provocative work in the sense of critical masculinities is *Fiction [jarse]* (2011), in which he exhibits the report of disability for discharge from the military service.³⁸¹ In the report, homosexuality is the diagnosis of his disease/disability. The ruling given is that “he does not fit the military service in times of war and peace.”³⁸² More than revealing the discriminative and absurd basis of the military, he magnificently throws a curve at the institution. Since the report remarks that he is married to a man in June 2006, the Turkish army recognizes gay marriage officially. Even this report makes Kutluğ Ataman a rare case in Turkish contemporary art scene in terms of the critique of masculinities. However, in order to discuss in detail, another work of the artist is chosen: *Never My Soul* (2001).³⁸³

Although Ataman's intention in *Never My Soul* seems to be making a political comment on reality, its fictitious nature, and the problematic of documentation, his queerization of genres can be related to the queerization of identity. The artwork has been so far discussed within queer perspectives, yet the idea of constructed identities in the artwork carries a potential to move the discussion towards critical awareness of masculinities. Masculinities are directly or indirectly discussed in the film; and the artwork has a potential to identify, de-and-re-construct and/or play with the male identity and heteronormativity.

³⁸⁰ The Institute For The Readjustment of Clocks, "Works," Kutluğ Ataman's official website, <http://www.saatleriayarlamaenstitusu.com/site/artworks/worksList/> (accessed Jan 3, 2012).

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Elif İnce, "'Pembe Tezkere'ye Koğuş İşkencesi," *Radikal*, Apr 15, 2010, http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/pembe_tezkereye_kogus_iskencesi-1084969 (accessed Jan 3, 2012).

³⁸³ The Institute For The Readjustment of Clocks, "Works," Kutluğ Ataman's official website, <http://www.saatleriayarlamaenstitusu.com/site/artworks/worksList/> (accessed Jan 3, 2012).



Fig 21. Kutluğ Ataman, *fiction [jarse]*, 2011. Digital print. Still image is reproduced from Kutluğ Ataman's web site, <http://www.saatleriayarlamaenstitusu.com/site/artworks/work/230/> (accessed Jan 3, 2013).

5.1.1. Not 'Never' My Masculinity, You Can Have It Now and Then

Never My Soul (2001) may be considered at first sight as a commentary on sexual issues since a transvestite's life and sexuality is on the focus of the narrative. However, for Ataman, *Never My Soul* is a transitional experiment between fiction and documentary, a seek to blur and/or demolish the boundaries between these genres.³⁸⁴ The film "imitates both documentary and fiction, but it is neither of them."³⁸⁵ Even the very reason of

³⁸⁴ Levent Çalikoğlu, "Kutluğ Ataman: 'Hayatın Kendisinin Sanat Olduğunu Ortaya Çıkarmak İstiyorum,'" in *Sanat Dünyamız: Belge(sel)den Kurmacaya*, ed. Mine Haydaroğlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2005): 68-77.

³⁸⁵ "Never My Soul," in *Kutluğ Ataman: The Enemy Inside Me* (Istanbul: Istanbul Modern, 2011), 67.

choosing a transvestite as the leading character is related to the transition: “All roles and positions involved in filmmaking are shifted and parallaxed on purpose to such a degree that the work itself becomes a transvestite.”³⁸⁶

Never My Soul follows a serpentine narration method in order to achieve the ‘blur’ between the fiction and reality. First he interviewed for twelve days with his leading actress, Ceyhan Fırat Hazal. Later the recorded conversation was scripted and Hazal studied the text as an actress. Later the re-enactment of the scripted conversation was recorded. Nevertheless, Hazal's constructed reality occasionally fell back into an improvised one since she had forgotten her lines during the re-enactment. Finally, the two materials were intercut by Kutluğ Ataman.

The inspiration of the title of the artwork is the last part of “the cliché sentence the good-Turkish-girl character says to her rapist in many old Turkish movies, ‘You can have my body but never my soul!’”³⁸⁷ The first part of this sentence also inspired the subtitle above. “You can have” is applied as a reminder that it is possible to touch and play with so-called untouchable reality of society: man and its constructed characteristics. By not focusing on Ceyhan Hazal's appearance but her rare masculine moments and mainly the male figure, Jessie, the analysis will be a transition between the artwork's idea of constructed reality and another construction, the performance of masculinities.

5.1.2. Lives and Gender – In Forever Construction

Exhibited as one-channel film or six-channels installation, Ceyhan Fırat Hazal ‘stars’ in *Never My Soul* where she imitates the persona of Turkish super-diva Türkan Şoray and simultaneously her own persona. In the re-enactment of melodramatic plots of old Yeşilçam movies, Ceyhan acts together with an admirer of her, Jessie, who is defined by Ceyhan as an extra with an obvious humiliation carried throughout the entire film). Ceyhan makes parodic interpretations of Yeşilçam films and the role of women. Together with

³⁸⁶ The Institute For The Readjustment of Clocks.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

Jessie, she re-enacts the sexual moments of *Yeşilçam* that are all about honor and virginity. The scenes show stereotypical Turkish perception and its violent stance on gender. At the same time, Ceyhan talks about her own experience as an ‘outsider’ and tells her stories. Although Ceyhan's tragic events in her life are slightly different from what Türkan Şoray's characters face in *Yeşilçam*, both tragedies arise from the same reason: the practice of patriarchy.



Fig 22 & 23. Kutluğ Ataman, *Never My Soul!*, 2001. Video installation, single-screen version is approximately 3 hours, variable dimensions. Still images are reproduced from the website of Lehmann Maupin, <http://www.lehmannmaupin.com/> (accessed Jan 3, 2013).

She was born a boy, beaten up by her military father throughout her childhood for exhibiting 'effeminate' behaviour, taken to psychiatrists at the age of thirteen to cure her of her sexual 'deviance,' and later beaten and tortured by a notorious Istanbul police chief. Now living in Lausanne, her kidneys have failed and she is on dialysis. She has to make her living through prostitution.³⁸⁸

Ataman claims that his choice of a transvestite to act in *Never My Soul* is not related to his sexuality or his intention to show tragedies of transvestites. Actually a film, *The Fly*,³⁸⁹ in which a steak is transported but does not taste right afterwards, inspired Ataman. The idea behind that scene is what might happen after the 'transportation:' in the re-formed steak, the molecules are in the right place, however the taste has gone due to the lack of imperfection. Ataman followed the idea of "synthetic versus imperfect" and working with a transvestite fulfills his aim of rendering these two.³⁹⁰

Nonetheless, the issue of queer-phobia reappears occasionally, in the narration of Ceyhan or in the appearance of İlkay, Ceyhan's transvestite friend: "İlkay acts as a localizing agent, the conventional performative of localization, who tends to remind the spectator of the geographical reference and of the queer victims in that marked geography."³⁹¹ Gender roles and queer politics are observed and discussed in *Never My Soul*. In contrast (or in addition) to Ataman's intention not to create a film about sexuality, the film *is* about sexuality, patriarchy, and masculinity as well. The representation of masculinity brought in the film along with the presence of Jessie. Also there are few moments in which Ceyhan practices some type of masculinity, that will be mentioned below. Consequently, male identities also become a subject in *Never My Soul*.

Ceyhan's story mostly drags the audience to the queer issues and sometimes to the construction of woman identity. Ceyhan states that she is not a woman while she applies a

³⁸⁸ "Never My Soul," in *Kutluğ Ataman: The Enemy Inside Me*.

³⁸⁹ Ataman was inspired not by the re-make of David Cronenberg (1986) but the 1958-version: *The Fly*, dir. Kurt Neumann, written by George Langelaan (story) and James Clavell.

³⁹⁰ "De-regulation: Kutluğ Ataman and Irit Rogoff in conversation," video download from De-Regulation within the Work of Kutluğ Ataman, <http://www.de-regulation.org/node> (accessed Jan 1, 2012).

³⁹¹ Cüneyt Çakırlar, "Queer Art of Parallaxed Document: the Visual Discourse of Docudrag in Kutluğ Ataman's *Never My Soul!*," *Screen 52*, no. 3 (2011): 358.

depilatory cream on her legs. She mocks with her now-washed-and-become-purified-again blood when she lays down in a hospital bed for the dialysis. Nevertheless, Ceyhan also performs masculinity, not only in parodic ways but also as an exercise of patriarchy. Although the general unlimitedness of the artwork confuses the audience as to whether the intention behind a scene is a parody or not, some moments give the feeling of the reproduction of masculinity. For instance, in a scene she gets angry when Jessie, uses the hair dryer irresponsibly, without thinking that Ceyhan does not have a husband to pay the bills. It is possible to read this scene as a criticism of the gender roles. The same reading can also be done in another scene but it leaves question marks: Ceyhan shows her penis to Kutluğ Ataman when he refuses to buy her expensive coats. She shows her penis as a reaction of being angry. Is it a stance against assumed roles of transvestites and patriarchal body politics? Or is it a repetition of masculine violence reproducing the assigned meaning of violence and power of a penis, even it is done in a parodic way? The importance given to the size of a penis is also mentioned in *Never My Soul*. Interestingly, a later criticism of Ceyhan's queer friends on her reckless exposure of her “defective” body may start another discussion about the masculinities that queers might perform;³⁹² however, in order not to exceed the scope of the thesis, the analysis will continue with a focus on Jessie and what he represents in terms of masculine performativity.

Jessie's presence may be read as another form of parody on masculinities. He seems that he is in love with Ceyhan. An indiscreet passion that a man carries for a transvestite may be a short-circuit for heteronormativity. Homosexuality is perceived as contagious not only in a country such as Turkey,³⁹³ heterosexuality is the founder component of hegemonic masculinity worldwide and the homophobia is one of the construction strategies.³⁹⁴ Jessie's masculine appearance, which coheres hegemonic masculine performativity with his constant readiness for sex, disrupts the masculine strategies when he claims that he and Ceyhan forget the walls and it is a perfect world when they come together. “The sexuality between me and Ceyhan is the ‘top.’ Not only pleasure of the body, but of the soul,” says Jessie.

³⁹² Oray Eğin, "Ben Daha Kadınım," *Akşam*, <http://aksam.medyator.com/2010/10/13/yazar/4975/aksam/yazi.html> (accessed January 3, 2012).

³⁹³ This perception is exemplified in the research of Bora and Üstün, *Sıcak Aile Ortamı*, 30.

³⁹⁴ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, 294.

Ceyhan complains to Ataman about Jessie who was blackmailing her to have real sex with him, otherwise he would not play in the film. Interestingly, Ceyhan and Ataman talk every once in a while about the shootings of 'a film.' Ataman, in need of an actor, makes pressure on Ceyhan to call Jesssie. Ataman believes only eighteen beautiful songs are not enough to make a film. Another trouble is the issue that who shall take care of Jessie. Ceyhan does not even want to think of living together with a man like him in *real* life. Jessie causes small troubles during the shootings as well. He misunderstands Ataman and Ceyhan, and he expects that in the future they will shoot many porn movies together.

Ceyhan assigns different masculine roles to Jessie with different characters' names of Yeşilçam protagonists, such as Ekrem, and Kemal. Whatever his name is, Jessie is always ready to play in all these masculine roles: he can *pervert* innocent girls who desire to become an artist; he can *rape*; he can *deflower* and ruin the innocence of the innocent. Ceyhan says that for many men, like Jessie, it is a pleasure to do all that, but for her it is a tragedy. In those scenes, on the other hand, Ceyhan seems to be accepting her faith as it is inevitable; she even might enjoy with what is happening to her. The film creates another layer within its complex narrative and allows another fluid transition between good and evil: Jessie, carrying names of protagonists, acts as a villain; and Ceyhan, loosing her innocence, enjoys.

In hegemonic terms, it is “appropriate” to have a masculine desire for porn and/or “deflowering,” such as Jessie has. Jessie's performance of appropriate masculine practices is short-circuited when he gives pleasure to his *woman* by sucking her "willy." The constructed male identity is interrupted suddenly with a 'surprising' *blowjob* practice. Within the dialogue and sudden twists, the audience faces that not only the film is unstable but also the identity.³⁹⁵

Ataman's works, in which "specific sexuality as heterosexual women, transvestites and transsexuals take us through the complex details of their not unsimilar lives," point out that "femininity is unstable and is never determined by biology,"³⁹⁶ and at the same time that masculinity is unstable too. The political criticism is not stabilized as well. Ataman

³⁹⁵ "De-regulation: Kutluğ Ataman and Irit Rogoff in conversation."

³⁹⁶ Irit Rogoff, "Paralel Lives," in *A Rose Blooms in the Garden of Sorrows: Kutluğ Ataman (Catalogue)* (Amsterdam: Bawag, 2002): 11-16.

achieves the instability by making identities come across and then letting the discussion to be hold in decentralized layers of the narrative and narration. A search for a permanent truth is definitely avoided in these layers. Existing social contradictions and the contradictions of producing identity (identity politics) or films (authorship, manipulating) are all put into the discussion (or into the "game"), whereas the strategy which seemed to be utilized is that all the contradictions and political stance are subjected to a constant transitional float between the "centralized" and "decentralized," "fiction" and "real."³⁹⁷



Fig 24. Kutluğ Ataman, *Never My Soul!*, 2001. Still image is reproduced from the website of Lehmann Maupin, <http://www.lehmannmaupin.com/> (accessed Jan 3, 2013).

³⁹⁷ T. J. Demos, "Kutluğ Ataman: The Art of Storytelling," in *Kutluğ Ataman: The Enemy Inside Me*, ed. Birnur Temel, 30-7 (Istanbul: Istanbul Modern, 2011), 33.

Politics for opposing to gender regime by -heterosexual- men can also be traced in Ataman's artworks because of his parodic approach to masculinity and his short-circuits on patriarchal discourse. It may be claimed that with the realization of that the identity is a "work-in-progress,"³⁹⁸ not only queer but male identities of the audience are invited to join this *forever* ongoing process with a consciousness of the *fictions* of hegemonic masculinity.

5.2. Gay Bodies of Taner Ceylan and Murat Morova

As stated above, hegemonic masculinity refuses and scorns sexual orientations other than the heterosexuality which is constructed upon 'woman and man,' 'vagina and penis' dualisms and determined by breeding confined with biology. From this perspective, homophobia is one of the founder components of masculine dominance as well. For these reasons, it can be estimated that the artworks opposing to heteronormativity have a destructive effect on the construction of masculinities which is to be approved by masculine dominance. The artworks of Taner Ceylan and Murat Morova shall be examined not only because they represent homosexual bodies, they will also be examined within the frame of the criticism they offer to heteronormativity.

5.2.1. Taner Ceylan: *Rainbow and Tedium*

Taner Ceylan, in one of his articles in which he probes the relation between his art practice and homosexual identity, writes as follows: "That women and homosexual artists can not show their existence and become visible in the history of art is one of the most important flaws of this history."³⁹⁹ According to him, in contemporary art scene of Turkey,

³⁹⁸ "De-regulation: Kutluğ Ataman and Irit Rogoff in conversation."

³⁹⁹ Taner Ceylan, "Otoporte: Sanat, Emek ve Eşcinsellik," in *Cinsellik Muamması*, 481-502, 481. (The translation is mine.) "Kadın ve eşcinsel sanatçıların sanat tarihindeki varlık

hiding “homosexual community” came out of their cage by 2000s and in our day, “finding a gallery” for homosexual artists “has become ordinary”.⁴⁰⁰ Nevertheless, exhibition of Ceylan's double self-portrait captioned *Taner Taner* (2003) resulted in his dismissal from his job (instructor) in Yeditepe University. In this self-portrait, Ceylan portrays himself making love to himself: the artist has anal sex with himself in the portrait. Art community stood by the redundant Ceylan and the university was protested.⁴⁰¹ On the other side, if a homosexual man’s overt demonstrations of himself having anal sex with himself causes him to lose his job, it can be understood that presentation of homosexual bodies, more precisely homosexual intercourse to audience still can not be accepted easily in Turkey.



Fig 25. Taner Ceylan, *Taner Taner*, 2003. Oil on canvas, 54 x 33 cm. Still image is reproduced from the catalogue, *Taner Ceylan: 1997-2009* (İstanbul: Galerist, 2011).

gösterememesi ve görünürlük kazanamaması bu tarihin en önemli açıklarından biridir."

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 481-2, 501.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 484.

According to Dan Cameron, Taner Ceylan is an artist who, assembling beautiful objects, makes collection.⁴⁰² It is possible to observe (homo-)sexual invitation in male subjects' eyes and manner of presentation in his paintings such as *Eren* (1999), *Marvin* (2000), *Samoah* (2000), *Nazım* (2001).⁴⁰³ Cameron remarks that, that Ceylan represents the subjects in a way that does not try to make them look confident and heterosexual conflicts with the "stereotypical cliché that man-to-man lust is something dirty and does not worth being represented."⁴⁰⁴ By holding up the Ceylan's paintings as example, he explains that "the gay tradition of male eroticism, by contrast, has always rejected coy, heteronormative games of titillation and concealment."⁴⁰⁵

Taner Ceylan's self-portrait *Sıkıntı ve Gökkuşacağı / Rainbow and Tedium* (2004), in which he again portrays himself in duplicate, does not only put forward an opposite representation of heteronormative representation; it also deconstructs the sexuality perception which depends on masculine ideology to a large extent. What is being discussed in this painting is not only homoeroticism; artist is in an unusual relationship with his own body: helies down on his own body, sharing his spit with his other self. Dan Cameron expresses how efficient this painting is in destroying taboos as follows:

In *Rainbow and Tedium*, Ceylan has created a visual sequel to his infamous 2003 double self-portrait engaged in anal intercourse. This time he has focused on a different aspect of male-male sexuality -the erotic exchange of saliva- and produced an image of such unsettling intimacy that our awareness of the artist's self-depiction as his own sexual partner accentuates the disquiet stirred by his flaunting of a taboo that most of us never knew existed until it is before our eyes. The artist has accomplished this without any explicit rendering of sex -as the word is generally understood- transforms the painting into a kind of performative triumph, more provocative than the exhibitionistic *Adam Entering Me* [2005], which shows a highly buffed and waxed version of the artist, facing us as he straddles a blond man lying face up on his towel.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Dan Cameron, "We Who Don't Know Who We Are" in *Taner Ceylan: 1997-2009*, 7-17 (İstanbul: Galerist, 2011), 10.

⁴⁰³ *Taner Ceylan: 1997-2009*.

⁴⁰⁴ Cameron, "We Who Don't Know Who We Are," 13.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.



Fig 26. Taner Ceylan, *Rainbow and Tedium 'Double Self-Portrait'*, 2004. Oil on canvas, 32 x 50 cm. Still image is reproduced from the catalogue, *Taner Ceylan*.

Exhibitionism, Cameron mentions referring to *Adam Entering Me*, shows up in *Taner Taner* as well. Unlike his previous double self-portrait, In *Rainbow and Tedium*, although there is no disclosure of anal sex or penis, in fact maybe for the very reason, a strong anti-heteronormative sexuality overflows out of the portrait.” Painting prepossesses audience not only in terms of man-to-man sexuality, but also in the sense of the relation of human with their own bodies. Moreover, Ceylan carries out this ‘prepossession’ via the representations of his own body and masculinity. As a critic states, Ceylan “protects his identity via his own body.”⁴⁰⁷ This identity is a homosexual identity and represents a masculinity free from hegemonic masculinity. Concerning the paintings in which he portrays himself in duplicate in a sexual intercourse, it can be suggested that especially in *Rainbow and Tedium*, Ceylan offers anti-heteronormative policies using his own body.

⁴⁰⁷ Mine Haydaroğlu, "Taner Ceylan Bireyin, Resmin, Tarihin Aurasını Yakalıyor," *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 128 (2012): 83-98, 83.

5.2.2. Murat Morova: *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû*

We witness a homosexual 'love' or rather a 'forbidden love' hidden among the calligraphies in *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû* (2004) series by Murat Morova: because the title of the series means "oh, from the hands of forbidden love."⁴⁰⁸ "In cluttered, scattered letters of Ottoman alphabet," we witness that a man touches another man, caresses him, kisses him and 'unites' with him. These bodies are hiding inside of letters maybe because their bodily practices are banned. Belki de yasaklandığı için harflerin arasına gizlenmiş iki beden... On the other side, Cihat Arınç who wrote an analysis on Morova's calligraphies, claims that these calligraphies directly represent 'desire' rather than body.⁴⁰⁹ While transferring the tension of a forbidden love/desire onto the paper, Morova addresses to "concealing, confining nature" of Islamic calligraphy.⁴¹⁰ Of course desire's being forbidden results from the fact that it does not conform the heteronormative order. The artist who communicates a social prohibition through an institutional prohibition (referencing the abolishment of the use of Ottoman Turkish alphabet in 1928) to the audience both refers to the socially hidden and forgotten history⁴¹¹ and indicates institutional and individual cooperation of masculine ideology.

In Islamic mysticism in Morova's works, when focused solely on what these works say about masculinities and which discussions they bring forward without touching upon layers⁴¹² such as East-West distinction or synthesis, something more than hiding the homosexual love/sexuality because social norms exclude it. According to Ceylan, Morova, produces considerably symbolical works on this subject.⁴¹³ There are no other analysis on the relation between gender regimes and masculinities in Morova's own statements or the

⁴⁰⁸ Cihat Arınç, "Lamelif'in Kollarında Yatmak: Harflerin D/okunma Arzusu," in *Cinsellik Muamması*, 503-540, 535.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 509.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 533-5.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 540.

⁴¹² Şule Çizmeçi, "Aşk Coğrafyasında," *Radikal*, Dec 4, 2004, http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=cts&haberno=4074 (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

⁴¹³ Ceylan, "Otoporte," 484.

criticisms on his works. Still, that artist brings forward a counter discussion for heteronormative order through his *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû* series is remarkably important.

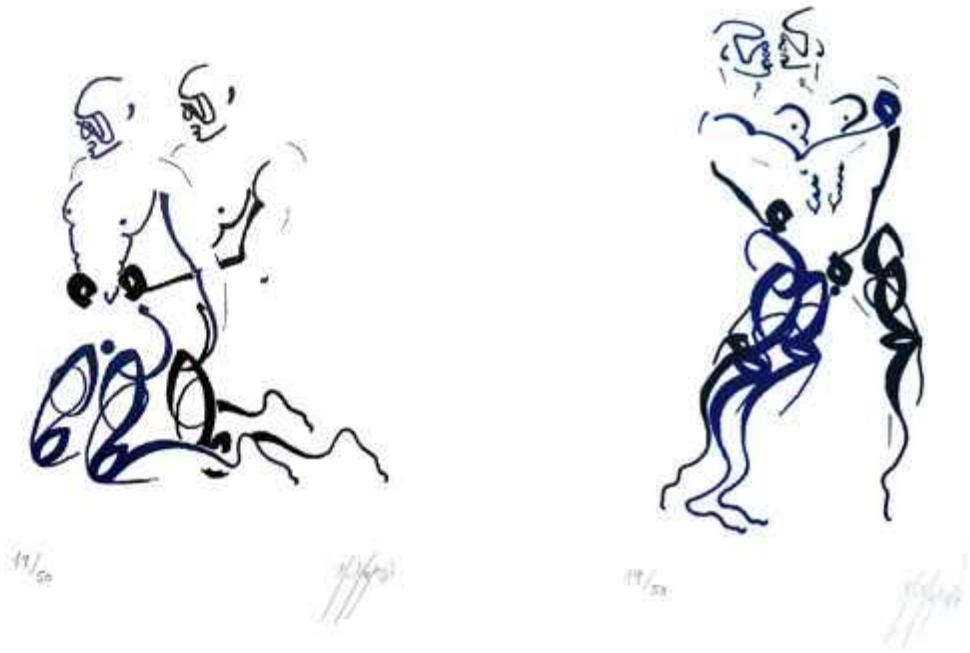


Fig. 27 & 28. Murat Morova, from the series *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû*, 2004. Silk screen, 50 x 35 cm. Still images are reproduced from the website of Galeri Nev, <http://www.galerinev.com/en/sanatcilar/detay/23/murat-morova> (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

5.3. Erinç Seymen: *Boys' Club*

Erinç Seymen does not only portray engendering practices of everyday life, he even hires somebody to 'shoot' in order to 'portray.' His art, in which “militarism, nationalism, heteronormativity and masculinity intersect” within local and global everyday life repetitions, offers counter-maneuvers of the politics of pleasure against the politics of patriarchy.⁴¹⁴ The repetitions in “violent nature of power claiming entities” are interfered by or observed through “non-normative sexual practices.”⁴¹⁵ It can be claimed that his clear definitions for hegemonic power over masculine practices and his correlations between militarism and daily masculine practices (for instance in *Daddy*, *Untitled*, *Portrait of Pasha*, *Sweet Memories I and II*, and *Alliance*),⁴¹⁶ differentiate Seymen from many other men artists in Turkey. After a brief overview of his artistic approaches that present a solicitous state of being in between of agency and passivity, *Boys Club* (2004) will be analyzed in order to discuss his appropriation of both the public space and 'the personal is the political' concept, as well as the gaze, regarding the gender regime.

⁴¹⁴ Cüneyt Çakırlar, "Vicdanen, Tersten: Erinç Seymen'in Çileci Sanatı," in *Cinsellik Muamması*, 558-9. For a detailed analysis of Seymen's queerizing approach, a reading on *Portrait of a Pasha* in English, see C. Çakırlar, “Queer Art of Sodomitical Sabotage, Queer Ethics of Surfaces: Embodying Militarism and Masculinity in Erinç Seymen's Portrait of a Pasha (2009),” *Nowiswere: Contemporary Art Magazine*, no. 5 (2009): 38-43.

⁴¹⁵ Erden Kosova, “Technologies of Otherness” in *Erinç Seymen* (İstanbul: Galerist, unspecified date), 2-17.

⁴¹⁶ The artworks discussed in this text except the *Boys Club* are displayed at <http://www.rampaistanbul.com/artists/erinc-seymen/selected-works/> and http://www.rampaistanbul.com/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/06/erinc_seymen.pdf (accessed Jan 17, 2013). The details of the works (respectively): *Daddy*, 2011, ink pen on paper, 100 x 70 cm; *Untitled*, 2010, car paint, aluminium, steel and fiberglass, 179.2 x 186 x 48 cm; *Sweet Memories I-II*, 2008, ink pen on paper, 100 x 70 cm; *Portrait of a Pasha*, 2009, approx. 1000 bullet holes on wooden board, 220 x 170 cm; *Alliance*, 2009, embroidery on fabric, 150 x 112 cm.

5.3.1. Seymen's Observation on and Critical Participation to Masculinity

His 'daddy' portrait with a military cap and a bunch of freaky eyes instead of other features on the face (*Daddy*, 2011) reaches out to "a reproach of the violence both of the nation state and the Oedipal family structure on which it has typically been modeled."⁴¹⁷ A synthetic construction due to the cubist background of the portrait meets an organic growth via saprophytic permeation. The feeling of the pervasion of decay is aroused by quasi-moldy and quasi-herbaceous patterns that are spread on the outfit. Is it the coexistence of the obvious and the hidden? The idea of big brother simultaneously matches up and collides with the idea of camouflage arising from the usage of color and pattern.

Related concepts of military and police violence, sexuality, and even sadomasochist pleasures constantly reappear in Seymen's works: as a big pink bomb sculpture with butterfly wings (*Untitled*, 2010) or as details in elaborate drawings of violent memories (*Sweet Memories I and II*, 2008). *Portrait of a Pasha* (2009), which is done by bullet-holes, is a portrait of Zeki Müren and it reflects a history of Turkish society within indispensable intersection of militarism, masculinity, and otherization. Although Zeki Müren, the Turkish diva of 60s-80s, was acting like a transsexual on the stage, his sexual orientation was never publicly discussed or announced. Müren was (and still is) highly respected artist in Turkey, in a patriarchal society where his silent acceptance/rejection and worshiping/derision may point to a schizophrenic social construction.⁴¹⁸ Seymen's artwork is inspired from an anecdote/rumor between Zeki Müren and Kenan Evren. Cüneyt Çakırlar tells the story as:

...in the late 1980s, the Turkish general Kenan Evren, who led the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, encountered the popular Turkish music icon known widely as 'the Pasha of Art', Zeki Müren, who was a much respected performer – well-

⁴¹⁷ Amy Sherlock, "Erinç Seymen," *Frieze Magazine*, Jan 9, 2013 <http://www.frieze.com/shows/review/eric-seymen/> (accessed January 17, 2009).

⁴¹⁸ For a detail analysis on Zeki Müren, see: Martin Stokes, "The Tearful Public Sphere: Turkey's 'Sun of Art' Zeki Müren," in *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, ed. Tullia Magrini, (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 307-328.

known for his extravagant costumes on stage and his mannered queer performance. This encounter was followed by a conversation initiated by the general's curiosity about the honorary title bestowed on Müren by the Turkish public, namely pasha, a title reserved under the Ottoman sultanate for high-ranking military personnel. Evren asked Müren why this symbolic title had been given to him. After some hesitation, and at the general's insistence, Müren answered the question: 'This nation was so angry about what you did during the military coup, but they couldn't be very open with their anger. Rather than calling you and your colleagues faggots (ibne), they called me pasha.'⁴¹⁹

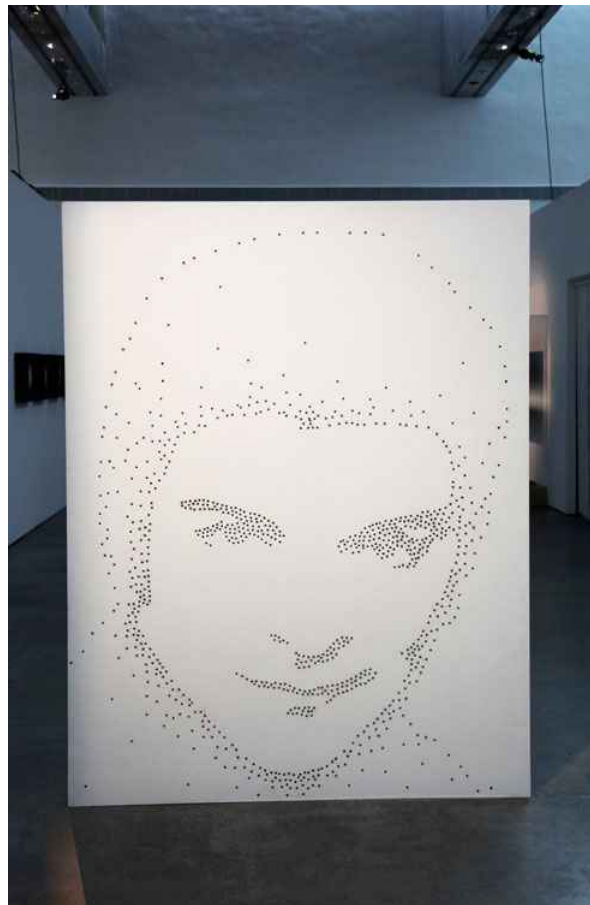


Fig 29. Erinç Seymen, *Portrait of a Pasha*, 2009. Approximately 1000 bullet holes on wooden board, 220 x 170 cm. Still image is reproduced from the website of Rampa, <http://www.rampaistanbul.com/artists/erinc-seymen/selected-works/> (accessed Jul 1, 2013).

⁴¹⁹ Çakırlar, "Queer Art of Sodomitical Sabotage," 38.

Çakırlar defines Seymen's gesture as a conveyance of artist's power, the artwork is embodied with the drills of the trigger man. Consequently, first, hegemonic militarist discourse is defeated since 'shooting' brings into existence what it wants to annihilate, and second, the artist's domination on the work is conscientiously defeated with the evacuation of agency.⁴²⁰ Nonetheless, hiring someone to pull the trigger is not easy to read as an evacuation of agency. Does it more or less resemble undertaking a practice of masculinity? Seymen portrays the heteronormativity and hypocrisy of the construction process of the nation through one of the most popular queer figures (who left his legacy to a military foundation, Mehmetçik Vakfı),⁴²¹ however, the militancy seems still be there. According to Seymen, it is *irrational* to declare social movements, which may seem as offensive but are necessary for social changes with their vital importance, as 'guilty'.⁴²² Both the production and the destruction are embodied by a 'gun' in *Portrait of a Pasha*, and the designer of the process, namely the artist, is the agent of this embodiment with his *rationality*, even the gun is not in his hands.

Seymen's artistic observations do not only circulate and intersect the institutions of the gender regime, but allow audience to anticipate new propositions of critical participation in terms of queer politics: in *Alliance*, 2009, two figures on a black flag suffer/enjoy an anal penetration on the two edges the same object. His statement on *Alliance* clearly indicates his awareness of the relationship between militarism, masculinity, and the heteronormativity beyond. It seems as a rare encounter in Turkish art scene amongst men artists.

I don't object to the impression that *Alliance* is a critical work on militarism, patriarchy and/or homophobia; I would feel pleasure from such an impression/inspiration as well. Nonetheless, I have to emphasize that is possible a contingent reading of the artwork. In *Alliance* it could be very well asserted that two bodies (two captives, two victims of torture, two experimenters, if you wish) experience a non-hetero-or homo-normative penetration, which is disposed of masculinity. Double sided dildo does not have to be a jackknifed phallic force. If this object is understood by a macho

⁴²⁰ Çakırlar, "Vicdanen, Tersten," 583-4.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 567.

⁴²² Dinçer Şirin, "Erinç Seymen: Dikkat Eşiğinin Sınırlarında [On the Edges of Attention]", *XOXO The Mag*, November 2012, http://www.rampaistanbul.com/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/11/xoxo27_erincensun_yeni_21_101.pdf (accessed Jan 17, 2013).

who suffers from the phallocratic mentality, as a punishment toy for possessing two women/men or two holes in his harem, let's disappoint that macho. You have to doubt your great phallus is no longer needed! Whilst you think your power is disseminated and consolidated in opposite directions, on the contrary, maybe those two holes are melting your power by swallowing and digesting it. Let's kill Freud, but also give him his due: Yes, every man, who believes his potency materializes in his penis, should be afraid of a hole. Because the hole might transform into a vacuum in which the potency vanishes. And finally, "victims" might triumph in unexpected methodologies.⁴²³



Fig 30. Erinç Seymen, *Alliance*, 2009. Embroidery on fabric, 150 x 112 cm. Still image is reproduced from an artist booklet (İstanbul: Rampa, 2012).

⁴²³ Çakırlar, "Erinç Seymen's Queer Art." (The translation is mine.) "İttifak'ın militarizme, ataerkiye ve/ya homofobiye yönelik eleştirel bir yapıt olduğu izlenimine itirazda bulunmadığım gibi, bu tür bir izlenim/esinlenmeden haz duyacağımı belirtmeliyim. Bununla beraber yaptımın olumsal bir okumasının mümkün olduğunu vurgulamalıyım. İttifak'taki iki beden (ya da derseniz iki tutsağın, iki işkence mağdurunun, iki deneycinin, iki sevdalının) pekâlâ da erillikten kurtulmuş, hetero- ya da homo-normatif olmayan bir penetrasyon gerçekleştirdikleri öne sürülebilir. Çift taraflı dildo, ikiye katlanmış fallik kuvvet olmak zorunda değildir. Eğer bu nesne fallokratik zihniyetten muzdarip maşist bir erkek tarafından iki kadını/erkeği ya da iki deliği birden haremimde zaptetmek için kullanacağı yeni ceza oyuncağı olarak algılanıyorsa, gelin o maşisti hayal kırıklığına uğratalım: Senin muhteşem fallusuna ihtiyaç kalıp kalmadığından şüphe etmelisin! Sen iktidarının zıt istikametlerde yayılıp pekiştirildiğini düşünürken, bilakis, belki de o iki delik iktidarını yutup hazmederek eritmektedir. Freud'u ödürelim ama hakkını da verelim: Evet, iktidarının penisinde cisimleştiğine inanan her erkek bir delikten korkmalıdır, zira o delik iktidarının kaybolup gideceği bir vakuma dönüşebilir. Ve son olarak: "kurbanlar" beklenmedik yöntemlerle zafer kazanabilirler."

One might assert that Seymen's statement opens a new critical space, even an activist one that might 'melt' the phallogocentric power of macho artworks, such as *Hard & Light*, *Fuck A Work of Art*, *The Turkish Monument That Carries Eleven Watermelons*, by 'swallowing and digesting' their hierarchical conceptualization of phallus and the hole. It is not positioning only the pleasure from phallus to holes, but also the assigned potency from putting in to taking in.

5.3.2. Streets are *Boys' Club*

Going a little back in the artist's career, the subject of engendering practices of public space is encountered: *Boys Club* (2003-2004). It is a series of pictures of the street corner across the artist's flat. The pictures are taken in a year and a half. Time passes by, cars pass by, and the invaders / owners of the corner change too. Nevertheless, one characteristic of the invaders remains: their gender. Being a boy.

The reason of choosing *Boys' Club* but not the ones aforementioned in order to focus on Seymen's awareness, is the artist's choice of subject. Besides *Boys' Club* is a less known and discussed work of Seymen, *Boys' Club* may be perceived as another differentiation of Seymen from other men artists in Turkey, in whose works masculine engendering practices of public space are rare to be encountered. *Boys' Club*, despite its connection to artist's interest in gender, also differentiates itself from later works of Seymen since the experience of the spectator does not depend on extreme details but is left to some low resolution images, sudden captures of the street corner across the artist's balcony. According to Erden Kosova, *Boys' Club* is an example of Seymen's "two contiguous interests:"

First, what is observed is the ways in which young men emerging out of adolescent years with a testosterone filled energy spatially appropriate the public space and codify the street by their gender. Beside the socio-critical curiosity, the gaze on boys also expresses a homoerotic voyeurism without much hesitation.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Kosova, "Technologies of Otherness," 13.

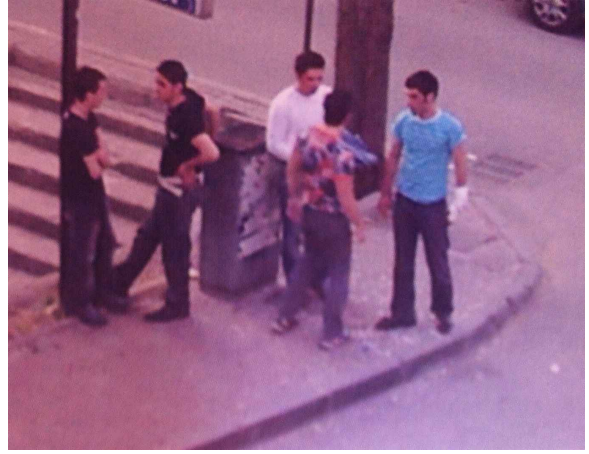
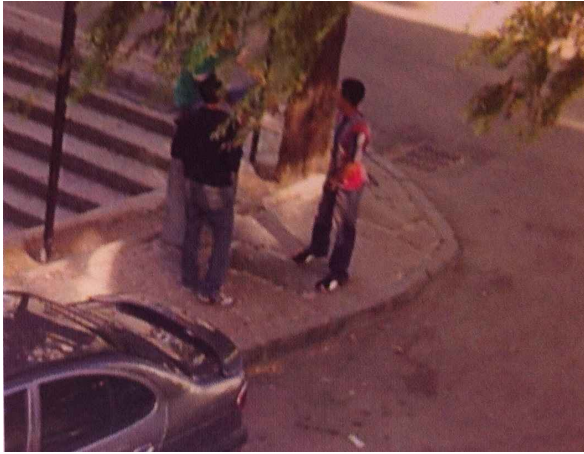


Fig 31, 32 & 33. Erineç Seymen, *Boys Club*, 2009. Digital Photographs, dimensions variable. Still images are reproduced from the catalogue, entitled *Erineç Seymen* (İstanbul: Galerist, unspecified date).

Although Kosova called the interests of Seymen as 'contiguous,' it is possible to see the transformation of his later works into a *more* queer state. His “socio-critical look” and homoeroticism (but not specifically the voyeurism) remain to produce new queer maneuvers. *Alliance's* probable offerings on the politics of pleasure can be an example for such maneuvers.

The combination of “appropriating the public space” and “testosterone” in Kosova's reading might remind us dogs and wild cats which piss to mark their territory. Nevertheless, there might be a risk in using the word 'testosterone.' It might indicate a biological basis and cause an essentialist understanding. Not the biological but social constructions lead the boys to the corner. They are able to exist in that public space by invading the space due to the engendered practices. Do the boys appear on that corner on account of biological changes, or, on account of the territorial heritage provided by the masculine domination?

In one of those pictures of *Boys' Club*, we see a flirtation, which is of course heterosexual. There is a boy and a girl flirting one another, or at least one might assume that they flirt. Although there is the appearance of a girl, the title, *Boys' Club*, points at thick borders of the street. The corner of the street is a club for men. The public space is reserved for men. A spatial appropriation of a girl is not likely to be realized. The audience might sense that the girl has not brought the boy to the corner, but he has brought her to *his*. Even though we cannot know the truth from the balcony, artist's statement is clear with the title. Interestingly enough, we see many boys throughout the year and a half but they do not touch each other sexually – at least artist could not catch it. It means that the public territory of experiencing flirtations seems to allow only heterosexual flirts.

Seymen turns the personal into political. First, personal of boys reflect the social settlements. Second, maybe more importantly, the personal of boys create also the personal of the artist. The personal of the artist is remaining home and having a homoerotic gaze. There is the feeling of the exclusion of homoeroticism from the public space. Boys invade the public space but allowed only in heterosexual terms. The public space is not only an area of masculine education for boys, but also a heteronormative one. It is possible for them to come together in public, share and discuss their practices within masculine roles, probably with a lack of awareness of critical masculinities.

5.4. Conclusion

In the examples examined in this chapter, we see that men artists mostly emphasize queer and/or homosexual bodies and offer counter strategies to heteronormativity. Sometimes, the new possibilities that one can establish through his/her own body in the heteronormative gender order are offered (Taner Ceylan, *Rainbow and Tedium*), and other times the relations between the gender order and its forbidden loves are examined (Murat Morova, *Âh Min'el Aşk-ı Memnû*). Not only homosexual bodies, but also the bodies which are difficult to be placed in the dualism of 'woman and man,' or 'homosexual and heterosexual' dualisms challenge people's perceptions which are shaped within the framework of the gender order (Erinç Seymen, *Alliance*; Kutluğ Ataman, *Never My Soul!*). The artists also touch upon other issues such as militarism, nationalism and public space. The militarist or nationalist politics of the state are related to the construction of masculinities (Ataman, *Fiction [jarse]*; Seymen, *Alliance*). It is possible to come across works which slightly move beyond sexuality discussions and in which the artist discusses the relation between the politics of public space and masculinities through his political 'personal' (Seymen, *Boys Club*).

It can be claimed that the common ground in the artworks presenting critical awareness of masculinities in Turkish contemporary art is the discourses developed especially against heteronormativity from the components to which hegemonic masculinity is related. Concordantly, all of the artists and most of the works (except Seymen's *Boys' Club* and Ceylan's *Rainbow and Tedium*) mentioned in this chapter are touched upon in the collection named *Cinsellik Muamması*, which was prepared under the editorship of Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice.⁴²⁵ In the articles from the collection, rather than the criticism of masculinities, queer policies offered by the artworks constitute the main focus. According to the evaluation carried out within the scope of the thesis, that the artists who present critical awareness of masculinities are the ones spotted only under the 'queer analysis' can stem from two reasons: either the research is lacking and some works have gone unnoticed, or men artists in Turkish contemporary art can only reach the critical

⁴²⁵ Çakırlar and Delice, "Cinsellik Muamması."

awareness of masculinities if they are intertwine with queer policies.⁴²⁶ However, if the latter reason is valid, the problem of ‘inclusion’ can be opened to discussion: it is apparent that some masculinities-related issues, which have their own gendered structures and cannot be ignored by the politics of critical masculinities (such as domestic labor, labor force, capitalism, and family), are still not being discussed within the context of masculinities by men artists in contemporary art scene of Turkey.

⁴²⁶ As explained in the second chapter, although critical masculinity studies intertwine with feminist, LGBT and queer policies, they still appear as a distinct academic/ activist field.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS NEW SUBVERSIVE STRATEGIES

Gender regimes, granting privilege to men, shape the field of art, as they do other aspects of life. The distinction between artist and woman artist, in other words, emphasizing who is woman by taking the position of man as almost the origin of being, i.e. the norm, is the result of the ‘othering’ effect of masculine domination. It is also an indicator of ongoing gender discrimination in the art world. It is necessary for men artists to see that their gender is taken granted as the norm and they fall into the social and political 'category of men,' regardless to their sexual orientation. Men should start realizing the situation and questioning their own complicity. Gender discrimination seems to continue unless men count the gender order as their own problem. Because, no matter which masculinity they perform, men are the 'primary beneficiary' against women and transsexuals in the gender order in which they obtain their privileges as a result of masculinist discrimination and violence.

6.1. Conclusions

As a result of the examination of the works of men artists in Turkish contemporary art, the conclusions reached are as follows:

First of all, it is observed that, even though there is abundant content related to masculinities, men artists rarely engage the issue of masculinities with a critical awareness in their artworks and statements. The artists almost never establish a bond between their own masculinities and the subjects they deal with. They almost never discuss or problematize masculinities even if they criticize discrimination and violence in their works. Many of them in fact maintain heteronormative, homophobic, trans-phobic and misogynistic discourses of masculine dominance.

Secondly, the fact that the masculinities produced by men artists in visual or written language are not being criticized by other men artists, curators, and critics again indicates the art world's deficiency of critical awareness of masculinities. The conceptualization of 'plural' masculinities is not recognized in the debates over contemporary art; and in rare discussions, there are brief references to a singular masculinity (the form of hegemonic). Insufficient criticisms on masculinities lead to the perception that Turkish contemporary art world does not have a problem with masculinities. One might relate this situation to Serpil Sancar's detection on "occupied middle-class men" in Turkey: "except for 'rhetorical' statements, the gender order is not an issue that is thoroughly and truly comprehended by men and, in the same time, this situation causes men to remain insensitive to the masculinity experiences they go through."⁴²⁷

Thirdly, in the rare examples which question the values of masculine hegemony over masculinities and offer possibilities of challenging this hegemony, this research suggests that this challenge remains limited to the realms of sexuality and militarism. Other realms of masculinist hegemony remain largely unproblematized. In the works of artists whose own practices of sexuality or sexual identification conflict with heteronormativity, homophobia and trans-phobia are criticized and/or male body is fictionalized as a homoerotic object. Politics are offered in order to subvert hetero-norms. A level of critical awareness of masculinities can be identified in such works, presumably developed under the influence of the artists' sensibility brought along with hetero-sexist oppressions. Nevertheless, it is hardly possible to find criticisms over their own or other masculinities within the frameworks of other realms of the gender order, such as labor, family, religion,

⁴²⁷ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, 304-5. (The translation is mine.) '...'retorik' sözler dışında gerçekten ve derinlemesine kavranılmış bir mesele olmadığını ve bu durumun aynı zamanda erkeklerin kendilerinin yaşadığı erkeklik deneyimlerine duyarsız kalmalarına yol açtığını..."

and language. Men's economical, psychological, emotional, and verbal violence against men, women, and trans individuals are almost invisible in the artworks of men artists and related discussions.

In conclusion, one should note that there have been very few researches conducted on masculinities in Turkey. There is almost no discussion or research on the relations of men actors of contemporary art scene with masculinities and gender order. In order to develop the discussion of critical awareness of masculinities, there should be other researches dealing with this issue.

6.2. Towards New Subversive Strategies

Apart from the conclusions above, I would finally like to discuss possibilities for a new politics that men artists can develop against gender regimes. Not coming across with any work, which deals with the privileges or advantages men artists obtain thanks to the gender order in the research is not accidental; it rather indicates that men do not problematize their privileges. For the very reason, I claim that, that men realize the advantages and privileges which they have is essential for a policy against gender regime. In this point, men should open their perpetration into questioning. Can an emphasis by men artists on the fact that they are 'men,' be a counter strategy against masculine domination that sets "he" as the norm, the 'null subject,' and the transcendent?

Men artists should emphasize that they are 'men artists' to destroy the historical masculine fiction through which they take their position and perpetration in gender regimes without questioning. This emphasis should question masculinities which are in collobration with the gender order and also the social construction of masculinities without sinking into essentialism. Women, regardless of their sexual orientation, emphasize that they fall into the category of woman in order to make social and sociological grids and strategies visible, although most of them abstain from an essentialist approach.⁴²⁸ In dialog with women's

⁴²⁸ Flitterman and Barry, "Textual Strategies." See notes 231 and 252 above and the related

approach, for men to emphasize the fact that they are ‘men artists’ can be a political maneuver against masculine hegemony. This maneuver can be achieved only if men artists make this in the name of questioning their privileges and perpetration in the gender order. Insufficient questioning of masculine dominance by men, or a man’s, man artist’s, who has problems with gender regimes, (for example a man against militarism or sexual orientation differences) ignoring possible cooperations that he can be in with masculine dominance causes the practices of masculine dominance to be reproduced.

Consequently; if men/ men artists in the discrimination and violence based gender order, want to form an anti-order position as a result of feeling the shame and/or responsibility of being a man and also remembering that this order harms themselves as well, they could start with being aware of their political category and masculinity which is in connection with other masculinities; they could criticize their privileges and perpetration; to do this they could make their masculinity visible and accordingly convert it into a questionable identity; they could utilize from feminist, LGBTTI and queer movements in this questioning; besides, through masculinities, they could start discussing and changing many gendered institutional and individual practices such as labor, man-to-man violence, family, religion, private and public space which are being ignored by men under the issue of masculinities.

EPILOGUE

In February 2000, a signboard read “...nihayet içimdesin.” which means “...finally you are inside me,” is hung up on a cybercafé on Kadıköy Mühürdar Avenue. The signboard is the first display of “Signboard Exhibitions” (Tabela Sergileri), which is realized within the scope of Istanbul Contemporary Art Project and aims to create “instant encounters between the public space and the private.”⁴²⁹ The plan is to change the signboards monthly and the first guest of the project is CANAN, who signed her works as Canan Şenol at the time of the installation.⁴³⁰

While saying “finally you are inside me” in fact, Canan was referring to “the happiness of bearing her child she craved for” to the streets by setting out of “personal policies” as her art work often does.⁴³¹ Nevertheless, she is aware that the viewer would not conceivably have this association. She chooses to generate her “personal” in the public space, being open to “provocative” sexual connotations.⁴³² When the knowledge, of which a mother says “finally you are inside me” to the child whom she starts to carry inside, is acquired, the artwork achieves to “subvert its first meaning and connect its two meanings

⁴²⁹ Kâmil Şenol, "Tabela Sergileri (Şubat-Mart 2000)," Geocities.ws (Archive Project), unspecified date, <http://www.geocities.ws/guncelsanat/ks.htm> (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

⁴³⁰ Amargi Feminist Dergi, "Nereyi Gösterdiğim Değil, Ne Söylediğim Önemli," Interview with Canan, archivdeyim.wordpress.com, Oct 25, 2010, <http://archivdeyim.wordpress.com/tag/canan/> (accessed Jan 22, 2013). Canan wanted to use neither her father's surname nor her ex-husband's after the divorce. She wishes “to exist as Canan.” Respectfully, the artist is mentioned as CANAN throughout the text.

⁴³¹ Zeynep Rona and Ahu Antmen, eds., *Türkiye Sanat Yıllığı 2000*, (İstanbul: Sanat-Bilgi-Belge, 2001). (The translation is mine.) “...çok istediği çocuğunu artık taşıyor olmanın mutluluğunu, her zaman yaptığı gibi 'kişisel olan politiktir'den yola çıkıp sokağa taşıdı.”

⁴³² Amargi Feminist Dergi, "Nereyi Gösterdiğim Değil, Ne Söylediğim Önemli."

one another.”⁴³³

After CANAN, Vahit Tuna writes “Eve gelirken ekmek almayı unutma” (“Don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home”) on the signboard. Whereas the artwork of CANAN directly unsettles with the conservative attitudes of inhabitants of the district, the signboard of Vahit Tuna does not actually disturb the neighbors except one. The inhabitant of the flat up on the cybercafé is seized by a feeling that people looking at the signboard peep into his home. He applies to the Provincial Department of Environment and requires the cancellation of the signboard as he is disturbed in his private space.⁴³⁴ On the other hand, the kids in the neighborhood think that their Kâmil *Abi* (“older brother” Kâmil), who is the owner of the cybercafé and the husband of CANAN at the time, “would forget to buy bread after the sign will be taken away.”⁴³⁵ Nevertheless, the Provincial Department of Environment becomes involved in the argument and “an artwork is taken away for the first time in Turkey due to the fact that it is considered harmful for the environment.”⁴³⁶

The reviews after the cancellation of the Signboard Exhibitions concern the provocative content of CANAN's artwork and the censorship mentality. Even if it is not directly uttered, the reviews imply that the sexuality of “women” is still a taboo (at least in the public space) due to sexual hierarchy: ...*finally you are inside me*, drew reaction for its sexual connotation. Apparently the act of “taking in,” even if it is on the discursive ground, pushes the tolerance of the local public (of Kadıköy) towards art. Besides, as opposed to “putting in”, in the formulation “taking in,” the “pleasure” of the person “taking in” is affirmed and this affirmation is done in public space “for all the world to see.”

Nonetheless, although the cancellation of the Signboard Exhibitions occurs at the display of Vahit Tuna's artwork, the neighborhood residents do not consider the content of

⁴³³ İstanbul Modern, "Yeni Yapıtlar, Yeni Ufuklar (Basın Bülteni)," İstanbul Modern's Web site, http://www.istanbulmodern.org/tr/basin/basin-bultenleri/yeni-yapitlar-yeni-ufuklar_544.html (accessed Jan 22, 2013).

⁴³⁴ Ayşegül Sönmez, "Bu sanat yapıtı çevreye zararlı!" Milliyet, June 9, 2000, <http://www.siyahbant.org/?p=1878> (accessed Jan 22, 2013). (The translation is mine.) "Böylece ilk defa, bir sanat yapıtı, resmi olarak çevreye, Çevre Müdürlüğü tarafından zararlı bulundu ve ortadan kaldırıldı."

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

Don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home as irritating but acceptable. Possible reasons for this “acceptance” are not discussed in the reviews. For instance, Kâmil Şenol, the owner of the cybercafé, interprets the content of the artwork in the context of “leveling the daily up to the status of art” and writes that:

The meaning of what Vahit Tuna says was so clear. It does not contain a content which may cause a doubt or mean something else. But who is saying this sentence? For me, it is the part that is completed by the audience! And the audience nosed around for the answer for days (it is not an exaggeration, possible answers were always conveyed to us). Some considered it as a continuation of the first artwork and thought it was *a note from the wife to her husband*. Some evaluated it as a note left for *an engrossed customer* of the cybercafé.⁴³⁷ [Italics are added]

Just as CANAN is aware of how her sentence can be interpreted, the same can be assumed for Vahit Tuna. CANAN chooses “...finally you are inside me,” from her dairy to play with the audience's perception and subvert the sexual connotations to be produced. Tuna's choice comes right after the sentence “...finally you are inside of me,” which is, with a gendered apprehension, all along claimed as a sentence that can only be belonged to a woman. In addition, the space is the workplace of CANAN's husband-at-the-time and the inhabitants of the district know their "Kâmil abi." Consequently, in *Don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home*, the provided perception on gender roles of both who says the sentence and to whom it is said seems a deliberative choice. In other words, perceiving the sentence as “a note from the wife to the husband” loses its fortuitousness. (And why does a woman have to be with a “man” and “married” in the first place?)

Such as the way *Don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home* reproduces the apprehension of “woman,” who says to “man” to buy bread on the way home and thereby leaves the streets and the purchase of bread to her husband/father/brother, the part “while

⁴³⁷ Kamil Şenol, "Tabela Sergileri (Şubat-Mart 2000)." (The translation is mine.) “Vahit Tuna'nın söylediği cümle'nin anlamı çok açıktı. Herhangi bir kuşku'ya yer bırakacak ya da farklı anlamlara gelecek bir içerik taşımıyordu. Ama bu cümleyi sarf eden kim? Bence izleyici tarafından işin tamamlanan kısmı burası! Ve izleyici günlerce bu sorunun cevabını aradı durdu (bu bir abartı değil, olası cevaplar bize her zaman iletiliyordu). Kimi bunu ilk işin devamı olarak görüp, buna *kadının kocasına bıraktığı not* olarak baktı. Kimi internet kafeye gelip *kendini kaptıran bir müşteriye* bırakılmış not olarak değerlendirdi.”

you're coming" reproduces the gendered space. This space locks the women in and lets the men out/to the streets. Woman is positioned "inside" (the house), and man comes from "outside." Interestingly enough, taking into account of Turkish realities and the situations of cybercafes, the customer mentioned by Kâmil Şenol, who has a luxury to be engrossed in a cybercafe can *again* only be a man.

Baring in mind that the signboard of Vahit Tuna does not annoy the public of Kadıköy unlike that of CANAN, it is possible to see the connection between "acceptability" of Tuna's art and masculinities. Then, what does this masculinity's never being discussed in the articles after the prohibition of the exhibition mean especially while these articles probed the feminist strategies of CANAN?

Being a "woman" is addressed in CANAN's case, but being a "man" is not mentioned for Vahit Tuna. The censoring of ...*finally you are inside me* is considered within the context of the artist's gender. Contemporary art discussions see CANAN as a "woman" artist, while they see the creator of *Don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home* as an artist only, not a "man (artist)." Therefore an interesting consecutiveness goes unnoticed: A "woman" artist following "the personal is the political" creates discomfort in the public space, and right after her, a [man] artist takes side with the public with his very masculinity. This critical deficiency shows that not only art practice but also art criticism can easily be fed on and simultaneously feed the established perceptions of gender.

In conclusion, the comparison between the strong reaction against being able to say publicly "finally you are inside of me" and the public support in return of repeating "don't forget to buy bread while you're coming home" constitutes a vision of the "gender" of public and private platforms in Turkey where art is executed. Meanwhile, it gives clues to the existential practices and art strategies of "women" artists and [men] artists. As in the example above, the practices and strategies of women artists may gain visibility and become a matter of public debate; whereas the correspondence of [men] artists with the gender regime and their masculinity are kept out of the argument since they are considered as only artists, not men. (Being a) man is the unspoken "null subject" in the case of [men] artists, such as in the case of the customer who has a luxury to be engrossed in a cybercafé, or the *citizen* who can give a petition to some provincial department when [he] is disturbed

with the looks, and presumably the children of the neighborhood who can express their thoughts to a journalist about how their *Kâmil Abi* might forget to take bread to home.

This research has arisen from this very point, the necessity to discuss somehow *invisible* and/or *unspoken* masculinities of the Turkish art scene. It could also be read as one of the late answers of men to Simone de Beauvoir's lines: "[a] man would never get the notion of writing a book on the peculiar situation of the human male. But if I wish to define myself, I must first of all say, 'I am a woman'; on this truth must be based all further discussion."⁴³⁸

I think it is necessary to share two 'personal' incidents that I experienced at the beginning of the research process. While looking for an advisor for his thesis, I consulted to a [man] professor/artist who has taken part in the contemporary art world of Turkey for many years now and has produced critical works on militarism. This [man] profesor/artist suggested a 'gay' professor/artist as an advisor because he has never pondered on this issue of masculinities awareness, which he could not fully comprehend, before. According to him, only a 'gay' could master this subject. The second incident happened between me and a [man] student/artist with whom I study together for master degree in the same institution. After learning my research subject, this [man] student/artist argued that a research on masculinities was not quite necessary (even not necessary at all) saying "Did not the feminist movement achieved its goal in the 80's? Is gender issue a problem of contemporary Turkey? I think there are issues more important than this one." I continued to come across similar reactions while working on his thesis.

I wrote this thesis with a dream of a future in which 'masculinities' could be discussed with the characters of the above-mentioned incidents and all oher men in this country. Maybe one day, square brackets hiding men's perpetration will be deleted, the word in the brackets will go under a transformation and with this transformation masculine dominance and violence will disappear.

Instead of crossing the path of 'men artists' in Turkish contemporary art scene, I leave this research on the side of the path.

⁴³⁸ de Beauvoir, 14-15.

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