COMMUNITY DISSOLUTION:

PURSUING THE ABSENCE OF ELDER LGBTQ PEOPLE IN TURKEY

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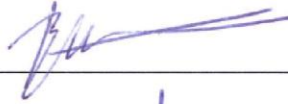Community Dissolution: Pursuing the Absence of Elder LGBTQ People in Turkey

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Berkant Çağlar, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

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ABSTRACT

Community Dissolution:

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This research aims at comprehending two central issues. While attempting to understand transition mechanisms of the appearing LGBTQ movement in the 90's, research also considers results of this alteration process along with re-reading modern history of Turkey and the lives of sexual minorities. In relation to this appearing transformation, it is argued that occurring movement in the 90's could not keep ties with the previous generation, rather implemented symbolic violence, distanced themselves and contributed to the emergence of an internal logic of the field in a Bourdieusian sense. Thus, previously not necessarily identified unfix sexual identities of *gacı*, *lubunya*, and *dönme* had to transform modern identity categories of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. More importantly, such change generated new category of 'invisibility' because the emerging movement outpaced and left behind some of the subjectivities; these are subjects that can be articulated as the 'lost' elder members of the community. To point out internal logics and procedures of the transformation, research uses queer perspectives and Bourdieusian concepts of the 'field' and 'capital', in which circumstances these approaches empowered non-normative understanding of sexuality, community and the aging. In addition to these two central questions that research raises, this thesis comprises consideration of the north-based, post-Stonewall LGBTQ aging theories, examines their practicability in Turkish society, and reflects the field-work conducted with the activists (middle-aged identified), who observed the early years of the LGBTQ movement in Turkey and

their accounts of the upcoming future aging, widespread ageism practices within the community and society.

ÖZET

Topluluğun Ayrışması:

Türkiye'de LGBTQ Yaşlıların Görünmezliğinin İzini Sürmek

'Bu çalışma iki temel konuyu anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bir yandan 90'larda oluşmaya başlayan LGBTQ hareketinin geçiş mekanizmalarını anlamaya çalışırken, araştırma ayrıca bu değişim sürecinin sonuçlarını modern Türkiye tarihini ve cinsel azınlıkları bir arada yeniden okuyarak göz önünde bulundurmaktadır. Bu oluşan geçiş ile ilişkili olarak 90'larda görülmeye başlayan hareketin önceki kuşak ile bağlarını koruyamadığı, bunun yerine sembolik şiddet uyguladığı, kendini ayrıştırdığı ve alanın iç kurallarının oluşmasına Bourdieucü bir noktadan katkı sağladığını savunmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, daha önceleri tanımlanmamış, net olmayan cinsel azınlıklar gacı, lubunya ve dönme, modern kimlik anlayışları olan lesbiyen, gey, biseksüel ve transgender kimliklere dönüşmek zorunda kalmıştır. Daha da önemlisi, bu değişim, yeni görünmezlik kategorileri oluşturmuştur çünkü yeni oluşan hareket, bazı öznellikleri arka planda bırakmış ve bu geride kalanlar, topluluğun 'kayıp' yaşlı kuşağı olarak tanımlanabilirler. Bu değişimin aşamalarını ve alan içi mantığını anlamak için araştırma, normatif olmayan cinsellik, topluluk ve yaşlılık anlayışlarını destekleyen queer perspektifleri ve Bourdieucü 'alan' ve 'sermaye' kavramlarını kullanmaktadır. Bu temel iki soruya ek olarak çalışma, kuzey tabanlı, Stonewall sonrası dönemi yansıtan LGBTQ yaşlılık teorilerini ve bunların uygulanabilirliğini Türkiye toplumunda incelemekte ve aynı zamanda proje kapsamında yürütülen genellikle orta yaşlı olarak tanımlanmış, Türkiye'de LGBTQ hareketinin erken dönemlerini gözlemlemiş aktivistlerle yapılan alan çalışmasına ve bu kişilerin

gelecekteki yaşlılıklarıyla ilgili fikirlerine ve toplumdaki ve topluluktaki yayılmış yaş

ayrımcı pratiklere karşılık vermektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis research project, called *'Community Dissolution: Pursuing the Absence of Elder LGBTQ People in Turkey,'* aims at comprehending the absence of LGBTQ elders in the Turkish society today. I consider the LGBTQ movement and culture, and argue that emerging movement in the 90's was not able to keep communication with the previous generation, and did not assemble a continuous new generation. Rather, emerging activists necessarily differentiated themselves from the previous generation, implemented symbolic violence against 'nondesirable' members, and contributed to emergence of an internal logic of the field in a Bourdieusian sense, with new forms of social and cultural capital, such as a heavy emphasis on youth or following developments of global LGBTQ politics. At this juncture, my research project attempts to understand the logics and procedures for such a dissolution in the community, and provides discussions of the modern Turkey beginning in the 70's, 80's and the 90's in order to display conditions of existence for the LGBTQ people in a social and historical context.

This research project has three main questions and attempt to answer those questions considering each other. First of all, I explain that sexual minorities in Turkey underwent a major social transformation between 1960-2000 and I am attempting to understand the mechanisms of that transformation and secondly I am reflecting to this alteration process and follow results of this transformation considering social history of the Turkish society beginning in the 70's. In relation to second question, in which case I work on occuring symbolic violence in relation to transformation of the sexual identities I argue that emerging movement implemented

symbolic violence and generated a distance against the previous generation, which further resulted in emergence of the generation gap among two competing cultures and produced new 'invisibilities'. And thirdly I try to reflect LGBTQ aging theories in order to contribute to the field of aging studies. To do so, I am re-evaluating north-based, post- Stonewall LGBTQ aging theories in their immediate environment and examine their practicability in Turkish society as well as try to reflect my fieldwork conducted with the aging (mostly middle aged identified) early activists of the LGBTQ movement of the Turkish society to characterize their perceptions of aging in relation to their own LGBTQ identity. I show that activist identity brings different affiliations of aging and many activists are aware of aging as a social problem, worry about their own futures, and see the need for realistic solutions beyond romanticizing youth. My major concerns in this research are 'why' and 'how' there are no visible elder activists in the movement and what conditions limit their visibility in the movement. The LGBTQ movement is relatively young in Turkey and the early activists of the movement have not aged yet. If someone follows this equation, he/she might realize that primary activists are only about 40 years old nowadays: could we argue that there are no elder LGBTQ people in Turkey? I consider that in order to find absent bodies of the elders we must have searched lives before the movement and comprehended previous conditions to reveal what was happened in the 90's and before.

I suggest that a queer understanding of the histories and bodies might be helpful to identify such nonappearance of the elders in Turkey. Therefore, I studied different generations of people beginning in the early 70's in Abanoz Street, Istanbul where primary visibilities of the non-normative sexual subjects appeared and were reacting to ongoing realizations of the state violence (Black Pink Triangle Izmir

Association, 2012), as well as in which time internal logic of the field and LGBTQ culture started to accumulate. I then also explored the 80's and the 90's in order to illustrate that there were roots of existence as being member of the sexual minority group. However, changing patterns of Turkish society throughout the 80's and the 90's decreased the synchronization among generations and supported certain bodies and activisms while discrediting previously unrecognized sexual minorities. At this point, along with the 90's, previously plural sexual identities – which existence in the name of 'lubunya', 'gacı', 'dönme' – had to transform into the modern identity categories – such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender – and these newly emerging identities affiliated with the global LGBTQ politics and institutions. They strived to internalize the visibility politics of the west, and showed up in international institutions such as ILGA, ILGA Europe, and Transgender Europe. As a result, modalities of LGBTQ activism required a high level of global cultural capital, affiliation with the west, and harmony with neoliberal identity politics. The LGBTQ movement created new ways of being an activist, and produced new subjectivities along with the changing social structure of Turkish society. As a result, previously less organized and dispersed communities lost their histories, and their bodies became uneven and less legitimate in contrast to new identities. Erstwhile, fluid identities disappeared, were misplaced, and re-oriented as outdated but nostalgic.

For this project, I decided to interview with the early activists of the movement, who experienced the early 90's and who vigorously monitored activism in the following years. In total, ten participants of the research provided accommodating answers to my questions, as I invited them to describe their experiences in the early 80's and the 90's. I was trying to understand how their lives were before their activism, and they also explained to me about their first encounters

with the movement and the very social conditions into which they were emerged in that activism. After that, we together discussed about possible reasons for the nonappearance of elders in the community, and about respondents' own plans about coming future aging. These last parts of the interviews were relatively emotional and charged because of the fact that these individuals are already aging, but they feel unready. Furthermore, despite their motivation and passion for LGBTQ activism, they have lost that energy in activism; their aging bodies were becoming increasingly illegitimate and undesirable and they already have started to face ageism practices in daily life and activism circles. As I explain in chapter two, the history of the LGTQ movement is in Turkey a gay history, so that the findings of the activism experiences of the lesbian and bisexual women as well as transgender people seemed restricted. Therefore, this thesis presents my dialogue with six gay identified men and only one bisexual woman, one queer identified person and two transgender activists.

An affiliation with the queer theory was not a matter of choice but rather it came into view as compulsorily because invisibility as a study area might be best understood within the exercise of queer theory and its abilities of pointing out hidden, non-normative sexualities, life courses and economies. In contrast to that, identity politics were insufficient, either to explain the disappearance of the early unrecognized and unorganized communities or to illustrate the semiotic exclusion of appearing activism implemented in the 90's. Verging on the topic of ageing itself in a queer way (Cronin & King, 2016) and queering the history of the movement seems significant interventions I have done in this research. I am critiquing a normative understanding of the aging cohorts. In contrast to demographical conceptualizations, I do suggest that further affiliation with the relative description of the age could better reflect upon people's own opinions and identifications with the age. One

major example is that the political consequences of transgender people's lives cannot be followed using traditional age cohorts because these individuals do not age on a full life-course, but rather die earlier than their peers owing to hate crimes, difficulties in accessing to health and legal rights, and many other arbitrariness they encounter in daily life. In addition to that, emerging sexualities movements are usually considered as an empowering, challenging, and progressive force or outcome in history, but thanks to queer point of view of this study I can also evoke that these appearing activisms generate internal symbolic violence: according to the level of hierarchies and forms of various capitals, they leave behind subjects who are deemed 'inadequate' to performing in a new culture. The newly emerging LGBTQ movement in Turkey distanced not only elders, but also people from less advantageous groups depending on factors like class, ethnicity, and educational background. A queer theoretical perspective helps us to see beyond the rhetoric of unity, to the actual social and historical dynamics of the social movement on the ground, and its consequences for members of the LGBTQ community in Turkey today.

As an engagement to queer theory, it also alters methodology and compositions of the writing. My endeavour was to disrupt conditioned absence and to make visible previously silenced bodies. Therefore, I attempted to queerize my methodology (in-depth interviews in this context) and I obtained significant realizations and discussions about relationship between methodology and theory. (Nash & Browne, 2016) Therefore, if I say I used queer only as a theory or a methodology it would be wrong identification since it transcends theoretical discussions and combines theory and methodology in together with. Queering the project appeared as the realization of the difference, in which different social settings

I strived to enlarge ways of understanding and aiming at seeing previously concealed and silenced bodies in the spots of heteronormative social reproduction. Therefore, I had to challenge normative comprehensions of the aging studies, histories of the LGBTQ movement and temporalities of the community. These non-conformities all together engendered a difference, which enabled me to further discuss and puzzle unseen lost members of the LGBTQ community in Turkey and within this emancipating spirit, I disrupted the rules of the 'visibility' game and hopefully provided better context for the ones erstwhile unidentified within the modern identity categories of the sexuality.

Along with the queer understanding, Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu& Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu, 1996; George 2014) was very helpful for me to pointing out emerging activism circle as a field and apprehension of the ongoing fight among actors, who tries to decide rules of the game. Likewise non-normative understandings of the society, Bourdieu's field theory properly challenged the discourse of the normative acceptance of the conditions that LGBTQ activism appeared without any (symbolic) violence and demonstrated how certain bodies was outpaced and left behind according to fight taking place in the field. Therefore, I was able to identify social space and structured and structuring positioning of the agents in accordance with the capitals they have seized and interiorized behaviours. I might without any hesitation argue that Bourdieu was already queer along with his appropriateness of examining the non-normative life projections, area of invisibility and conditionally obscured power relations.

Chapter I best provides the queer spirit of the study and explains under which social and historical conditions certain bodies are reachable and others are unseen. In this first chapter, I try to generate an unfixed category of aging (in contrast to a

chronological life-course approach), and to philosophize the absence of the elder LGBTQs, in order to further aim at tracing queer temporalities of in Turkey. In conjunction with that, the first chapter's traversing and varied discussions regarding the body, time, and space transpired as a precondition of an echoing and structured thesis. Thanks to eclecticism and supple patterns of such introductory chapter, I was capable of calling attention to area of the invisibility and flowing into jointly conditioned entities of the space, body, and, time. In here, I mainly discuss conditions of existence with reference to Sara Ahmed (2006) and queer phenomenology notion where she suggests that "we need to face the background of an object, redefined as the conditions for the emergence not only of the objects, as well as the act of perceiving the object, which depends on the arrival of the body that perceives." (p. 38) Ahmed problematizes our attention to certain objects, but invisibility emerges as a condition. In this theoretical context, elder bodies invisible just because they are unreachable. As she indicates, it is necessary to disrupt the 'straight line' of heteronormative viewing practices so as to illustrate those bodies remaining invisible and hidden. Apart from that, Ahmed's body and space dialectic makes politically possible an interrogation of the conditioned absence of the elder bodies, as she discusses that bodies might extend into space as well as space might extend into body. Elder members of the LGBTQ community cannot extend into space because their bodies are rejected and conditioned as absence, which also makes that space cannot be reached to their bodies because mutuality of these two entities compulsorily necessitate each other in each condition and moment.

Apart from Ahmed, I have extended body and space discussion by including the notion of queer temporality, as well as by reflecting to literature of the social memory studies, namely Walter Benjamin (1969). As Halberstam (2005) points out,

queer temporality requires moment of crisis such as AIDS epidemic. The closest example to such a 'moment of crisis' in Turkey was the displacement of transgender people in Ulker Street, Beyoglu Istanbul in the 90's (Selek, 2011). However, I argue that while Ulker Street can partially be understood as a moment of crisis because it lacks solidarity from other members of the community (gay, lesbian, bisexual), it also stands as crisis of ignorance for transgender people who were still striving to engage with the newly appearing LGBTQ movement, and who were attempting to transform previously unfixed identities of the 'lubunya' into 'transgender'. Moreover, in chapter I, case of Armenian, gay photographer Osep Minasoglu combines both discussions of queer aging, phenomenology, and queer temporality as an inspiring figure in this research project. Osep's elder body was only 'visible' figure of aging in the scene of the LGBTQ activism but I further argue that Osep's body could not extend into space as well as space could not reach him because there was no sincere relationship between younger activists and the Osep. Unavailability of the Osep's elder body was also related to multiplication of the various identity categories. As his life story indicated he was so fed up and maddened by the Wealth Tax and Istanbul Pogrom (6-7 Eylül Olayları), in which events he had to leave high school, or move to the France as being someone recognized with the identities of the gay, Armenian and poor.(Serttaş, 2009)

After a highly eclectic primary chapter, in chapter two I examined the history of modern Turkey throughout the 70's, 80's and the 90's by considering relationship between social history of the Turkey and the emergence of the previous cultures of the LGBTQ movement. Along with oral history project of the Black Pink Triangle

Izmir Association[1], I searched narrated lives of the transgender community in the 70's and the 80's. These life stories from earlier years of the culture suggested contrasting comprehensions regarding the history of the movement, and helped me to figure out conditions of the emergence of the movement about the 90's. As my historical research illustrated, the 70's represents queer non-normative moments of the early culture, and peripheral sexualities remained fluid. It was highly difficult and even unnecessary to differentiate among various identities of the lubunya, gacı and dönme. Their impossibilities of translation into English also signals that those attitudes of the language consist of local pluralities and multiplicities of the identifications. At there, I postulated some of the newly appearing internal logic of the field, such as the emergence of cruising (*çark*), and compulsory mechanisms of sex work, which then generated new economy, activity, daily life and internal community culture because sexual peripheries were reacted and internally created strategies according to increased violence and invented new ways of surviving.

In my second chapter, I also provided a necessary re-reading of the military coup conducted in the early 80's, because modern Turkish history tends to study the lethal military coup in conjunction with the leftist groups and Kurds who opposed the government, but the transgender community was also heavily influenced by the coup's deadly results and they were exposed to numerous ways of violence. They were displaced, exiled, and compelled to leave city centres as newly looming neoliberal transformation took place. Apart from military coup, during the 1980's institutional violence was waged against transgender people in police stations, hospitals and courts. Unbearable violence was productive enough in the fashioning

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[1] Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association is Izmir based LGBTQ Association formed in 2009. They are member of the ILGA and Transgender Europe and accomplished two oral history projects that search lives of the 'lubunya' in the 80's and the 90's.

of new ways of existence because state violence was aiming at controlling and dispersing sexual minorities but transgender community rather persisted and continued living together and shared knowledge and experiences to the new members of the community. At this point, the 90's came into picture with social discomfort identity creation was important not only in LGBTQ groups, but also triggered other minority groups in Turkey. I titled my section on the 90's as '*Discontinuities of Neoliberalism, Coming Together, Stirring and Thrill'* because in these years, social problems became more visible in Turkish society but more importantly, there was also increasing neoliberal popular culture (Gürbilek, 2010). In particular, the advent of private TV channels engendered new tendencies of the culture. Members of the LGBTQ community both stand as necessary in the creation of emancipatory, liberal discursive regime of the Turkish Republic but on the other hand conservativism and ongoing violence in the daily life keep tension and violence stable. In addition to these two extremities of the neoliberal culture, uneasiness, and ongoing violence; previously unrecognized sexual identities triumphed to transform into gay, and lesbian. They came together, started to raise voices, and made new alliances with feminists, ecologists, and anti-militarist movements so that there was not only brutality, there was also the thrill and excitement of being part of a bigger (and more successful) social movement. The 90's occupies and essential position in the research because it directly signals newly emerging LGBTQ movement and community dissolution according to frame of the field theory.

In chapter 3 I present theories of LGBTQ aging, and examine their development within a predominantly Western environment centered on the experience of upper and middle-class men. I consider the exclusions of these theories not only in their own cultural and historical contexts, but also ask how these

might translate to the different social spaces and conditions of Turkish society. The literature review I provide illustrated that four different stages of understanding historically appeared in LGBTQ aging studies, beginning from negative stereotypes and interiorized discriminations depicted in the society to the better aging conceptualizations by stressing community involvement and identity-creation processes. After these two contrasting stages, considerations of the intersection of various identity categories made studies less reductionist and increased studies' representativeness in the third stage and last stages of the studies concerns practical gerontological problem and interdisciplinary studies among health policies, social sciences, psychology, social gerontology, etc appeared (Henning, 2015). At this juncture, I argue that elder LGBTQ members of the Turkish society tend to experience negative stereotypes and interiorized discrimination regarding their sexuality and identity but also their globally situated knowledge alters the conditions they have experienced because social conditions and the level of discrimination had radically changed since the 1970's. In the last part of the chapter, I draw from my own field-work, and I also suggest that activist identity might have significantly changed the concept of 'being older', because activists' previously internalized knowledge about body politics and queer theory make them able to interrogate normative processes of the discomfort of the aging. These results of my interviews also contrast with the recently published study of Ozbay and Erol (2017), who interviewed with mostly upper class identified middle aged and aging gay men. Their study indicated that in contrast to their heterosexual peers, those gay men tend to decrease effects of the aging and they generate strategies against aging within approaching sexuality as more flexible, high level of adaption to technology, socializing with the young people and attempt to maintain good body shape. In

contrast to that, my respondents' experiences are varied but in their interview they tended to interrogate how ageism influences their life, and in which condition they might generate a solution to their aging processes. In contrast to strategies upper class identified gay men developed, early LGBTQ activist approached to the aging more critically due to information about body politics. They could critically examine widespread ageism practices within the society and the community and tend to criticise young-oriented, age blind LGBTQ activism circles. In this point, they similarly attempt to provide solutions to their upcoming aging and try to negotiate with the younger generation but they are not well-planned and strategic as upper glass gay men accomplished. As a result, despite of the activist knowledge of the participant aging was more influential in their life.

These three separated but interrelated chapters flow into different sub-categories of the sociology and provide coherent interdisciplinary study echoing with the queer studies, sociology of aging, political sociology, sociology of the body and the modern Turkish studies. I contributed to these varied disciplines in five points. First, I make clear that social gerontology and other aging studies should carefully examine what queer theory suggests in our understanding of the non-normative processes of the aging. In my case, the social invisibility of the elder population was best explained by queer theory. Second thing is that social movements and LGBTQ movements bring multiple opportunities and positively change the lives of the community members, but it is also necessary to consider those movement's lacks and weakness in which circumstances they outplaced certain bodies and determine availability conditions of the background. Moreover, I believe that my research contributed to modern Turkish studies in the realization of the military coup's dispersed influences beyond left groups and Kurds as well as to the intersection of

social history of the Turkey and the emergence of the LGBTQ movement and the increase in neoliberal tendencies. Another impact I find is that aging LGBTQ studies are quite white and west oriented and are not representative for people of color or the ones living under violence; paying attention to the histories and experiences of different cultural and global contexts will help us to expand and complicate comprehensions of queer aging.

CHAPTER 2

INVISIBILITIES OF THE LGBTQ ELDERS: QUEER AGING, THE BODY

AND QUEER TEMPORALITIES IN TURKEY

Normative conditions for the production of the subject produce an historically
contingent ontology, such that our very capacity to discern and name the
"being" of the subject is dependent on norms that facilitate that recognition.
(Butler, 2009, p. 4)

"Gay History": in 1970, this phrase was an oxymoron. Homosexuality had no
history. It was a medical condition, a psychopathological state embodied in
aberrant individuals. It had been and remained hidden, isolated, and marginal,
a set of disconnected and fragmentary life stories. (D'Emilio, 1992)

Meaning of 'old age' for non-heterosexuals is as fluid and context-dependent
as it is in the broader culture, where personal interpretations of old age are
becoming increasingly elastic. (Featherstone and Wernick 1995; Blaikie
1999) (Heaphy, K, Thompson, & YIP, 2004, pp. 884,885)

2.1 Contextualizing an elder LGBTQ community in a changing Turkey

This chapter attempts to introduce conditions of absence of the elder LGBTQs in

Turkey. It defines theoretical positions as well as provides a context that will help to

better clarify nonappearance of the elders in the following chapters. In here, I am

discussing various conditions of aging among LGBTQ community because I suppose

that different identity categories age relatively dissimilar as we observe in the varied

circumstances of the transgender aging. In addition to that, this chapter makes three

significant points, which can be evaluated as interventions to the field of aging

studies. Queer aging appears as a compulsory point of view because heteronormative

understanding of the aging conceals disadvantages of sexual minority positions of the

LGBTQs and normative gerontology does not necessarily discuss varied realities of the 'sexual' subjects. (Cronin& King, 2016) Apart from queer aging notion, along with this chapter, I try to rethink queer phenomenology of Sara Ahmed (2006) in order to reveal conditioned absence of the elder LGBTQs and unfamiliar story of Osep Minasoğlu obtains conditions of emergence for the bodies outpaced as absent and excluded semiotically. Before I finish, I am conducting an investigation on queer temporality by referring to the Halberstam (2005) and Benjamin (1969) among other social memory studies so as to concretely crystallize space, time and body relationship in Turkish context. What's more is that first chapter designed as more fragmentary comparing to following chapters because it brings various discussions of aging, body and Turkish society therefore it flows into different disciplines and approaches. At this point, it is necessary to carefully contextualise vigorous social change patterns of the Turkish society in last four decades.

Social change manifests itself constantly in Turkey within its wide arrays of historical shifts and altercations. The advent of neoliberal economic reforms engendered by the military coup of 1980 created structural alterations and newly emerged social mechanisms. (Saraçoğlu, 2015) Over the last decades, globalization, the rise of political Islam, the strengthening process of identity politics, new communities and subjectivities reinforced by neoliberalism, privatization practices of state institutions, and the rise of a number of multinational companies might all be conceptualized together as newly occurring and remarkable social phenomena. (Çağlar & Futtu, 2015) These complex and relational social processes can also be traced in the field of sexuality and identity politics. In fact, it is significant to consider and comprehend how LGBTQ activism appeared in late 1980's and early 90's within this vigorous and radical processes of social change. During this same

time period, there was an increase in demands for human-rights based identity politics of sexuality and lobbying, and the conditions of such practices of activism become possible along with these radical transformations of the Turkish society. In particular, neoliberal reassertion of the life after lethal military coup triggered relatively liberal environment for the creation of identity politics throughout the 90's. Identity and sexuality was also asserted alongside other major social discourses as a foundation for citizenship and rights in a changing Turkey. At this juncture, LGBTQ's consolidation of political power based in human rights and sexual citizenship overlaps framework of identity politics, neoliberalism and promoted environment of freedom after military coup of 1980. Those radical transformations of society accelerated organization and mobilization of identity based politics. (Portag, 2012)

However, as Eğilmez (2016) indicates, sexual citizenship is mostly understudied in Turkey. In contrast to availability of some of the identity groups, LGBTQs have not been studied through the notion of citizenship. For instance, Kurdish citizenship practices have been problematized variedly in the literature (Ahmetbeyzade 2007; Yegen 2009; Özen 2014) while, conditions of being LGBTQ only represented from few studies. Bereket and Adam's (2006) study conducted with 20 men in Ankara discussed emergence of the gay identity in Turkey and pointed out that meaning of gay is variable as well as Ozturk (2011) studied sexual orientation discriminations lesbian, bisexual and gay employee faces. The point is that, literature that portrays conditions of living for the LGBTQs in Turkey is comparatively limited and we have been encountering with the recently published studies but we do not have a proper understanding of the conditions yet since these studies do not jointly create an echoing public discussion rather they try to occupy small side of the study

areas. We need an accumulation of these studies to be able to really grasp what have been experiencing in Turkey. (See studies: Yenilmez, 2017; Gocmen& Yılmaz, 2017; Savci 2016)

2.2 Research design and justification

The social location of the researcher is critical in this radical transformation period because it turns out to be an ambivalent and laborious position among various generations of LGBTQ people after 80's in relation to bigger picture of changing circumstances of modern Turkey. Despite some of the uncertainties and rejections, there are somehow accepted moments that define the political LGBTQ movement's starting points. A crowd first gathered on May Day 1987, as well as at a hunger strike that took place in same year in Istanbul, which was started by 37 transgender and homosexual in response to increased violence of state in Istanbul. (Dogan, 2004) Yet, we should be careful before accepting 'starting moments' of activisms as clear-cut, affirmative or as our focus, because such static beginning points might include various risks of modernity in the silhouette of essentialism, linear and progressive comprehension of history. At this point, I do not ignore some of the crucial starting points of LGBTQ movements in Turkey, but I am more interested in understanding different subjectivities and histories of LGBTQ people and culture by considering the diverse and multifaceted process of Turkish modernization alongside queer dynamism. Such an approach bestows a potential of fragmented, non-normative comprehension rather than unblemished, vibrant, and definite generalizations. Examining LGBTQ history within this non-normative framework might illustrate various subjectivities and intersectionalities, as well as might display more

precarious members of the community. It is possible to trace such non-normative beings in different periods, even in Ottoman period within archival studies.

This project centers/ focuses on a discussion of the presence or absence of LGBTQ elders in the movement from the late1980's and 90's until today, in order to debate the movement and the community comparatively. Therefore, it can be said that project considers people's positioning, who previously and currently discriminated due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity according to changing circumstances of the 'social' in Turkey and their relation to movement as well as movement's relation to these (in)visible aging bodies. The concept of 'aging bodies' itself is particularly provocative in the sense that it calls an immediate attention as well as an escapism, which is institutionally operated throughout history. In Turkey, aging problem does not receive vital attention and both social policy and gerontological studies comparatively underdeveloped comparing to current gerontological concerns of the West. (Arun 2013; Tufan 2014) Therefore, aging groups of Turkey left alone without any structured policy but aging still only concern of the family members and age-related difficulties have been handling along with traditional care mechanisms. At the same time, minority groups experience aging more directly.

In contrast to changing publicity and awareness of aging society in the north-Europe, (Kunkel, Brown, & Whittington, 2014) it is hard to find out such direct attention to the repressed aging groups. Further, dynamic relationalities of the stratification mechanisms provide numerous ways of being elder with the help of categories of class, gender, and ethnicity, race and so on. Various networks, identities, capital might bring different identifications and understanding of aging. In contrast to diversity studies, intersectional approach help researcher to understand

multiple meanings of the different identities. "Unlike diversity theories, which take identities as central categories of belonging, intersectionality emphasizes biographical diversity and complexity; it fractures simplistic identifications and understandings." (Cronin, King, 2010, p. 886) At this point, intersectionality seems significant contributor of the difference in the identity discussions. The notion intersectionality explains multiple minorization processes of the varied identity categories. As Battle and Ashley (2008) explained that "intersectionality has been articulated to understand the mutual ways in which the discursive and structural elements of race, gender, class, and sexuality intersect to create unique experiences based on social location and complex relationships of power and oppression" (p. 3) The importance of the relationship between intersectionality and aging in LGBTQ context was demonstrated well by Cronin and King (2010). It is significant summary to keep in mind, due to myriad and inconsistent features of the LGBTQ aging;

> Our use of intersectionality demonstrates that older LGB adults are positioned at the intersection of multiple identifications, the effects of which will change depending on context. Hence, in combination with theories of diversity which offer a broad approach to the analysis of people's lives, intersectionality enables a more fine-grained analysis of difference. Sometimes these differences, as we have demonstrated, will result in disempowerment; whereas sometimes ageing, sexuality and socio-economic (financial) status intersect to empower. (Cronin & King, 2010, p. 887)

Intersectionality cannot be dismissed in this discussion because as argued previously, various categories of classification directly influences the way people experience inequality, stratification, and social positioning so that research critically utilizes the concept of intersectionality, which means that multiplicities of power positioning among various identities. In particular, chapter IV extensively discusses intersectionality and ways of aging according to different identity compositions that one subject can hold. At this point, my research project deliberately appropriates this framework within queer studies, in order to contrast the affirmative context of

identity politics; these choices have also radically transformed the theoretical

positioning of the study. As a matter of fact, research may not be possible within the

framework of non- queer understanding. One of the reason of this, aging is culturally

underestimated and difficulties of it socially legitimized as well as aging particularly

ignored as a topic of social policy in Turkey. Adversities of aging bodies are

characterized as naturally given, assenting processes. Lack of social-political

awareness on aging frameworks intricacies when aging category started to affiliate

various social categories of identities. For instance, studying LGBTQ aging in

Turkey is like a daydream that cannot be directly crystalize in the social context.

(Arun, 2013) Various intersectionalities of LGBTQ elders convey imprecise, uneven

disparities based on ethnicity, religion, or place of origin. Considering these

possibilities of intersectional identities and the critical attitude of queer studies, we

must call attention to a social context that particularly ignores, denies, and exploits

members of an aging population as non- political subjects. Ignoring the existence of

LGBTQ aging groups is related to same mechanisms that deny various realities of

aging populations in general, as well as the ongoing discrimination these populations

face. Their absence is reinforced by the lack of social networks and visibility. There

are of course LGBTQ aging populations in Turkey; yet, such population has not

received much attention from within either the LGBTQ movement, nor within the

aging population of Turkey more generally. Therefore, their legitimacy and political

power is underestimated and conditionally their voice is doubly silenced. In order to

address the absence of elder LGBTQ individuals in Turkey, this study necessarily

requires a queer perspective related to the conditions of LGBTQ activism in Turkey.

LGBTQ's who started to consolidate their power in the late 1980's and throughout

the 90's (Erol, 2011) and found public visibility had not aged, yet. These group

members were particularly young, mostly university students in Istanbul and Ankara. Currently, they are in their 40's and 50's and they have just started to 'age' according to demographic conditions. Therefore, if we start this project only within the history of LGBTQ activism in Turkey, it becomes impossible to find out 'elderly' social bodies of LGBTQ's today. Instead, this study will strategically utilize the broader *culture* of various generations and temporalities of LGBTQ's rather than just the specific notion of the *social movement* itself. While I have made this choice in the scope of my research, I do not deny in any way the power of the LGBTQ movement/activism, because their activities additionally transformed social conditions of gender and sexuality and provided numerous possibilities for the entire community. Also, the historical positioning of the movement includes the last thirty years of the Turkish modernity. Therefore, influence of modernization process on LGBTQ movement must be considered within dynamic critics.

Looking back at the years before movement will give us the chance to understand some of the reasons for a significant absence within the LGBTQ social landscape, and make it possible to better identify the otherwise invisible bodies of LGBTQ elders. Lastly, it is necessary to remember that categories of L-G-B-T themselves are newly emerged concepts, not historical categories. In recent years, the global and following relatively local movements have acknowledged and included Q and I-queer and intersex- and most of the global and local movements today add a plus sign (+) just to show their acceptance of non-normative sexualities and plural ways of experiencing body and sexuality. Yet, those concepts were publicly unavailable in the 80's and the 90's. Circulation of newly transpired identities and conceptualization has been recently increased following to increased publicity of the LGBTQ movement. Therefore, most of the elder population does not necessarily

identify themselves within this framework. Therefore, this research project considers these changing realities within an historical context, and extend the affiliations beyond those fixed categories of identity.

At this juncture, queer studies provide a critical positioning that extends normative understandings of sexuality and body. As Halberstam (2005) previously conceptualized "queer refers to nonnormative logics and organizations of community, sexual identity, embodiment, and activity in space and time." (Halberstam, 2005, p. 6) Therefore, I am concerned with queer literature that tries to catch multiple possibilities of being, non- normative understandings and compulsory critical standings in relation to politics, affect and community, culture, space and temporality as well as age itself.

As a young activist in Turkey I am thinking that my imagination about aging and being LGBTQ is contextually limited. There are nearly no elder activists in the current movement. Lack of visibility also affects awareness on elder population. My interest in aging studies was realized by chance. When I first started to study this topic, the first figure I encountered with was an Armenian, gay photographer living in Turkey Osep Minasoğlu, who also immensely inspired this project. Previously, Osep was a nostalgic and romantic figure to me because he was seeming both available and unavailable to me. I might reach him through interaction with the LGBTQ community but the surrounding elder context of his body were setting limits to the availabilities of us. Within the fieldwork of this project, I tried to make sense of the social conditions in which Osep was able to reflect and interact with the LGBTQ movement. It took two years of study to conceptualize Osep and his peers as a group of people deriving from past to present, to understand their absence in the

movement, and the conditions under which their lives were politically structured and conditioned.

My difficulty of making sense was no doubt buttressed by conditions of being elder and political orientations of the movement, which structurally left behind the elders. As Butler indicates "the epistemological capacity to apprehend a life is partially dependent on that life being produced according to norms that qualify it as a life or, indeed, as part of life." (Butler, 2009, p. 3) Being an elder and LGBTQ does not necessarily produce a satisfactory life course that can be acknowledged within the conventional settings of heteronormativity. For example, one of my informants Hasan[2] in his thirties in the semi-structured interview said me that:

> It comes to me too difficult to respond your question about aging. However, movement gained numerous progress, but still we have too much fundamental problems such as constitutional rights, hate crimes, etc.

Hasan's utterance directly links to hierarchies depicted in the movement. In fact, those hierarchies appear not as a choice but rather structured method of activism in which condition activists aimed at gaining fundamental rights of living without violence, hate crimes which are linking to constitutional rights of the LGBTQs and other lively concerns of the members of the community seems future purposes. Therefore, heteronormative understanding of the society primarily ignores basic constitutional rights and various realities of the LGBTQs have been marginalized in the settings of heteronormativity. Not only being elder, but dispersed conditions of being LGBTQs have been limited within this assumption of normativity, which tend to portray LGBTQs as pervert, young, and as hazards. At this point of view,

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[2] Throughout the chapter, I changed the name of participants of the in-depth interviews conducted within this research project in order to keep their name anonymous.

problems of a disabled transgender people, a lesbian mother, a Kurdish speaking gay relegated not only in heteronormative settings of the society but also was stuck in the hierarchies of the movement because most of the activist were busy enough with the fighting for basic constitutional rights and equality.

In this study, I regularly criticize the current political orientations of the LGBTQ movement because of their ways of framing body and sexuality. I want to advocate for aging LGBTQ elders as political, visible subjects, and to promote public awareness of elder LGBTQ's as underrated social problem. However, beyond any criticism, the LGBTQ movement is still highly precious and unique because they encounter with institutionalized discrimination, ongoing political violence, and social limitations.

This project requires me to make certain critical decisions because deciding how to study elder LGBTQs necessitates a political positioning and response. In particular, the lack of literature in the field or Turkish context makes harder to study such a disguised population. If I had limited this study to the histories of the LGBTQ movement after it appeared in Turkey, I would have different results. As stated earlier, the original activists of the movement are not 'old' by demographic standards, but only middle-aged. The answer could follow the statement that suggests Turkish society does not have an open or visible LGBTQ elder population because the movement itself is in the process of aging, and there are no ties with previous generations due to state violence, particularly the military coup of the 1980's and the subsequent repressive environment of the period (as I explain in chapter III). Therefore, the conditions of being an 'elder LGBTQ' in a traditional demographic sense cannot be understood in Turkey; rather, aging processes can only be understood in future when the current population gets older. Therefore, my research

calls into question the epistemology of the concept of 'aging' itself in a queer context in Turkey. How do bodies 'age', if they do not follow a traditional life course? My theoretical and methodological framework extensively attempts to figure out this area of invisibility and absence, and to take these semiotic exclusions as a serious political problem. The absence of elder bodies in the movement does not directly comes from natural social processes, but rather is the result of complex political and historical accumulations regarding wide areas of the network among different institutions, political orientations, and dispositions. Yet, this project dares to take a risk to disrupt accustomed invisibility of the elders in which condition, research excavates lost community of elders and subjects in hard times under violence, surveillance, and regulation. The invisibility of the previous generation is political in the sense that it occurred according to framed political, social, cultural, and economic conditions. Therefore, it is a kind of labyrinth full of possibilities, contingencies, anonymous subjectivities, and amplitudes. I hope that this research will contribute to the movement's reflexive capacity as well as to promote a better context so that elders might extend into discussions of activism.

2.3 Dissimilar context of the transgender aging

As introduced earlier, various identities might bring different minority positions to the individuals and LGBTQ as a group of people share dissimilar social hierarchies and power relations. (Cronin & King, 2010) Among others, transgender people experiences more discrimination and available resources to them are more limited comparing to gay or bisexual people. At this context, aging context hastened invisibilities of the transgender people and put them in more precarious context. The

transgender community still stands as a separate culture from gay/lesbian and bisexual groups due to their compelling experiences of discrimination in daily life as well as historical positioning of the state violence against their bodies. Transgender people mostly underrepresented in LGB community and their social problems ignored/rejected or various realities could not be understood properly. (Lambda Istanbul, 2010; Kaos GL & Pink Life Association, 2016) For instance, they have more difficulties in attending to school, or they mostly work as a sex workers because it is commonly very difficult to find regular job as a transgender. It has been argued that LGBT movement do not give enough space for transgender citizens and their participation to politics is quite late comparing to other sexual identities in Turkey. Most of the LGBTQ Association attempts to include trans activist, yet their bodies were unreachable due to chosen methodologies, different conditionings, and necessities. This problem sparked off birth of trans-based LGBTQ Associations around middle of 2000's- nearly 15 years later- First trans based organization generated in Ankara in 2006 as Pink Life, and followed by Istanbul LGBTI Association.

Most of my interview with the trans activists during this project acknowledged the structural troubles of organization of trans activists. For instance, one of the leading trans activists Damla said me that;

> Even meetings had denied us because they were starting early in the morning. But you know, girls are working at night as sex workers, could it be possible to attend to those activism meetings? We had separate realities and our lives were quite dissimilar.

Apart from that, noticeability of their bodies always subjected to state violence. In particular, military coup of the 80's repressed most of the members of the community. Most of the transgenders were working as singer and sex worker.

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Yet, their dwelling places were destroyed, they are exiled, and forced to reside in different cities as well as their singing activities was banned. (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association, 2012; Yılmaz, 2013) This trend of violence continued in the 90's in contrast to relatively liberal environment of the period. In the middle of the 90's, Ulker Sokak was closed and transgender girls had to leave again their belonging places. (Selek, 2011)

This materialized violence can be found via popular figure of Bulent Ersoy, who is publicly known as a transgender singer/artist in Turkey. Born in 1952, she has been popular beginning in the 70's and she had gender transition operation during the 80's, in which time these surgeries were not publicly available in Turkey. Image of Bulent Ersoy signals conservative Turkish society because her gender transition operation was a public debate both in printed media and TV channels and legal system distressed Ersoy a lot. At the same time, the figure of Bulent Ersoy also narrates that people can ignore problems of transgender issue if they do not challenge conservative social norms as well as if they engage to entertainment sector. Figure 1 is showing Ersoy's such ambivalent social positioning.

In their visual ethnographic cultural study analysis of Bulent Ersoy, Ertür and Lebow (2012) thought that her position cannot be explained only by repressive environment of military coup happened in 1980. With referring to social historian Gürbilek, they try to position Ersoy's "dangerous" body along with dynamics of new social structure that simultaneously contains features of the brutal and authoritarian military regime as well as from a new capitalist environment derived from neoliberal, free economy. They narrated that those two extremities require each other so as to be more efficient. Interestingly, the social positioning of Ersoy proved those two

extremities (freedom and repression) along with her interaction with state and public throughout 80's.

Fig 1 Bülent Ersoy and soldiers
"Source: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bulent-ersoy-asker-de-bizim-polis-de-40156319, retrieved August 01, 2017"

Contrastingly, Altınay's cultural study that looks conditions that Bulent Ersoy became nationalist, Muslim and upper-class women in relation to strategies Ersoy had to invent along with her own personal history attempts to read this changing process by making contrasts between new regime and military regime. He argues that;

> The government achieved two goals. First, to increase their own legitimacy, they presented the case of Ersoy as expressing the epitome of personal freedom. Second, by granting Ersoy her work permit the Ozal regime differentiated itself from the highly unpopular military regime that had preceded it. Thus, the neoliberal regime and its laissez-faire economic policies were legitimized in the eyes of Ersoy's fans, especially Turkey's new bourgeoisie, to whose tastes Ersoy catered, but also the general public. She had become the signifier of an era of freedom and tolerance. (Altinay, 2008, p. 215)

Ersoy's queer politics smartly played with different options and rather than to support normative treatments of the nation-state, she proposed different temporizations, subject-positions and publicly speak about her transition process and

she was proud of it. Altınay approached Ersoy more critically. He claims that "when she was back on the stage, she refused to use her transgendered status as a way to challenge gender codes, heterosexism, patriarchy, nationalism, capitalism, or conservatism. Rather, she refused to acknowledge her transgendered status and gradually started to advance an identity as a conservative, Muslim, nationalist, upper-class woman." (Altinay, 2008, p. 216) It might be thought that she contributed to gendered social system by remarking significance of being woman, yet, in a way that she performed difficult process of recognition along with various ways of negotiations. As Altınay underlines, I believe that Ersoy's image cannot be reduced to the sublime queer, as further cultural study on Zeki Muren, another famous queer artist in Turkey illustrates that reception of Müren's publicly available image and connotations are both sublime and ridiculous because Müren never radically erode heteronormativity so that image of artist was not radically transforming. (Arslan; 2012) since it is necessary to consider in which way she contributed to the changing social structure of Turkey, what she gave up and to what she capitulated.

In contrast to Ersoy's comparatively comfortable zone, transgender people had to contact with violence and numerous discriminations in their daily life. Ersoy's very public experience was a focus for Turkish audiences, distracting from the much more violent reality of everyday trans life in the country.

> Governmentality practices of the heteronormative Turkish gendered
> citizenship regime in trying to force transsexuals not to exist in this way. The
> citizenship regime solely and paradoxically perceives them as the object of
> desire and dehumanizes them…They are seen as foreigners and freaks of the
> society. (Dönmez & Çürül, 2013, p. 76)

Between 2008 and 2015, 39 transgenders were murdered in Turkey. (Bianet, 2015) In this context, social positioning of transgender people initiates various

conditions of aging. Their bodies more likely to experience disease, and certain disparities of living make their bodies more precarious. I suggest that the bodily experience of transgender living over time can be understood as a queer way of aging because it bring us different conditions that cannot be explored according to conventional categories of age and body. Most of the transgender ages are younger compared to their LGB peers, and they die earlier because of difficulties of accessing healthcare when they become sick. The demographical categories of aging cannot contain the various and divergent experiences of the transgender community. At this point, I want to rethink the concept of aging and its fixedness by returning to King and Cronin. They assert that the notion of 'aging' can be extended and such limited ranges of aging must be queered to emancipate vigorous dispositions of aging groups.

> We need a more sophisticated understanding, and indeed methodology, to examine how and why the identifications 'older lesbian, gay and bisexual adults are produced in certain context. It is for this reason that we have turned to ideas in the humanities and social sciences that trouble the notion of stable, fixed and essential categories of identification. (Andrew King & Cronin, 2016, p. 87)

According to King's positioning, our comprehension of the transgender population's aging conditions might be queered. Conversely, I believe that such a choice enables us to better comprehend elder transgender. Therefore, throughout study various conditions of being transgender or lesbian and their contribution to the levels of inequality will be critically considered as non-fixed categories. At this juncture, this project attempts to figure out bodies of aging LGBTQ groups living in Turkey by considering different generations of LGBTQ culture depicted in historical phantasy, politics and community. It is an invisible story waiting to reappear one more time in a Benjaminian sense. (Benjamin, 1969) How might someone seek out

the historically forgotten bodies of LGBTQ groups throughout current temporality in Turkey?

2.4 Queer phenomenology: Facing the back and Osep Minasoğlu

Sara Ahmed's inspiring project of Queer Phenomenology suggests useful theoretical and epistemological insights to study the absence of such a group in our daily life. She studies tradition of phenomenology by returning to works of Husserl, Ponty, and Marx, among others. She strives to re-formulate conditions of existence in a heterosexist way of living. Her phenomenology "faces the back", as she pronounces "the field of heterosexual object is produced as an effect of the repetition of a certain direction, which takes shape as "the background" and which might be personalized as "my background" or as that which allows me to arrive and to do things. (Ahmed, 2006, p. 88) Yet, it is necessary to ask why we are trying to point out background or 'back,', rather than the object right in front of us:

> If we do not see the back of the object, we might also not see its background in this temporal sense. In order to see what the 'natural attitude' has in its sight, we need to face the background of an object, redefined as the conditions for the emergence not only of the objects, as well as the act of perceiving the object, which depends on the arrival of the body that perceives. (Sara Ahmed, 2006, p. 38)

In her analysis, there is a moment of ongoing unawareness to the certain objects/spaces/bodies/conditions. She says, "we are turned toward things. Such things make an impression upon us." (Ahmed, 2006) Therefore, she problematizes our attention to the certain objects and she tries to disorientate such accepted, legitimate orientation. This point of breaking rules of attention/directedness/ towardness creates the conditions for breaking the straight lines because

heterosexuality works as compulsory sign system that creates mode of attention and directedness to the things. When such a 'legitimate' line of heterosexuality breaks, the subject becomes much more autonomous to face with background, which was operated as heterosexuality. This point of realization attribute gigantic power of agency to the subject in where he/she + could generate non-normative, queer lines. Besides, it makes easier to face with objects that do not near enough to us because phenomenology of every single person truly depends on their relation to object and space relation and subjects easily affiliate with the objects they may catch, touch upon and reach.

Breaking the rule of the 'straight line' and 'facing the back' call our attention to various conditions of being that are under crisis and bodies remarked as invisible. That point calls another conceptualization of Ahmed about space and body relationship. "We are 'in line' when we face the direction that is already faced by others. Being in line allows bodies to extend into space, as it were, have already taken their shape." (Ahmed, 2006, p. 15) According to her framework body and space are interrelated and they might extend into each other. This mutual relationship produces fertile answer for the ones, whose existence are problematized, ignored and concealed according to different levels of power relations. Similarly, Butler underlines importance of body and space relationship. She asserts that

> It is not possible first to define the ontology of the body and then to refer to the social significations the body assumes. Rather, to be a body is to be exposed to social crafting and form, and that is what makes the ontology of the body a social ontology. In other words, the body is exposed to socially and politically articulated forces as well as to claims of sociality. (Butler, 2009, p. 3)

From now on, reaching to unreachable objects/bodies becomes necessary for a queer phenomenology, in which the queer researcher is able to face the 'back' – to face the heteronormative background by breaking the rules of straight line. No doubt that, within queer phenomenology bodies produces moment of existences.

Fig. 2   Osep Minasoğlu

"Source: Serttaş, T. (2009). Studio Osep. Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

Meanwhile, I remember funeral of the Armenian-gay photographer Osep Minasoğlu (as Figure 2 shown) in which the place of the past re-appeared and flashed in my mind. Before funeral, I want to re-narrate glorious life of the Osep reflecting to Tayfun Serttaş's biographical art-study 'Studio Osep' (2009) because Osep's influence on this research is indispensable. Serttaş (2009) asserts that Osep Minasoğlu was born in 1929 in Samatya, Istanbul as the latest child of the family. His oldest sibling was sixteen years older than Osep. His actual name was 'Hovsep' but head of the registry office mistakenly enrolled his name as Osep and then with the surname law legalized in 1934, surname of the 'Minasyan' changed as Minasoğlu. In his fifties, most of the family members were died because there was a significant age gap among his siblings and family members. He studied period's famous French High School Saint Benoit, he became fluent in French and adored

French culture but in his last year of the college, due to Wealth Tax, which was implemented beginning in the 1942 to the minority groups of Turkey, Osep's family started to experience financial problems. In fact, wealth tax influenced not only Armenian groups but also Jewish and Greek community members among others living in Turkey at that time. Serttaş indicated that:

> a significant part of Istanbul minorities were people from middle and lower-middle classes and that the majority were trades-people and craftspeople. This implementation targeted the destruction of not a small bourgeois group, but the main middle class that formed the basis and the real mass of non-Muslim communities. (2009, p. 50)

Implementation of the Wealth Tax directly impacted Osep's education, and career. He left the school and started to work in Grand Bazaar as an apprentice. His passion in photograph started with his brother's gift in 1946, and then he adored taking pictures of the people. In 1951, he started to work in period's biggest company Codac in Istanbul both as a photographer and a photography student. Then, in 1953 he created his own company in Samatya as Foto Paris/Photo Paris. This consistency in photography career was disrupted another crisis in Turkish history Istanbul Progrom in 1955, in which event Turkish nationalist attacked non-Muslim Greek people living in Turkey. (Serttaş, 2009) This event immensely affected Greek citizens and as Serttaş (2009) narrated that:

> in a short period of time the demenstrations turned into a wilful and malicious destruction of property. Although in its first stage it appeared to be an anti-Greek action, soon it turned into an act of looting, arson and assault on temples and cemeteries. Security forces showed passive support by declaring 'today we aren't police officers, but Turks' and the events continued for two days. (Serttaş, p. 68)

After Istanbul Program in 1955, Osep was not mentally able to live in Istanbul because Turkish society was explicitly threatening ethnic minorities and also

spreading event abolished financial conditions of minorities after the Wealth Tax. Osep's photography studio and Codac could not function any longer. Therefore, Osep went to the Paris and lived there for seven years. He developed his photography technique, learnt newly emerging photography applications and internalized the ways people working in France as disciplinary and commitment to their jobs. Yet, due to his mother's sickness and war between France and Algeria, he backed to the Istanbul. Afterwards, he continued to work as a professional photographer in Turkey, opened up Studio Osep and took significant position in photographies of the Turkish cinema and the photographer circles of the Beyoglu, Istanbul but military coup of the 80's radically diminished Osep's strength and financial conditions. Osep's precarious position was the consequences of identities he holds. Being both an Armenian and a shared non-binary sexuality triggered different economies of life and life courses for the Osep. (Serttaş, 2009) He could not have occupied social position as the dominant but always situated within instable positioning at the edges of the Turkish society. Financially, he never recovered himself after the coup. Serttaş (2009) explained this bankruptcy as follows;

> The military coup and the scarcity of goods on the market, changing social conditions and commercial isolation meant that there was no way out. Photography was seen entirely as luxury consumption and the consumers stayed away from it. Osep Minasoğlu was now entering a new period of bewilderment, a period of decline he had never experienced in his life before.(Serttaş, p. 138)

This story of the funeral significantly altered the way I think about aging people and being LGBTQ in spaces of precarity. The scene was essentially suitable for inspiration. Imagine all the candles, perfume, the sacred garments of the priests and the gargantuan furniture of the church. Everything was in and out of line and place. I was experiencing a transition reinforced by the places I touched, the church

and hypnotized by the light, which I triumphed to catch just for a while at the funeral. This illumination, the reappearance of past attempts to exhale Osep, stickking in the present. His last days were particularly difficult not only because of disease, aging body, and financial insecurity, but also because of loneliness and the lack of community engagement. In fact, I clearly remember Osep's short appearances in the events like Istanbul Pride Week, or other conferences, gatherings of the community. He was always with his camera and was taking pictures of never admitted friendship because none of them were Osep's actual friends, they were in contact with him but mutuality of the friendship did not seem occurring and dispersing.

The community was trying to support his photographs, and was committed to protect their connection with him. It may be questioned how much young activists' connection was sincere and reflected a mutual relationship, communication, and solidarity. According to my observations in the field, when a young activist is faced with an older LGBTQ they tend to react by limiting their connection abilities. Most of the time they do not contact, talk or their conversation only contain small talks and gestures just to be seen as friendlier. This pretend, performative, and imaginary communication limits the foundation of the relationship and does not bring any reward to the attended subjects.

Osep's loneliness not only derived from his difficult relationship with the LGBTQ community, but because also from his identities of being elder and Armenian. Apart from Osep's Christian religious affiliation, two different repressed groups met one another with the help of Osep's funeral. The event was convened by the Armenian community, and by some of the LGBTQ activists, mostly younger ones. The only lack were Osep's elderly LGBTQ friends. Where were Osep's elderly

LGBTQ friends, people he regularly mentioned?[3] ? Did he not actually have any

LGBTQ friends? Certainly he did! His diaries and memoirs were full of details about

his happiness about being in Turkey, and he many times revealed his pleasure about

staying in Turkey rather than going Paris, or Europe. In those diaries, Osep

introduces his life projections within ups and downs and observed changing Turkey

contrasting with the experiences he had in Europe and Paris as well as these

published memoirs illuminated non-normative life circles of the period's Istanbul,

Beyoglu and Europe. (Serttaş, 2009)As Serttaş underlined that;

> The letters contain a special meaning as the oldest known homosexual experiences of a living person in Turkey. The traces of an entirely different everyday culture in Istanbul and Europe can be found in his memoirs stretching from the 1940's to the 1970's. He relates a great variety stories from the preferred meeting point of gays to the most popular night clubs in Europe, the homosexual communes that formed in Beyoglu as early as the 1950's and the first transsexuals.(2009, p. 156)

Turkish artist Tayfun Serttaş had a close friendship with Osep and also

collected Osep's photographs by utilizing discipline of anthropology as a collection

of memories, places and archive. I met with Serttaş for this research because I want

to listen more about Osep and he had a chance to meet with him and had a friendship

in years.   He pointed out Osep's dissimilar character in relation to the Armenian

community, and to gay culture. Osep's photography techniques during the 1950's

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[3] Osep Minasoğlu's memoirs started to appear in Kaos GL Magazine beginning in the 1998, and he continued to wirte seven years. After the accident he had in 2007, he was not able to write because he lost the function of adequately writing. In his letters, he did not regularly mention photography, Armenian family history or his Ateist identity. As Sertaş indicated that "the ups and downs of the life story in these writings introduce us to a new Osep Minasoğlu through different practices of life. (Serttaş, 2009. p. 156)

and 60's was particularly distinct and he had a legacy of taking pictures of Yesilçam[4] artist as well as well-known artists, singers and transgenders.

Tayfun says that Osep had a fortune, but it was lost due to some of the following despairs in relation to modern history of Turkey (wealth tax, Istanbul Progrom and military coup of the 80's) and his personal life Serttas underline his exhibition 'Studio Osep' as;

> I wanted to remind people who actual Osep is. People assmes Osep as elder, poor gay. Yet, Osep's photography studio was significant according to his distinctive technic and framing. He was a diva. Apart from his artistic significance, within exhibition we wanted to reconnect unbound ties with the Armenian community because Osep was hating Armenian community in Istanbul.

To what extent does Osep's elderly body and multiple identities extend into the phenomenological space of religious, ethnic, and sexual belonging in Turkey? We will never fully know Osep's glorious past in Istanbul as a non-Muslim gay man; but in the present, this aging man in his later years was not breathing enough to extend into those spaces. He was lacking mutuality of space and body integration. As Ahmed (2006) supposes, bodies need to extend into space just as space might extend into body. This formulated connection between two is compulsory because body and space can not be separated. Osep's body was quite old to be reached to the spaces of the LGBTQ movement in 2000's, and holding an Armenian identity was never accepted as a gift to someone in Turkey. In fact, Osep's last years of middle and later ages was witnessing radical social transformations and changes, continuing repression, and reformulations of the 'social'. Osep's body could not extend into

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[4] Yesilcam refers to certain period of time in Turkish cinema. In this period of time Turkish cinema exceeded previous time's production, distribution and exhibition capacities as well as it followed by huge groups of audiences.

space because there was no such community or social movement space that accept Osep's elderly diseased body and that could conduct vigorous and organic solidarity with him. This flash of the past at the funeral was a moment potentially calling such extension of the body to the spaces. Despite a growing awareness of aging LGBTQ's in Turkey, there is still widespread ageism in the community that limits potential transformation of space and body as well as numerous ways of conducting queer lives. Stereotypical ways of being LGBTQ are spread over community in the forms of beauty, consumerism, and entertainment. Most of my informants underlined that LGBTQ movement is extremely youth-oriented and people barely find a place even in their thirties.

Currently, aging bodies of LGBTQ subjects in the Turkish context have somehow disappeared and do not exist as "reachable objects" as Sara Ahmed describes in her discussions of phenomenology (2006). Aging bodies cannot extend into the available sociological 'spaces' in Turkey. Their mode of existence is conditionally unmarked and the political, social, and cultural history of Turkish society has contributed to this unmarked existence. Such unmarked virtuality makes people think that aging citizens of the Turkish society do not exist yet because the movement of LGBTQ politics is so visibly young in Turkey. Apart from the reachable younger LGBTQ activists of movement, an elder population as a much more fixed category seems insignificant or not there. Aging queer bodies have a condition of non-existence, which is marked by the social space itself in which younger activists continue to produce normative assumptions about elders, categories of age and body politics. The background of this problem is multifaceted. On the one hand, a heteronormative production of knowledge makes invisible non-normative sexual cultures and LGBTQ politics along with conservative policies of state,

institution of family and religion. On the other hand, elder LGBTQ subjects are disempowered by the community itself from the beginning. Reaching any kind of 'normative' straight line is made more difficult for elder LGBTQs in Turkish society. Therefore, this project with the help of Ahmed's queer phenomenological approach tries to reach those unmarked and unreachable object/bodies. Hopefully, this project of breaking rule of straight, heteronormative line make easier moment of being for the elder LGBTQ groups in Turkey.

Philosophising bodies of elder LGBTQ's by utilizing queer perspective has some of the dangerous political positions for the topic itself because of its urgency. In fact, it is a moment of crisis in where most of the subject died owing to aging body, disease, HIV, poorness, and lack of community empowerment. On the other hand, discussion of body and aging might produce normative social policies for such group. Therefore, queering notions of being elder LGBTQ necessarily suggests itself for better solutions. The category of 'aging' is quite a normative term itself, which tries to regulate people according to their specificities of age and existence in a life course. In fact, my aim is to enlarge the category of age and its fixedness. Apart from that, discussion of early queer cultures and lives requires consideration of different temporalities and space. As stated earlier, this project revisits different historical period beyond LGBTQ activisms. What we need is a queering of the late 1970's, 80's and 90's by considering queer temporalities and spaces within movement, culture and community.

2.5 Queer memory sites in Turkey: Ulker Sokak experience

Queer times requires moment of crisis. (Halberstam, 2015) This crisis transforms despair, pain into political configuration that enable subject to resist disparities and arbitrary discrimination. Queer politics and ways of activisms of LGBTQ groups depend on those moment of crisis and exceeded oppression period. Halberstam points out that "queer time perhaps emerge most spectacularly, at the end of twentieth century, from within those gay communities whose horizons of possibility have been severely diminished by the AIDS epidemic." (Halberstam, 2005, p. 3) AIDS crisis materialized surpassed agony and sorrow community confronted in different spheres of health, religion, family, media and so on. Similarly, Stonewall Rebel extended bodies of LGBTQ citizens and manifested oppression as maddening, exhausted experience to the public. As d'Emilio analysed within Stonewall, coming out got importance in the gay culture and mobilized politics as well as triggered newly emerged lesbian politics. (D'Emilio, 1992) No doubt that AIDS crisis increased mobilization capacity of the LGBTQ's and established new concepts of friendship, family and belonging. On the one hand AIDS build up stronger communities that have better solidarity mechanisms and collective activisms that open to act with solidarity both at global and local levels. Moment of crisis reappear according to changing circumstances of society. Recently, Orlando, ISIS's cruel acts and Trump's homophobic statements can be seen as predicaments that precedes subjectivities of LGBTQ groups.

These moments of crisis can be traced in keeping with notions of queer temporalities and spaces in Turkey. Activism pursuits of LGBTQ's signifies existence of moment of crisis but I am proposing that these moments exceed historical, temporal and spatial materialization of the 'official' LGBTQ movement.

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In particular, military coup of 80's crystalized such moment of crisis on behalf of transgender citizens. Besides, LGBTQ culture experienced highly distinct dwelling involvement in Turkey. (Zengin, 2014) In particular, Ulker Street and Abanoz Street can be conceptualized as places of repression and ghettoization in where transgender sex workers jointly inhabited, worked and belaboured transition processes of their bodies, socialization and growing up. My aim is to pluralize moment of crisis in LGBTQ culture and re-introduce Ulker Street as an elapsed memory site and a moment of crisis. This project argues that Turkish LGBTQ movement do not have potent culture of remembering and do not necessarily study past events and oppression in where movement could generate crucial information about feature of oppression, ways of bargaining as well as number of significant network. Despite of crucial attempt of remembering, movement is always on the surface of the present and more directed to the future. There could be essential reason of such orientation due to asymmetries of the power relations, state violence and lack appreciation of the politics of time. As Benjamin suggest, "To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it "the way it really was" (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger. (Benjamin, 1969, p. 255) which means to me that, past is beyond nostalgic occurrences, but something potentially deliberate and helpful for our current temporality.

Ways of remembering of the past and bodies could create vigorous moments for the present. Such project of remembering appears as significant and indispensable part of the many social movements as well as numerous ways of activism, politics, and individual remembering. Remembering does not happen easily because it requires difficult moment to encounter with for the ones who attempts to occupy fragile social spaces in the daily life. This fragile feature of the subject or group not

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only makes remembering harsher but also makes conditionally invisible. At this juncture, socially conditioned understanding of time could create unconsciousness of the time. Connerton (1989) says that "for an individual's consciousness of time is to a large degree an awareness's on society's continuity, or more exactly of the image of that continuity which the society creates." In many ways, identity politics of LGBTQ groups disrupts this continuity of time and created liberal spheres to interrogate atrocities of Turkish modernization and promotes queer possibilities.

By referring queer time paper is referring to Halberstam's conceptualizations about them. He suggest that "queer time is a term for those specific models of temporality that emerge within postmodernism once one leaves the temporal frames of bourgeois reproduction and family, longevity, risk/safety, and inheritance." (Halberstam, p. 3) Multiple realities of subject and social groups are such a post-modern phenomenon works against reductionist narration of modernity. Time as one of the modern thing come into picture with its standardization and regulatory feature to our discussion. In here, it is attempted to find out different temporality occurred at the same time but experienced differently. In particular, modernist ideology suggest that progress and continuity of time creates efficiency and potent subject throughout their secular and rationalist way of living. Its violent features mostly ignored and supporters of this regime concealed subjects, realities and demands of differentiation. In this context, modern Turkish-nation state might be conceptualised as regulatory and non-queer element along with its repressive and unificatory components. Therefore, searching of the queer time must work against such oppression of the modern time as happened many of the modern-nation state. Not particularly Turkey, but the West is non-queer in terms of its relation to time, locality, and geography. Similarly, literature of 'space' mostly ignored importance of sexuality in the

discussion of space and time. For instance, Halberstam (2005) criticizes Marxist tradition, Harvey, etc. as saying;

> Reproductive time and family time are, above all, heteronormative time/space constructs. But while Harvey hints at the gender politics of these forms of time/space, he does not mention the possibility that all kinds of people, especially in postmodernity, will and do opt to live outside of reproductive and familial time as well as on the edges of logics of labor and production. (Halberstam, 2005, p. 9)

In addition to that, globalization has a vast potential to reject most of the notion of modern-nation state but it's universalistic and capitalist trajectories surrounded its radical-transformative potentials. Therefore, searching queer times means that working against modernity, globalisation, global capitalist economy and post-colonialism.

Ulker Street experience engages nostalgia, history, and incapacities of remembering for the LGBTQ movement. Nostalgic feature of the story gives anaesthetic and soothing characteristics to the street's imagination by the young activists. In fact, despite of common interest to the Ulker Sokak in community, its devastation and disappearance do not evaluate appropriately. Until the time I interviewed with one of the residents of the streets, I was unaware of difficult experiences after street closed. My informant said me that there were approximately one hundred trans-sex workers at the street, after this collapsing, half of them were died in the highways because of diseases and lack of previously empowering trans-gender community.

What's more is that Ulker Sokak was a kind of safe zone for trans-sex workers because it had some privileges across transgender community in Istanbul. In stress, it is quite significant to be aware of that Ulker Sokak was not only living

places of the 'girls', but it was privileged, white and more secure living and working places. Same informant narrated that people (mostly men) were swarming to the Beyoğlu for fun. In particular, after repressive environment of the 80's and devastating effect of military coup, people were motivated to entertain maybe just to forget pain they still feel, or entertainment was re-produced just because to transform society. Yet, the important thing for us is that, same entertainment sector gave only a partial acceptance to the transgender community. This liberal environment of amusement in the early 90's in Beyoglu was still harshly regulated bodies of the trans-sex workers. Also, ongoing state violence become more meaningful when someone apply for a reason to comprehend how street was emptied by trans-sex workers in a short and easy way. (Selek, 2011)

Fragile social position of trans-sex workers did not find necessary community involvement to be able to fight against commencing transformation project in the street. In fact, girls at the street had connection to different stratified social groups such as black- African community, gypsies, and distressed people. (Selek, 2011) Yet, this connection did not produce a resistance to stay at the street, but reinforced their disappearance because they were sharing same fragility at that times. Besides, urban transformation, in particular in Beyoglu district was welcomed about early 90's. Most of the streets were transformed to somewhere whiter and rich and was served to the privileged social groups.

As a matter of fact, street's transformation, and LGBTQ movement's consolidation corresponded each other. During the early 90's, LGBTQ movement cannot be considered as dangerous social group for the state when we compared to 2000's. Yet, movement could not advocate street's necessity and generate networks of solidarity with the newly homeless girls.

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LGBTQ movement attempts to cover up experience of Ulker Street along with LGBTQ history. Yet, it is necessary to realize inconsistencies of the experience and to accept Ulker Sokak as a varied experience. Otherwise, it is potentially turns into nostalgic understanding of the past, but not necessarily transformative.

More importantly, Ülker Street never thought through the notion of the 'loss' As I previously said, nearly 50 girls died after a year because they had not been experienced living outside of the street. Heteronormative violence was regulated their bodies harshly and this trauma of homelessness and loss of nearly thousands of friends is still awake. If we return to different methodology of Serematakis (1996) through loss objects, such loss of bodies could function positively for the memory and we could generate relational and interwoven comprehension. As she suggests it is necessary to face with dust in our eyes. In particular, evanescent importance of Ulker Street linger with dust and loss. Also, I believe that this loss is related to lack of mourning. Unnamed loss obfuscates reasons of such a popular interest of the Ulker Street which is never truly understood. This loss turns into a nostalgia for entertainment at the same time triggers melancholia. As Benjamin says, "the true picture of the past flits by." (1969, p. 255) Such ubiquitous dimension of reality between nostalgia/entertainment, and melancholia/loss creates gap, discontinuity, and inconsistency. As inspiring from Yael Navaro- Yashin (2009) this loss turns into a ruination in where subject cannot encounter with the past and lost in melancholia. In the discussion of ruination, Yashin means that "material remains or artefacts of destruction and violation, but also to the subjectivities and residual affects that linger, like a hangover, in the aftermath of war or violence." (Navaro-Yashin, 2009, p. 5) In here, I am using ruination as a form of dust and lingering moment of crisis such as described by Halberstam's notion of disidentification with the heteronormative

reproductions. In this context, ruination turns into a crisis of Ulker Sokak and materialized as lost bodies at there. We had never been physically encountered with this decay, but it unconsciously stocked as the memoirs of the community and the culture.

Therefore, it is necessary to re-appropriate Ulker Street through the notion of loss. Such awareness could take us from nostalgic perspective to the point where number of activist could get over feeling of ruination and melancholia. Also, it is necessary not to think Ulker Street as an indispensable part of LGBTQ movement history in Turkey. Despite of number of similarities they have various realities and subjectivities at the street. Therefore, it is better to understand Ulker Street along with its inconsistencies and queer moments. Also, in a Benjaminian sense, movement could generate highly fruitful lessons from the past experience of Ulker Street by catching up for a moment. As he pointed out "the past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again. (1969, p. 255) As we understood, those instants are depicted in somewhere and waits for the flash up but this is not a constant actuality and not happening regularly, the point is to be able to catch it up.

CHAPTER 3

MULTIPLE DIRECTIONS OF THE LGBTQ MOVEMENT'S

HISTORY IN TURKEY[5]

This chapter aims at discussing LGBTQ histories in modern Turkey. Such an

intertwined relation might potentially reflect various political, social, and cultural

changes in history as well as varied ways of embodiments, positioning, and

interactions. There could be numerous ways of studying LGBTQ history in Turkey,

yet, I have chosen to study LGBTQ histories in Turkey considering six points: 1)

Looking at global context and connections, where traversing internal and external

dynamics created visible accelerations for the course of sexual minorities. 2) The

relationship between a changing Turkish society and the context of

1970/1980/1990's and emergence of LGBTQ movement. 3) Incipient activist

narrations about late 80's and 90's and movement itself according to available

concepts from my own fieldwork and the in-depth interviews I have conducted. 4)

Altering urban and entertainment dynamics of urbanized cities and its relation to

production process of arising activist LGBTQ subjects in Turkey. 5) Considering

diverse subjectivities and sexualities and non-normative, peripherical queer activities

emerged along with LGBTQ movement in Turkey in order to comprehend history

not as fixed and linear but consistent with stratified power relations and different

forms of concentrations. 6) Challenging the organization and goals of potential of

LGBTQ activism over time, and the contribution of different forms of *capital*

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[5] Throughout this chapter, accommodated narrations and witnessing derive from oral history Project of Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association and conducted in-depth interviews with early activists of LGBTQ movement in Turkey. I do not change names of people in the oral history project because it was already publicly known but I altered names of my participants in order to keep them anonymous.

(Bourdieu) to the exclusion of elders, both symbolic and real. These points are not separated so that I am mutually discussing contribution of each sub-section.

What kind of history can be narrated for the case of LGBTQ subjects in Turkey? There are compulsory actors in this discussion such as state, family, media, morality, left groups, conservatism, violence, etc. My aim is not to express general themes, significant dates, and events or to present a clear-cut, ongoing, progressive history, but rather to illustrate creation of temporary alliances, social networks, and solidarity appliances as bargaining mechanisms toward the violence of the state, society, and other oppressive institutions. Therefore, here I examine a recent history-nearly 40 years - relationally with short periods and multiple directions in order to depict people (typically omitted in official narratives) in their immediate environment and reveal different levels of hierarchization and power struggles among different agents and structures.[6] The depiction of normative and non-normative life cycles demonstrates the influence of social structure and agent's capacity to reflect, challenge and incorporate those assemblies in their life. These mutual relationships between agency and structure create various combinations of structuring structures and structured structures because it is not a simply a matter of an agency or a structure; rather, aim of this understanding transcends these dichotomies of agency and structure and to grasp conditioned mutuality of each categories, which means that in which way people created bargaining mechanisms reflecting to conditioned structure and considering previously interiorized, behavioural bodily patterns. (Bourdieu, 1986) In practice, studying LGBTQ history

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[6] A discussion of continuity and discontinuity of uncategorized existence of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer subjectivities in the transformation process of Ottoman society to Turkish Republic is not the concern of this study. Yet, I do consider social and political history of modern Turkey by looking at organized and non-organized LGBTQ subjects.

in Turkey, as elsewhere around the world, means understanding agents' own negotiations and struggle mechanisms against the excessive and intolerable violence of the social institutions of the state, media, economy, and family according to negotiated bodily reflections, accumulated social histories and residues of the social world including repressive social institutions.

3.1 The 70's: Fluid identities of 'Dönmeler', 'Gacılar' and 'Lubunyalar'

An interconnected relationship between LGBTQ culture and activism might be traced from the early the 70's, by looking at the locations where non-heterosexual citizenship form appears in various places of Istanbul, namely Beyoğlu and Abanoz Street. In the 70's, repressive body politics emerged in order to regulate bodies and life economies of the non-normative sexualities. Such change was occurred in accordance with social, political, and cultural transformations in Turkish society. Ebru Deniz Ozan (2015) examines the 70's by considering crisis of hegemony in the areas of economics and politics. According to her detailed analysis of the 70's in Turkey, it might be summarised that different political groups strived to dominate politics, yet, there was an obvious problem of 'representation'. Coalition governments emerged as one of the central problems of the decade as well as an ongoing conflict between left and right groups and resulting political violence. Coalition governments had difficulties of consensus, and their varied ideas was result of difficulties of transition in Turkey in various field of economics and politics. Forms of dissent emerged in many areas, including economics, Cyprus Movement, and the General Repentance Law. Political violence was heightened in particular at the end of the decade. (Ozan, 2015) Ozan (2015) writes that in 1977, 319 people was

murdered and it dramatically increased to 1095 in 1978 and 1362 in 1979. Also, the revolutionary figure Deniz Gezmiş and his political friends were executed by hanging for their 'crimes'. Coalition governments made changes to the (idealistic) 1961 constitution according to demand of economic-power holders because the previous version enabled worker's consolidation of power and strengthened the labour movement – both threats for the interests of the state.

During the 70's, political Islam and nationalist parties and politics intensified and their members were staffed in state and bureaucracy. Islamists suggested Islamist life style by criticising discomforts of industrialization and as a developmental strategy. (Yavuz, 1997) At the same time, nationalists adopted populist discourse and reached to the rural citizens. Anti-communism was their one of the significant motto. (Ozan, 2015) After 12 March memorandum, a state of siege was promulgated in different cities of Turkey by attacking worker's collectives, student rebels, and Kurdish political activities. In response, a grass-roots class movement was strengthened and bolstered over the following years, and the Kurdish movement's political orientations become more clear, concentrated and strategic. (Ozan, 2015)

In this context, there was a significant problems of coalition governments, constitution was changed in prevention of people's strengthening processes in politics, namely, in labour movement. At the same time, political assassinations and murders were regularly rising. There was a violence legitimized by the state. This environment of increased carnage also started to provide the necessary legitimacy for brutal violence toward non-heterosexual others and other so-called 'foes' of the Republic, -Kurds, Alevis, labours, revolutionists, women, etc. The brutality of the state crystallized with military coup of 1980. However, before discussing military

coup and 80's, I do find it necessary to explore the living environment of non-heterosexuals in 1970's, particularly in the urban environments of the Istanbul[7]

We do have little information about the 70's and lives of LGBTQ people in Turkey can only be followable through Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association[8]'s oral history project looking at mainly the 80's and the 90's (but also extended to the 70's according to narrations of the participants) conducted within early members of the community and aimed at transmitting lost stories and histories of the pre-movement.Significantly, Abanoz Street in Istanbul emerged as one of the leading visibility area for non-heterosexual subjectivities. On that street, a significant number of transgender people live and work together, and their mutual dwelling provides a shelter against state violence and generates a solidarity network and shared culture. Yet, the street was emptied by minister Saadettin Tantan, who known as his violent image in the public. And then, transgender/sex workers went to the Dolapdere, another deprived, multi-cultural district close to the area of Beyoğlu, Taksim. Importantly, at this time television – which had not been that widespread in people's homes – started to expand its reach. People began to watch news and entertainment shows at home. At the same time, transgender artist Bulent Ersoy started to consolidate her fame. During the time, VAT 69, Şadırvan, Beybon 67 appeared as important place for transgender/sex workers in İstanbul. (Black Pink Triangle Izmir

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[7] During that time, migration from East to West and from rural to city was increased and Istanbul was the most demanding place in the Turkey. Fort he non-normative sexualities, it was more significant because in urban places they might have found a shelter or a group of people whom they share similar life projections. Therefore, throughout the 70's, 80's and the following years Istanbul and Beyoglu served as a place that peripheral sexualities migh have live together such as happened in the Abanoz Street, Dolapdere, Karaköy, Ulker Street, Tarlabaşı district in contrast to close and introverted rural communities.

[8] Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association was formed in 2009 and located in Turkey's third biggest city Izmir. It is the first LGBTQ organization in the Aegan Region and it is member of ILGA and Transgender Europe. In this Project I am using their published oral history books 'Being Lubunya in the 80's'(2012) and the 'Being Lubunya in the 90's'(2013)

Association, 2012) I want to give some of the narrations of transgender experiences told in oral history project in order to demonstrate late years of the 70's , in order to get an impression of the environment and daily life – as well as to anticipate the coming of military coup of 80's- from the perspective of peripheral sexualities.

Demet:

"Back then there were not a lot of queer sex houses and places for queer people were scarce; a couple of pubs and a couple of clubs. Harbiye was a cis-gender women sex workers' place but then queers took over the streets to work—they were not accepted in the brothel anyway. It was a poorer group, most of them stayed with other people, in one-room apartments in Tarlabaşı. Later street sex work came up, places to work extended, here and there feminine gays started taking the streets where trans women were working. Around that time restrictions started to increase and places to do sex work were disappearing. In Dolapdere there was a house that we called "çöplük" or "vırvır", it was a slum, did not have electricity or water, it used the light of candles. It was kind of like a portable brothel. Police would raid it down, destroy the place constantly then they would build it back up like a tent. While I was just getting to know those couple of clubs and girls September 12th happened."

Belgin:

Abanoz was one of the first brothels in Turkish Republic. When you go down the road from Ağa Mosque, it's on the second left. No: 60… Trans people from Russia came and worked in Abanoz. Gays worked in menekşe/violet beaches. People came from Greece and worked. From Bulgaria, Holland, Italy… I mean we were that much free. We had rendezvous houses. No one can deny this. Our pensions had opened. We were at ease; it was literally a boy brothel. Then Ecevit's government came to power. Was it '74? Ecevit did not come to power on his own. It was a coalition government with the late Erbakan and Türkeş. Abanoz closed for the first time in Ecevit's first term. Because the internal relations minister back then was from the Selamet Party. They were excruciating. When Demirel came Abanoz opened again. Then it was closed for ever. We were subject to such torture that one of our friends peed blood. (2012: 70 71)

Deniz:

We used to be taken to the police station; we wouldn't be able to see daylight for 15-20 days. But I was comfortable; there was no murders or physical

violence. They used to take good care of us, Cars would come to Taksim and with those cars they would take us to eat, drink, travel, the beach, to Şile, Kilyos, Ağva… I worked in Bayram Sokak, in Abanoz. I am the first person to take queers there in '74. Abanoz was closed between '76 and '77. Then we moved to Dolapdere. Back then, in '77-'78 the police was not able to go in to Dolapdere. I worked there, in the '80s that was closed too. When it also closed we started working in the streets. Some people went to the clubs, some went to the "pavyons. (2012: 176 77)

Taken together, these narrations anticipate and describe increased state violence. State tried to destroy working environment of transgender persons, and their lives were filled with poverty, precarity and violence. In its implementation, the closing of Abanoz was also influenced by coalition governments' diverse tendencies. As stated earlier, Islamists and nationalists had started to staff the state bureaucracy and the minister of internal affairs Saadettin Tantan at the time came from Nationalist Movement Party, which political party throughout its history portrayed institutional organization of conservative nationalism and heteronormativity underlying with the importance of traditional heterosexual families and threatening self- representation along with hateful anti-minority approaches against Kurds among others.

We could also find out that after Abanoz, transgender/sex workers tried to create a new space in the city, but Dolapdere also could not function as a secure working area since brutal violence remained the same. During the end of the decade, spatial autonomy, and the ability to flow into new kinds of spaces was limited, and transgender bodies could not just exist as they were. (Ahmed, 2006). In this context during the 1970's, I suggest that internal dynamics of LGBTQ culture started to appear. Sex- working started to become institutionalized, and transgender people began to bargain against violence and to invent new mechanisms for their ability to

work, such as the creation of çark/cruising, which means that informal sex services realized in parks, cinemas, streets among other public spaces. The internal logic of their social space as a 'field' (Bourdieu) espoused sex work activities as the only choices. The perpetrator of legitimate violence was state, but their state's brutality enacted by local police force was beginning to embolden other citizens, who would implement and copy such violence by organizing hate in the near future. For instance, oral history project participant Deniz indicates that there were no killing or beatings during the 70's. Yet, those activities of ferocity intensified throughout in 80's and 90's both in state and public according to increased visibility in the public spaces and media. In addition to that, throughout the 70's, LGBTQ identity remained as non-fixed, uncategorized. People regularly notes words of gacı/lubunya/dönme but not transgender, lesbian, gay or bisexual. These three related, but separated nouns are explaining fluid and intertwined sexual becoming and their impossibilities of translation into English signify that those identifications are local and pre-modern according to identity categories of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer. 'Lubunya', for instance, indicates that feminine 'gay' oriented male, while 'dönme' are connotating transgender but these connotations are context dependent and contingent. What I do is keeping these nouns in Turkish in order to protect their origins and not limiting their widespread and interrelated meanings in English.

3.2 80's: Collective violence, neoliberal reformations and military coup

The 1980's can be seen in Turkish society as years of dynamic change and transformation. (Önder, 1998; Akça, 2014; Saraçoğlu, 2015)) The advent of a neoliberal economy and a lethal military coup created new social patterns and

cultures. Both dramatically changed lives of LGBTQ citizens in Turkey. Yet, contribution of neoliberalism and military coup to the political, cultural, and social aspects of LGBTQ culture has not necessarily been studied. The horrible consequences of the military coup are most often associated with leftist groups and Kurds. However LGBTQ citizens' histories and memories can also be studied in the context of the internal and external dynamics of that decade, in order to better understand the current movement and culture of LGBTQ's today.

The military coup and the inception of neoliberalism appear as most fundamental dynamics that framed the general structure of Turkish society not only in the 80's but its inherent impacts on 90's and the ensuing Justice and Development Party period. Historian Akça (2014) notes that "military coup of 12 September 1980 should not be over emphasised as a factor that explains every think related to political sociology of our day, it did constitute an important breaking point in the formation of contemporary Turkey." (Akça, 2014, p. 14) Historian Cenk Saraçoğlu (2015) studies both the 1980's and 90's relationally and attempts to illustrate necessary conditions that military coup emerged as compulsory in transition to neoliberalism. He asserts that there was a crisis in accumulation of capital as a late capitalised country and developmental approaches of the state not necessarily provided solutions to market. The rising power of leftists, labours, unions and students were significantly attempted to silence by military forces but the 70's dispersed legitimation crisis required neoliberal policies as obligatory in the context of external debt and IMF. Saraçoğlu (2015) particularly avoids the discourse of disagreement between left and right because such utterances were strategically released into circulation in order to legitimize coup's necessity.

With the help of the coup, potent opposition to neoliberal policies was muzzled and radical changes in economy and politics were legalized and implemented without adversaries. During the process, in particular, left groups and politicised Kurds were exposed to intensive amount of violence. Mamak and Diyarbakır Prison were served to function of detention camp. After the coup, as historian Bozarslan (2008) reminds that "the new authorities considered Kurdishness, like left-wing ideologies, to be a pathology that needed to be cured by an overdose of Kemalism and Turkishness. All forms of expression of Kurdishness were banned, legally elected mayors were dismissed." (p.350) Saraçoğlu (2015) also indicates that three years continuing military dictatorship triumphantly demolished power of leftists but politicized consolidation of Kurdish identity as radical and violent. A new ideological formation of Turkish-Islamic synthesis (Kemalism + Turkish nationalism + Sunni Islam) provided necessary condition of growing political Islam because Islamists accumulated and intensified power by applying strong and affective organization mechanisms and then, dispersed to the politics and social life throughout 90's and 2000's. Another significant event of the decade related to neoliberalism and the coup was a judicial review that showing that after the 1982 constitution, the state security court was re-established in 1983 (previously terminated in 1976) and kept opponents always under control without legitimacy and establishment of YÖK (general directorate of higher education credit and hostels institution) which was supposed to keep students and academia as de-politicised and determine ideological formations of the universities. (Saraçoğlu, 2015)

Neoliberalism not only re-asserts economic affairs and international relations but re-organized daily life and culture (Harvey, 1991). This economic model required new types of citizenship, social life and cities as well as of labour and consumption.

During the 1980's, urban transformation projects increased and urban spaces were re-established as places of luxury hotels, banks, finance centres, amusement and shopping centres by sending factories and workers to the peripheries of the cities. (Saraçoğlu, 2015) As Saktanber and Beşpınar (2012) explained president Ozal's reforms' were not only economical but also it aimed at changing in spheres of the politics, culture and the foreign policy. According to sociologist Keyder 's (2008) a changing Istanbul examination, he demonstrated that Istanbul as the biggest city of the Turkey had experienced dynamic processes of the change regarding migration and housing. Previously unlegalized informal housing projects (gecekondu) had transformed into planned growing and it opened up new opportunities for the previous residents, accelerated growing within the housing sector and provided jobs for the new comers to the city. In relation to that, globalization as flows and networks of the new world compulsorily transformed to the city. As he put that;

> The new global networks penetrate urban life and restructure the economy, introducing new types of employment and levels of income for some that are commensurate with the wealthier areas of the world… Istanbul has experienced the shock of rapid integration into transnational networks and markets and witnessed the emergence of new social groups since the 1980s. A thin social layer of a new bourgeois and professional class has adopted the lifestyle and consumption habits of their transnational counterparts. (Keyder, 2008, pp. 515, 516)

Increased flow of capital and networks also altered the information and the knowledge. Yet, it did not directly bring freedom because those economic opportunities of the 'new' Turkish society was unequally distributed and emerging middle classes has been growth. At the same time, throughout the 80's and the following decade, conditions of the existence for the sexual minorities and Kurds remained disadvantaged and silenced among other minority groups.

In the book called 'The Making of the Neoliberal Turkey' (Ozbay, Erol, Turem, Terzioğlu, 2016) tried to understand newly appearing subjectivities along with occurring neoliberal transformation of the Turkish society. They attempted to reflect upon that neoliberal governmentalization, in which transformation schedule, military rules hammered out political movements, emergence of financial liberalization and integration of the neoliberal globalization was occurred and the societal change according to influence of these previous implementations. In particular, rise of identity politics occupies significant position in the discussion since they create a new dynamic and ways of doing politics as well as subjectivities.

> …new subjectivities have been constructed as neoliberal ideas are fostered and proliferated through intensifying power relations and the increased social investment to govern them. The production and administration of knowledge, the creation of supposedly free subjects who are able to compete and succeed in neoliberalism, and the rigid governance of actions are fused in this contex. (Ozbay et al., 2016 p.6)

As they argued (2016) appearances of these new subjectivities was aboth reflection and results of newly occurring dynamics. Among other related alterations; city and urban space were reconstructed, new identities and sociabilities have emerged, new political identities accumulated and new feature of leisure and work was reordered. At this point, it is quite necessary for me to grasp emergence of such a new subjectivity regarding peripheral sexual becoming since they respondent to new global neoliberal order such as influences of increased body politics and information, new types of leisure (entertaintment) increase of service sector and new precarious class position. Therefore, to assign relationship between new neoliberal social structure and conditions of peripheral sexualities as well as the LGBTQ movement is a must to accurately contemplate a changing Turkey beginning in the 80's.

In contrast to the 70's, in the 80's we have much more narration and experiences thanks to the oral history project of the Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association. In fact, this study established very well the conditions, life structures and social environment of transgender citizens in Turkey, but lacks gay, lesbian and bisexual identities. It is a very interesting outcome of the oral history project that only transgender lives historically can be observable throughout the 70's and 80's. Yet, the visibility of gays and lesbians radically increases in the 90's and over the course of 2000's. One of the reasons for this is that during the 70's and 80's it was quite difficult to obtain a more specific identity-based approach to peripheral sexuality; differentiations between 'gay' and 'transgender' seemed much more unresolved and fluid. This blurred process of identity creation includes various combinations of representation and uses appearance and identity as well as sexuality and identity much more strategically. For instance, a transgender woman, namely, a *dönme* could adopt look of *laçovari*[9] In the same time, these unfixed appearances and changes were still innate in contemporary transgender culture, but there is no doubt that such fluidity was shared not only by transgenders but for uncategorized sexual identities in the name of laçovari, dönme, gacı, lubunya etc. Interestingly, media used the term 'homosexuals' to determine all non-heterosexual sexualities (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association, 2012). Auspiciously, the 1980's might be projected as non-fixed ambiguities and fuzziness in sexual identity. Another reason for the traceable, bygone lives of transgender individuals was their commitment to together living in the 70's, 80's, and 90's. Indeed, communal living was conditionally structured according to extreme violence of state and other social institutions. (Selek, 2011) Therefore, LGBTQ history of Turkey simultaneously

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[9] Very vague identification among transgender community. It is mostly connotating 'masculine' transgender woman appearance.

consists of battle of communal living but those places of shared living places regularly was subjected to extreme violence of internal forces of the state. Historically, Abanoz Street, Ulker Street, Bornova Street (Izmir) Eryaman (Ankara), and Meis (Istanbul) were places where it was possible to see how this compulsory culture of living together was internally supported in transgender community and helped to crystallize them into the history and culture of the city and the country. At this juncture, it is necessary to notice that the history of the late 70's and 80's represented in the oral histories of the transgender community most often consider fluid, fluctuating mechanisms and relationalities. However, an identity-creation process will emerge as one of the leading method of organization in the 90's.

The 1980's embodies increased and much more institutionalized violence, not only against those categorized as having a 'transgender' identity. After Abanoz, transgender residential districts were diminished, and Dolapdere had not emerged as a new ghetto for trans/sex workers. New concepts of working obtained minimal living and working conditions. During this decade, the notion of cruising/*çark* found necessary attention and influenced the internal dynamics of the LGBTQ culture. Çark was not invented during that time because public places and clandestinely known symbolic spaces and items were being subscribed usage of semiotic exchanges throughout history. Under stress, the extreme violence of the state compulsorily predisposed *cark* as the only solution of surviving. *Çark* significantly initiated asymmetries of economical dissimilarities because some of the members of community commenced to earn increased prices.

There were also practical difficulties in gender transition, despite the medical availability of surgery. In practice, after gender reassignment operation, people could not take obtain a new identity card since it was not regarded as legal by the

state. This circumstance constituted a non-recognition of their new personhood as well as a violation of their citizenship-based legal and human rights. This problem of surgery was amended in 1988 in order to provide an identity card for artist Bulent Ersoy. (Yılmaz, 2013) In relation to that, apart from sex working, singing activities was one of the economic activity of the transgenders and it was also under the regulation of the state. Yılmaz stated that:

> LGBT's were not mentioned in Turkish law until 1980. In a sense, they were "invisible". The first examples of clauses concerning LGBTs in Turkish law appeared after the *coup d'état* of 12 September in 1980. In 1981, the military junta issued a memorandum prohibiting "the employment of men wearing female clothing in pubs and night clubs," which led to the banning of the famous trans woman singer Bülent Ersoy from taking stage in nightclubs and TV shows. (Yılmaz, 2013, p. 133)

This prohibition created another economic deprivation. These processes of oppression and censorship guided transgenders to uncover new directions and new forms of jobs in order to prolong their continuity of life. As a result, on the one hand, there were no secure living and working places as observed in Abanoz and partially monitored in Dolapdere. On the other hand, singing activities in clubs was outlawed, thus, it can be figured out that the *cark* system compulsorily increased and attached to transgender as one of the financial activity but it also generated much more fragile and perilous working surrounding. Their bodies were simultaneously exposed to violence, exploitation, and organized hate. The problem of a new, shared ghetto was solved somewhat by creating more dense communities in city centers like Cihangir or Beyoğlu in Istanbul. However, it is necessary to remember that those concentrations in living areas emerged not as tactical, organized activities but as consequentially resulted from compulsory internal dynamics of state violence. Ulker Street will be serving such internal demand of living together against state violence

in the second half of the 90's. (Selek, 2011) At this point, as internal dynamics

illustrated, informal sex-work was attached to transgender community and it created

another internal logic that requires living together against state violence, and

displacement strategies of the local administrators. These circumstances directly

influenced their economic opportunities and career because ongoing violence and

widespread discriminations disabled them to work in different sectors so that they

concentrated in sex-work activities and it both became compulsory and inherited.

3.3 Influences of military coup to the community

> Demet:
>
> There was an autumn grayness in the air, it felt like everything had a meaning
> to it. Weather was so overcast in Istanbul; there was a 4-day long curfew
> anyway… It was like the weather was reflecting people's pain, so gloomy. In
> September it used to be overcast for a few days in Istanbul but it would get
> sunny again. During that time dark clouds stayed for days, it was like grieving
> for all the people who were going to suffer that violence; the weather had an
> irony to it. (2012: 123)

Various levels of violence, surviving and bargaining materialised in the context of

military coup of 80's and neoliberalism. Now, I wish to reflect upon the military

coup considering the experiences of the transgender community as told in oral

history project and according to findings of my field-work. As stated earlier, Mamak

and Diyarbakır prisons reflect social traumas of leftists and Kurds because they

crystallized as places of extreme violence. There is no doubt that left groups was

directly influenced by the coup because one of the significant intention of the coup

was to abolish left and class politics so that neoliberalism could work without any

dissent. (Saraçoğlu, 2015) As formulated, left and class politics never stood as

powerful as they were in the 70's after the military coup. History varied differently in

relation to Kurds because military dictatorship and coherent policies of civil politics vanished after the coup, and previous negotiation processes and anti-violent approaches and demands of Kurds were no longer necessarily heard by the Turkish state. (Keyman, 2012) Apart from Kurds and left, LGBTQ citizens were also under the violence of the military dictatorship and the emerging characteristics of neoliberal system because urban changes were necessitated in living places of showing transgender identity. (Zengin, 2014) Their non-normative, fluid, feminine identity was opposed to rising ideological formation of a patriarchal Turkish-Islamic synthesis. The transgender community's 'marginal' life circles and economies might have potentially eroded new subjectivities after military coup. Transgender bodies were not see to belong to the new social order, and in some cases were actively removed:

> N.K.:
>
> I think we were about ten people, they boarded us on a train form Haydarpaşa. It was winter and snowing. They dropped us off in a valley in between two mountains towards Bolu Mountain. It was night, snowing and it was winter. We got to the main road with the light from snow. They left us to die on the mountain. (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association, 2012, p.197)

In 1984 and 1985, The *Fuhuş Beyannamesi* (Prostitution Declaration) – an, old, unused document – was reactivated in order to regulate the activities of transgender citizens. In relation to that, the palpable signifier of violence and body regulation was exile, in which activity transgender citizens were collected by local police officers informed by ministry of internal affairs, who attempted to transfer them from city centres to another city, Eskişehir. This was tried twice or multiple times by train and buses. Yet, oral history study (2012) illustrates that people survived by escaping off the train, by throwing themselves to the empty lowlands.

On occasion groups were abandoned in mountains in winter, but other times they stopped bus driver and not let him to go on, according to collected memories and narratives. Similarly, anthropologist Zengin (2014, p.365) notes that she was often encountered the theme of exile in her anthropological study about violence, gender and sex work in Istanbul, and interviewed transgender people narrated that some of their friends were lost in process of displacement. In fact, we do not have enough data to conceptualize such an attempt of the state as forced explusion, but these events give us a frame to examine neoliberal reorganization in life. Exile endeavour of state illustrates that transgender citizens were not welcome in places of urban areas in metropoles of Istanbul. The newly appearing neoliberal government's intention was keepthem at a distance; the absence of transgender bodies was in harmony with new urban structures because the new Istanbul metropole should have seen as 'rich' and 'clean' in order to foster new economic accumulations of finance and banks (Saraçoğlu, 2015). Therefore, throughout 80's and 90's, transgender/sex workers were subjected to extreme violence and displacements of living environments.

In addition to exile, body regulation and violence were also strategies against transgender communities implemented in two distinct arenas of the state. One of them was Istanbul Police Headquarters in Sansaryan Han, namely 'CanCan' in transgenders' terms, and Venereal Diseases Hospital. These public institutions collectively worked to stigmatize and make life incommensurable. There were arbitrary treatments, rape, violence, and extreme bribery in those institutions. Police officers regularly implemented hair cutting and they kept a record of number of transgender people. (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association: 2012) In particular hair cutting indicates perpetuated systematic opposition in which way transgender woman

was exposed to bodily and psychological violence because hair cutting meant that state and public institutions do not accept transgender people as they are so that they have to change according to heteronormative settings of the society. They should have short hair like 'potent' men.

When we look at the political activities of the decade, in 1986 there was a hunger strike by the transgender community in order to call public attention and stop exile, police raids, gender transition prohibition, and the identity card problem. This can be seen as the community's first public visibility in the politics as political actors. In addition to the strike, an initiative of Radical Green Party by İbrahim Eren attempted to consolidate homosexuals, ecologists, leftist, anti-militarists into one single party, but this effort was demolished towards the beginning of 90's. (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association, 2012) In any case, Eren's attempt provided a different methodology of organization, and started the internationalization of the movement, and created global contacts with the institutionalized and globalized LGBTQ politics and their allies in the Europe. More significantly, experience initiated by the Radical Green Party created a newly emerged political culture for LGBTQ people, which intensively used politics and civil society as a transmitter of social change. This transformation of politics within party politics was reflected in my fieldwork and interviews, as well. Burak describes this change as follows; his depictions also hint at the general structure of beginning process of movement; the end of grassroots and commencing formal, bureaucratic structure.

Burak:

In the 80s we observe a street activism in real sense, which was resisting to the police or the bullies etc. After the 80s they didn't want to communicate one-on-one. They preferred a rather bureaucratic way. Feminine gays, trans people, women wouldn't understand this bureaucracy. They wanted to gain a more formal structure. People didn't want to talk to the butcher, to the grocer

etc. and be a part of the transformation; they didn't want to be in close encounter. When they tried to do this on a more political and bureaucratic ground and using the constitutional state's advantages is a male thing to do. To be able to achieve that ground you need a certain something. Maybe at that point a number of people had to stay in the background.

As a result of this new political and bureaucratic involvement, the general structure and tendencies of the LGBTQ movement started to appear and even flourish in the 1990's. During this decade, we will see the establishment of Kaos GL and enduring Kaos GL Magazine (a group of people organized around a zine and contributed identity-based LGBTQ activism located in Ankara) the first pride events in Istanbul (1993), Lambda İstanbul, emergence and obliteration of Ulker Street, and the first collective meetings of LGBTQ identities as Spring Ankara/ Autumn Istanbul (Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association, 2013). These should all be seen in relation to a changing Turkey that is continuing to undergo the discomforts of neoliberalism, but also seeing rising new social movements in opposition to class politics, the expansion of the power of political Islam and the Kurdish movement, as well as corruptions, coalition governments and economic crisis in Turkey.

3.4 90's: Discontinuities of the neoliberalism, coming together, stirring and thrill

The decade of the 1990's was constituted not only by dynamic social change processes, but also by the decomposition of population centers caused by violence and a neoliberal economy. Increased migration and urbanization problems continued, and urban spaces had to transform according to changing city dynamics and demographies. In particular Kurdish migration seemed significant demographical factors determining changes throughout the 80's and 90's. As historian Kirişçi

(2008) noted that "…internal forced migration in Kurdish areas continued, especially from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. The conflict forced hundreds of thousands of Kurds to move from the rural areas of the south-east to the towns and cities or to western Anatolia in search of security. (Kirisci, 2008, p. 179) Historian Saraçoğlu's (2015) detailed analysis of social history of the 90's in relation to 80's summarises that the neoliberal transformation ultimately failed. End of 80's obtained significant rise of labour movement related to neoliberalism and increased poverty of workers. Particularly, the Zonguldak Strike of Mineworkers can be seen as example of such crisis in economy and social life (Saraçoğlu; 2015). After long-lasting power of Motherland Party, similar to the 70's, Turkish society again had to deal with coalition governments. In this decade, Turkey's first woman president, economy professor Tansu Çiller, was elected as a representative of neoliberal policies. More importantly, political Islam demonstrated radical growth. In particular, the Welfare Party with their '*just order*' motto took the public attention of the religious and new urban poor. According to the analysis of historian Saraçoğlu (2015), political Islam succeeded not only because of their strategic way of organization and abilities to reach various social groups, but also because they constructed solidarity network within local governments, and they approached the Kurdish movement, accepting Kurd's identity-based demands.

Significantly however, throughout the 1990's, Islamist and conservative groups organized a hate in daily life. During that time, we faced with number of assassinations against leading intellectuals and seculars living in Turkey such as Uğur Mumcu, Bahriye Üçok as well as Sivas Massacre. (Saraçoğlu, 2015) Therefore, emerging LGBTQ activism was occurred relatively in threatening social environment and freedom of speech and thought was limited and was characterized as dangerous

in the context of assassinations and hate crimes. Besides, 28 February, 1997 Turkish military memorandum attempted to limit the rising power of Islamists, which it perceived as a threat. This action of the military long discussed in Turkish politics because military used different methods of coup[10] but eventually, it was historicised as anti-democratic attempt. (Saraçoğlu, 2015) Political scientist Akça (2014) pointed out that "military intervention disciplined Islamic parties and business organizations in the short-term, it actually deepened the existing political hegemonic crisis since the statisation and securitization of politics encouraged political parties to decouple from dominated social classes and identity groups." (p. 29) Finally, the Marmara Earthquake in 1999 materialized problems of rapid growing and deadly results of neoliberal policies because those debris were result of unplanned growing and profit oriented housing projects in which cites contractors were encouraged but their activities and buildings never carefully examined and tested. (Saraçoğlu, 2015)

All of this dynamic picture of the 90's indicated that Turkish society was reacting to the newly emerging social phenomena of political Islam and neolberalism. (Yavuz, 1997) On the hand, identity-based groups Islamists, Kurds and even LGBTQ people emerged but they had not contacted in emerging public spaces rather democratic sphere of civil society was limited within assassinations of intellectuals, military intervention and fast and unplanned growth of the neoliberal expansion of the Turkey engendered discontinuities of the growth best characterized within the thousands of dies in Marmara earthquake.

Oral historian Neyzi (2004) illustrates that along with 90's identity formation processes were also influenced by such dynamic changes in relation to factors such

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[10] Military did not directly use means of violence but arbitrated democratic parliament.

as the rise of political Islam, the Kurdish movement, and the rise of publicly circulated Alevi identity, and the new 'left,' all of which lead to the emergence of reactionary neo-Kemalism (modernist ethnic statism) and restructured Turkish nationalism. Similarly, as sociologist Özyürek (2006) suggested, throughout 90's Kemalism was promoted not by state but public circulated discourse of Kemalism and popularised it. Another important factor at this time, which should be included in sociological analyses, was the notion of a popular culture, which dramatically increased in 90's because of changes in the cultural field such as commercialization and Americanisation. The state-controlled media channel TRT's decreasing legacy and monopoly, and the rise of commercial TV channels determined essential ways of representation. The visible rise of popular culture, pop music, and arabesque were reflections of changing social processes, in addition to political developments. (Neyzi, 2014, Isık 2015)

According to the presentation of the LGBT oral history project of the Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association examining the 90's (2013), there were small groups and magazines throughout 90's such as Gacı Magazine, or Conscious Homosexual Group, Spartaküs in Bursa, Venus's Sister in İstanbul, university groups LEGATO (started in METU, and extended to Bogazici University), but the largest groups Kaos GL and Lambda Istanbul started breaking points about LGBTQ movement in Turkey as being located in big metropoles. These two institutions require careful attention because their political orientations, alliances and formation capacities determined ways of being LGBTQ activist in Turkey and contributed to current conditions of LGBTQ citizens and elders.

With İbrahim Eren's initiation with the Radical Green Party, LGBTQs started to contact with international area and determined some of their allies as anti-

militarist, social democrats, feminists, and ecologists. And then, this group lost its

dynamic and felt apart. Some of the people left, who mostly in opposition to İbrahim

Eren continued to organize under the name of Gökkuşağı 92/ Rainbow 92. According

to information provided by the oral history project, the arrival of international activist

Heribert Mürmann to Turkey accelerated the organization process of the local

LGBTQs in Istanbul and increased the motivation of dissent against sexual based

discrimination Organization of first *'Sexual Liberty Events'* or as publicly speaking

'Pride Events' with the influence of Heribert and Schwule Internationele (Germany

based) grabbed the attention of international LGBT politics and a number of

international activists and members of parliament came to the Istanbul to celebrate

events and demand equality. However, the attempt to hold the first pride celebration

was terminated by the Istanbul governorate, and one day before the Pride March, the

gathering of the event was stopped by a police raid. Despite of exemption statuses of

international parliaments, German activist Heribert and all the guests were deported.

Although the first pride event was faced with state violence, for those involved in

Turkey, it still provided fundamental knowledge about organizing an event and

conducting activism. For instance, during this process, for panels and gatherings they

had to contact with institutions, places, and negotiate various processes. Besides,

within this brave attempt, Lambda Istanbul began to generate Istanbul's long story of

LGBTQ activism. (Mürmann; Yıldız 2007; Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association

2013)

The LGBTQ movement demonstrated slight growth and consolidated power

throughout 90's and early 2000's. Activist Portag (2012) indicated that the LGBT

movement appeared after ten years of military coup, and the problems of LGBT

people became more visible in public and activist circles with the influence of

urbanization and increased communication. Some of the people started to discuss feminism, ecology, antimilitarism, socialism, and LGBT in together with the journal of *Sokak*. (2012: 169-170) One of the former activist of Kaos GL, Ali Erol (2011, p.432) indicates that there were two main deficiencies homosexuals confronted in Turkey: first, being not able to appear publically due to introversion of the community, and second, negative connotations of the very idea of organization due to the socio-political structure of Turkish society. Therefore, he added that organization started with the search of coming together and finding its own voice. Media and academia were speaking in the name of homosexuals but they were not speaking for themselves. Parks, non-normal places of urban, isolated pubs, cinemas… these were all places for people to meet, and there were conversations and murmurs, but no one had been able to make a major stride forward publically. This feeling of despair and disability of speaking started to resolve with the formation of Ankara based Kaos GL and Lambda Istanbul. They constructed newly emerged practices of existence because relatively dispersed homosexual identity was particularly new and required a formation process and accumulated experiences. During the 90's, both Lambda Istanbul and Kaos GL held Sunday meetings in order to discuss identity based problems of homosexuals such as loneliness, family, legal rights, morality, and sexually transmitted diseases, etc. For instance; activist Cem whom I interviewed describes those years as coming together; and following decade would be devoted to visibility

With the impetus of Kaos GL and Lambda Istanbul, a new type of activism and subjectivity was formed. Previously unstructured, ambitious identifications such as Dönme, Gacı, and Lubunya found new ways of existence in urban spaces. Their differentiation was coming from the generation they born into. Unfixed identities had

lack of institutional knowledge of the politics, and state-oriented violence and social boundaries positioned them as disadvantaged, less educated, and uneven. Therefore, class fractions of this earlier generations situated as more precarious and instable in which social circumstances living together in the ghettos appeared as compulsory but unchallenging to society. Years before the movement, these unstructured identities were more open to violence (as illustrated within the military coup) and economic activities were characterized only as a sex-work. Newly coming identity politics also provided better social circumstances for this group of people (lubunya, gacı, dönme) but it is very necessary to realize that rather than consistency of these identities I rather conceptualize that there was a battle within these generations and newly appearing activist generation of the 90's was advantageous and strategic in creation of the LGBTQ movement. Relatively, new generation started to hold much bigger social capital since they had new alliances and social networks. Previously unheard naming of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender served to mobilize newly coming out people, to fashion western engagements, as well as to build up queer capacities; flexible identities and fluid compositions began to synchronize with western vocabularies and identity types. This reformation of named identities increased forms of capital and social networks because activists started to use similar language with their political peer groups, namely anarchists, leftists, democrats, Kurds, feminists, and ecologists. The formation years of Kaos GL group and its magazine included university students, anarchists, and unionists, but also Western discourses and ideologies of modernity seem significant in determining the success and sustainability of Kaos GL. In particular, METU and other universities in Ankara, structurally provided educated, political activist to the Kaos GL but their devotion and commitment to sustainability helped them to generate an international

organization with huge funds and budgets; its numerous remarkable activities are

being followed not only by LGBTQ people but also by an internal and external

public. I want to illustrate one of the narrations of activist Gamze related to Kaos

GL;

> What comes to my mind when you say Kaos is the continuity and the fact that
> it always puts new goals for itself. And also its productivity. It provides an
> accumulation and because it does Kaos has that kind of role. This what I see
> when I look at it. There can be different areas of struggle they choose to do
> this. Eventually it aimed a legal struggle and to produce publications and
> carry those publications and that accumulation all over Turkey. Because they
> did so a lot of other organizations are doing these too. I believe people who
> are in those organizations are the people who understand Turkey the best
> now.

Kaos GL idealistically insisted to publish Kaos GL Magazine. Begun in

September 1994, the magazine celebrated its 20th year in 2014, and it continues to

publish today. In its early years, it was published by photocopy and circulated

different to book stores and cities with the help of volunteers. There is no doubt that

for members of this community, organizing around the magazine allowed them to

obtain an essential framework of organization and easily triggered intellectual and

political discussions. Memories of the early magazine days still stand as

indispensable and significant in lives of early activists.

Communication scholar Engindeniz in her analysis of Kaos GL Magazine

(2014) found that the notion of continuityas significant because she asserts that such

continuity in the field made Kaos different and example not only in the case of

Turkey but at the global level. According to incoming letters to the magazine, its

distribution extended from Ağrı to Manisa, from İskenderun to Çorum, and more. In

this context, Kaos GL provided a social forum in the process of identity formation.

Magazine was included widespread topics regarding sexual orientation and gender

identity and consisted of articles, comments, translations, critics of cultural materials. Such a social forum presenting newly appearing ideas about homosexuality and their emergence and circulation across Turkey was quite urgent because LGBTQs' capacity of fragility was still momentous in rural, small cities and metropoles. More importantly, the magazine structured political orientations and functioned as a mechanism of ideological formation. In contrast to the rising Turkish-Islamic synthesis in 90's, Kaos GL directed its readers toward a human-rights based politics and made alliances with anarchists, leftists, unionist and feminists. The degree of their political orientations of course had to change according to newly emerging social contexts[11] but some of the characteristics remained same. In general, there was a prototype of a typical LGBT activist in Turkey and formation of this persona began in the early 90's. Activist Gamze describes a persona related to this proposition of the study;

> These circles have always adopted liberal ideas very easily, no matter what kind of a background one came from. People were very nationalistic; I mean that not everyone came there knowing stuff. Whatever was in the culture that came. Nationalism, conservatism, sexism, homophobia. Whatever idea was present people came with that idea. However a liberal line was adopted easily and it expanded. I think people were hungry for it, learning to accept and to be accepted.

When I turn toward my own memories and operate self-reflexively, I do find in myself the tendencies and orientations described by Gamze and others. Being someone socialized with LGBTQ politics at the early age of 16, I was more open to new ideas and cultures. I was exposed to the Turkish-Islamic synthesis in the

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[11] As an insider of LGBTQ activism in Turkey, neoliberal tendencies and globalisation of the LGBTQ politics was increased in Turkey mainly after the 2010's. Yet, previously structured tendencies of the movement always kept in stable such as anti-militarism and anti-nationalism.

education system but Izmir[12], the place I was born, I think that was relatively secular compared to the rest of the country, and was a place that tended to underline Kemalist and modernist projections, which means that I was reflecting both Neyzi's (2014) and Ozyurek's (2006) formulations of neo-Kemalism and publicly circulated Kemalist images. Therefore, I was a replica of young, modern Turkish youth even if both my father and mother was migrant from Kurdistan and Serbia. My secular middle class life practices made me more open to accept my gay identity and also to pursue its social politics. I first connected with anarchist and ecologist social groups working in İzmir. I first attended theirprotest of gold prospecting. It was an emancipatory process of entering to politics. The ecological activists were against sexual and identity based discriminations but they were not in contact with Kaos GL Izmir (this name then changed to Black Pink Triangle Izmir Association) but with the motivation of myself and some of the anarcho-feminist activists, we reached to their office and I started to go and attend their activities. In a month, I was part of LGBTQ activist environment of Izmir. For a long time, I kept following anarchist activities and politics, but later in my 20's with the neoliberal tendencies of the movement and culture, I felt distance with anarchism and I was more oriented to social democrat, left groups. The period I attended to activism (about 2008) was left behind the process of 'finding each other' but LGBTQs in Izmir as a third major city of the Turkey were still attempting to generate a visibility politics, therefore they aimed at reaching more people. It was comparatively easy to access LGBTQ activism in Izmir, but it would have brought quite dissimilar picture in small cities in which

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[12] See for further understanding of Izmir:
Yıldırım, D., & Haspolat, E. (2010). *Değişen İzmiri anlamak*. Kızılay, Ankara: Phoenix.
Kolluoglu, B. (2005). Forgetting the Smyrna Fire. *History Workshop Journal*.
Neyzi, L. (2008). Remembering Smyrna/Izmir: Shared History, Shared Trauma. *History and Memory*.

places being visible LGBTQ is still quite problematicDuring the period of my activist years beginning in 2008, anti-authoritarian tendencies were widespread. For instance, our organizational model was based on consensus and it was organized against hierarchies. Such anti-authoritarian, liberation-oriented tendencies remain strong in the current movement. Yet, according to my observation as a young LGBTQ activist, the movement did not tend to consist of nationalists or conservatives, or to approach militarist approaches in relation to Turkish Armed Forces's gender based discriminations. The lack of connections between these groups (military, nationalist, conservative) with the activist left was always very limited, and the reason for this discontinuity has a long history with respect to the military coup and neoliberalism, where these groups fell on different sides of these major social issues. Therefore, it was not possible to exist as nationalist, or as religious in the movement. Those limitations were later challenged by the establishment of more conservative LGBT groups or by contact with the left re-established in particular after Gezi Movement more than a decade later, but it is still possible to describe prototypes of LGBTQ activists; those identities are being negotiated and re-established by making connections with the LGBTQ movement. These features are also related to organizational structure of new social movements; alliances with libertarian social groups, an anti-hierarchies approach, and by the establishment of consensus as a decision-making process.

Potent identity transformation process of LGBTQ activism can also be found activist Cem's utterances. He underlines how he has changed in relation to politics;

> It was a radical alteration in my life. Not only sexuality but from my political perspectives to various topics. Of course, my sexuality had also changed. The way I consider my own sexuality changed. Being a homosexual was a fearful idea to me. What if I become a homosexual… because being a homosexual means to me that transgender woman who works as a sex worker. And, I was

thinking that I do not want to be a woman but men neither want to me as I
am.

As Cem's experienced showed that LGBTQ politics produces new
subjectivities and such new formation has been referring to long-lasting prototypes
regarding ways of making politics. Newly centralizing activist subject also starts to
consider sexuality relatively different because activism compels you to generate
visibility politics and being proud of your identity. Political involvement therefore
regenerates who you are and your body.LGBTQ activism first appeared in the
metropoles of Turkey. In particular, Istanbul and Ankara was hosted two significant
organizations of the movement. Yet, these two cities are characteristically separate
from each other, and spatial differences and ascribed meanings to those cities
fundamentally brought about different forms of activism. In this chapter, I am
mentioning dynamic theoretical approaches to the new city and space studies, which
are seeing cities not only as producers of subject but searching city and subject in
relation to transformation processes of sexuality and body as well as urban dynamics
(Alkan, 2014). In particular after the 1980's, Istanbul's meaning as a city was
reformulated because neoliberal forms of life also altered spatial planning and
orientations. For instance, Istanbul's capacity for tourism, finance and entertainment
radically increased throughout 80's and 90's. (Saraçoğlu 2015) In addition to that,
Istanbul was always a place of migration, and this trend was increased Istanbul's
demographical population regularly and also influenced social lifes of LGBTQ
people. As historian Kirişçi (2008) explained that migration from rural to city centres
started about late 1940's and the early 1950's in relation to transition from state-
controlled economy to the liberal parliamentary democracy. In addition to changing
political circumstances, mechanization of the agricultural sector generated less

demand of the agriculture worker and technological transformation therefore

contributed such migration trend and urban problems of gecekondulaşma/illegal

squatter housing increased beginning in the 1950's and it also triggered rise of

political Islam during the 80's. Istanbul's population regularly increased in this

transformation process regarding internal migration. He underlined that;

> population grew from about 860,500 in 1945 toalmost 10 million in 2000. An important proportion of this growth is attributed to migration. During the period between 1975 and 1990 the city's population grew by more than 1.2 million as a result of the influx of new migrants. The city has physically expanded to a hinterland that until the 1970s had remained empty countryside. Whole neighbourhoods sprang up to accommodate the waves of new arrivals and their offspring (2008, p.189)

Considering these dynamics of internal migration as well as Kurdish people's

displacement in the east about the 90's, demographical composition of the Ulker

Street had altered (Selek, 2011) because newly arriving transgender girls from the

Kurdish zones could not negotiate the internal dynamics of the street among other

neighbourhood residents and minorities of the street, including those transgendered

persons who had previously resided here. Also, the environment in the district of

Beyoğlu throughout 90's functioned as a calming social site, which helped people to

forget outside world, the deaths and violence of the coup. Therefore, entertainment

and importance of Beyoglu was restructured to provide sedative amnesia for the ones

suffered from the lethal results of the military coup. In addition to that, Beyoglu was

spatially proper for this mission. As historical analysis of Beyoglu by Sandıkçi

(2015) demonstrates that Beyoglu could be seen as hybrid and negotiated space and

Sandikçi asserts that past and present communicate along with dynamics of

globalization and as a result Beyoglu re-emerges as a space of difference and

containment in which place past and present, East and West as well as local and

global interact with each other. She pointed out that "throughout its history, Beyoğlu

has been an in-between place, an enclave of difference and otherness. Yet it has also been a place of containment and repression." (Sandıkçı, 2015, p. 208), which means to me that, however Beyoglu was tried to be controlled by different power groups, historically it served as to protect and embrace powerless groups as well.

Before going to the field, which means to me that historically accumulated and layered constant dissents and bargaining among different communities, generations, power relations and histories it was too important for me to grasp not only differences between Istanbul and Ankara but also to point out how those different city dynamics reflected to activism practices. I was imagining Ankara as modern, structurally organized and a little bit suffocating. On contrary, I pictured Istanbul as a chaotic, unstructured, and dynamic.

My field-work reflected Istanbul's unorganized, chaotic structure and it was formed by a different type of network activism. Istanbul was more open to global connections due to finance, tourism, international bureaucracy, but Lambda Istanbul was not able to mobilize this globality as a capital. Most of the activists I talked with underlined the movement's character as unstable, not yet solidified, and young. People were active in politics during their university years but then they were leaving later. The circulation of new 'young' comers to the activism circles are quite rapid and fast. This has an affect in bodies because this flow of new comers and regularly changing instable relations make activism much more difficult but at the same time it complicates accumulation of tradition of activism as well as it decreases strengthens of the politics because it becomes more difficult to establish strategies and schedule of advocacy.

This difficulty of accumulation of experiences also triggered the establishment of a new association in 2011 in Istanbul. Some of the former activists

of Lambda Istanbul and younger activist was organized under the name of SPOD.[13] In contrast to the way I have described Istanbul, Ankara and Kaos GL appeared as stable, sustainable, decisive, and strategic. In my opinion therefore, Kaos GL was able to mobilize field potential into stronger international and national networks by strategically structuring experiences and expectations of better future. However, others disagreed with my assessment. One of my informants Gamze, who witnessed the development and emergence of both Kaos GL and Lambda Istanbul in their earlier year responded to me that differentiating between the two cities is wrong; there can be only symbolic differences as opossed to practical differences. For instance, she was not thinking that Kaos GL and Lambda Istanbul that much different according to tradition and activism. Including Gamze, my informants also underlined the potential for confrontation in Istanbul, which means that people could meet more easily and face with each other in similar places, cafes and activism circles. .Respondents Sümbül, Yıldırım, Cüneyt and Cem all indicated that "when you go to the Beyoglu, you would have seen someone familiar, and there were places of such confrontations." At this point, confrontation of activists signifies to me that Istanbul and Beyoglu better provide such interactions among activist and public space tend to liberate those activist in their immediate environment. Places of confrontation at Beyoglu could increase subjects level of interaction; while simultaneously provide sufficient space for the exchange between ideas and experiences as well as in the creation of a better dialogue. Inspiring from the Richard Sennett (2002), notion of confrontation (of people) includes various potentials of liberation in the spaces. Confrontations in cities potentially liberates attending subjects not in the centres but at the edges of the society. (Çağlar & Futtu, 2015) In

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[13] Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies' Association.

this context, Beyoğlu signifies potential places of liberation and confrontations by postulating interaction and dialogue at the edges of society because Beyoglu does not represent city centre and hegemonic social groups' interest, but historically open up a space to the people living as discriminated, outpaced and disadvantaged according to social norms. As my field-work reflected, Beyoglu served this function of confrontation of activists as dissimilar characteristics of Istanbul's early LGBTQ activists' accounts.

Apart from these emerging activist subjectivities, it is necessary to point out the relationship between social history and LGBTQ subjectivity, because during my fieldwork one of my themes was my participant's experiences regarding the 1990's. I found that most of the early LGBTQ activists I have mentioned here were university students in the 90's and they suffered from the difficulties of being an LGBTQ student. The difficulty was derived not because of their visibility but rather due to the process of their own identification, coming out and find a best way to live. Interestingly, most of them were not satisfied with the department they registered, which explained to me that normative life scheduling of these people determined by their families, schools and other social institutions found reactionary response in where early activist was not happy enough about their depertment. In addition to that, early activists both navigated heterosexuality and homosexuality in the process of identity creation. Besides, more interestingly, I got the very sense of internal stirring and thrill in terms of sexuality and identity. They were about to discover who they are and that they might build up a life free from hate, discrimination, and stereotypes – but the question of HOW that might happen was fundamental. I would also propose that such personal stirring and thrill was connected to the external social and historical dynamics of the time. As stated earlier, after a very repressive military

environment of the 80's, neoliberal life practices in the 90's promoted the creation of new life and persona. (Gürbilek, 2010) With the advent of commercial TV channels and the changing meaning of television, there was an environment of narcotic amnesia. The activists I contacted with were deeply influenced by this dichotomy of repression and freedom appeared after the military coup and in the process of transition to neoliberalism. As a result, dimensions of the military coup as an oppression and neoliberal reassertion of the Turkish society as a freedom created two binaries which are separated but related entities. (Gürbilek, 2010). Yet, binaries transformed them into new practices and made life bearable. In order to better describe the situation I describe here, in the next section I aspire to narrate the experiences of two central characters in my field-work.

3.5 Cem's second puberty

Cem was born in 1971, Istanbul. He describes his family as middle-class, white-Turk, college graduates. He studied at one of the distinctive universities of Istanbul and he became an engineer. Throughout his university education, he was closed off, and he told me that he did not like either the campus environment or the other engineering students. He was a homophobe and did not know what it meant to be a homosexual. Thanks to a conscious therapist, and with the advent of the internet, he started to search about homosexuality and found numerous examples. Luckily, he discovered the radio programme of Lambda Istanbul on Open Radio during his military service, another magical moment of encounter. After military service, he started to work as an engineer and reached out to the meetings of Lambda Istanbul. He asserts that he detested when he first entered to the meeting and met with people.

To him they looked like freaks. However, this first confrontation turned into a life-long activism and eventually, a feeling of personal security. After his coming out, he changed his job, he reformulated his political views according to dynamics of this new field, and he attempted to navigate a newly emerging gay identity for himself. He labelled his new personality as a "second puberty" because the transition process from oppressed homosexuality into gay identity required confrontations, experiences, and challenges but more importantly necessiate the time to accumulate and form new identity and life.

3.6 Exclusion from women's class

Another participant in my interviews was Sümbül, who was born in İstanbul and who is in her 40's. She came from middle- class single-mother family and like Cem, she did not adore what she studied. Then, she started her second bachelor degree. In contrast to Cem, throughout her university life she was active participant of anarchist politics, in which case she was emerged after repressive military environment and in relation to people, who questioned previously authoritarian practices of the left groups. She distanced herself from authoritarian and sexist organizations. In the beginning years of her LGBTQ activism, she carefully observed different groups' activities, but preferred not to be direct member of the community. Yet, her politics were not far away because anti-authoritarian, anti-war movements and LGBTQ politics intersected in many spheres of thought. (Portag, 2012) Sümbül was rebellious, ambitious, and a passionate activist. She said me that she was more masculine looking in the anti-authoritarian movement and she was not able to feel femininity. Then, she transformed her masculine appearance with the increasing

emancipatory effect of LGBTQ and queer movements. She had struggled as a
university student, who could not fit in with the women's class. Yet, her aspirations
were derived from potentials of the politics of 90's she saw depicted around her, and
she considers that there were more powerful networks back then, even if the number
of people was fewer comparing to today. After some years, she left her involvement
in the anarchist movement and welcomed a queer idealism, with its non-conformist,
plural notes, and horizontal communicative practices.

Stories of Sümbül and Cem reflect upon both a changing Turkish society in
the 90's and the thrill that I have encountered within the field-work experiences of
this research project. Sümbül's and Cem's unfitting sexualities and identities first
limited their bodies in extension of the space (they both were unsatisfied with the
'heteronormative' educational scene they have registered at the university and
Sümbül was out of the 'woman's class') then, they found a new way to liberate their
bodies along with the encountering LGBTQ politics or newly emerging social
movements. Cem was started to experience his second puberty in the sense that he
generated new subjectivity and left behind heteronormative assumptions of the
society. For instance, he works as a translator now and quitted engineering sector. At
the same time, Sümbül was registered her second bachelor degree and she was
relatively happier there and she created a queer family with her child, friends, and
relatives among other neighbours. What I argue is that, the 90's was comparatively
proper in the creation of non-normative sexualities and life courses because after the
lethal military coup, with the advent of neoliberalism and increasing of global
popular culture as well as influence of the European Union; there were
comparatively a free social setting although, growing inconsistencies and disparities
were being intensified in the Turkish society during the decade. The thrill I catched

about the 90's was respondent to the realization of possibilities of the different sexualities and life projections reflecting to broader social field of the Turkish society.

3.7 LGBTQ activism as a 'field' potential

> Sociologists are increasingly using field theory to make sense of bounded domains of social action, but they rarely ask why new fields emerge to begin with. (Dromi, 2016, p. 196)

Pierre Bourdieu's sociology might be helpful to examine the emergence of LGBTQ movements and social spaces, as well as the absence of LGBTQ elders in the places of visibility. In this study, I want to illustrate the mutual relationship conducted between various possibilities of agents and structures. At that point, Bourdieu approached social science and society considering this mutuality and aimed at overcoming those dichotomies. "Objectivism and subjectivism, mechanicalism and finalism, structural necessity and individual agency are false antinomies. Each term of these paired opposites reinforces the other; all collude in obfuscating the anthropological truth of human practice." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 , p. 10) His critical positioning in social sciences illustrates the complexity, the various forms of agent and structure mutuality: "Bourdieu transcends the objectivist/subjectivist problematic by conceptualising an ensemble of 'unified economy of practices' and especially 'symbolic power' fusing the phenomenological and structural approaches in integrated research." (Girling, 2004, pp. 39,40) In this theoretical environment of Bourdieu, I will refer to the notions of 'field' and different forms of 'capital' that generally portray someone's positioning in the social space.

In general, Bourdieu's theoretical framework of the field was considered in relation to different fields of cultural production and areas. Particularly, media, science, technology, judiciary, and literary fields might have seen as dynamic discussion places of field theory. For instance, Bourdieu's Rules of Art (1996) was debated French literary field and discussed autonomy of writers according to changing social structure in France. He pointed out that during 18th century, writers were free from commercial and state and written down autonomous novels by distancing themselves from popular elements. (Büyükokutan, 2010) Bourdieu's field theory also dispersed another inquiry of social sciences such as field of 'sexuality' and 'social movements'. For instance, sexual field is described as "when a subset of actors with potential romantic or sexual interest orient themselves toward one another according to a logic of desirability imminent to their collective relations and this logic produces, to greater and lesser degrees, a system of stratification." (Green, 2014, p. 27) Field theories most interesting contribution is its ability of illustration dynamics between internal and external logics. According to Bourdieu, fields are related but not irreducible to each other. Every field has its own logic of practice conducted by interests of actors in the field. "Spaces of objective relations that are the site of logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields. For instance, the artistic filed, or the religious field, or the economic filed all allow specific logics" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 , p. 97) This kind of conducting rules determine fields various compositions and tendencies but more importantly internal logic of the field attributes certain rules, practices and ways of performances to the actors. Agents thinks that playing games according to the rules worth thanks to the illusion:

A field is not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules, or, better regularities, that are not explicit and codified. Thus we have stakes

which are for the most part the product of the competition between players. We have an investment in the game, illusion: players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their belief (doxa) in the game and its stakes;"98 "the hierarchy of the different specieis of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) varies across the various field. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 , p. 9)

What I understood in general from field theory and sexuality studies are that appearing LGBTQ activism might be characteristicially conceptualised as a field. Bourdieu (1992) notes that someone must look at three important dynamics in application to field analysis. He asserts that someone should firstly recognize position of the field in the field of power. Then, "map out objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which field in the site." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 , p. 105) and lastly, should incorporate habitus of agents.

According to this schema, a field of power was regularly changing due to emergence of neoliberalism and deadly military coup of the 80's. The conditions of existence were very limited. Particularly, trans-sex workers were not able to work safely in any of the places. The social history I have provided here about the 70's, 80's and 90's illustrates that activism's capital slightly increased throughout 90's. Yet, I do suggest that a concentration of the field did not necessarily increase the autonomy of actors. In fact, concentrated violence of the 70's and 80's was relatively lesser in the 90's at the same time feature of introversion throughout 90's obtained necessary conditions of preparation to get autonomy. During that time, an internal logic of the field started to emerge, and those accumulated dynamics changed radically in the 2000's. George (2014) reminds us that the field determines legitimate forms of capital; for example in my case the internal power of the transgender/sex worker community started to erode and they were excluded from the formation years

of activism concerning newly emerging LGBTQ subjectivities. I do not mean that throughout the 70's and 80's the culture of non-normative sexualities and identities was established as identified and stable but rather occurred as traversing identities. More accurately, along with 90's there were two camps of competing culture (unrecognized identities as previously indicated in the name of gacı, lubunya and dönme and the newly emerging identitiy politics of the LGBTQ) in order to implement greater symbolic violence and convince the rules of the game.

> Bourdieu assumes that a field had a greater degree of organization, one that involved the generation not simply of capitals that were used in the attainment of what was at stake in any field but also positions of authority that could determine what forms of capital were legitimate. (George, 2014, p. 102)

Certainly, the collective capital of emerging activists in the 90's was greater in terms of its economic, social and cultural value. Therefore, their collective capital formed a kind of symbolic violence against elements of street culture deemed undesirable. On the other hand, during the course of the 90's new LGBTQ activists strived to establish their own language and to solve the problems of everyday life, as we consider in Kaos GL Magazine. Additionally, following activism dynamics of Europe and North America, constructing relations with internal allies, city meetings among Istanbul and Ankara increased the implementation of symbolic violence against trans individuals and sex workers. The community's former queer identification's of *dönme, gacı,* and *lubunya* began to lose their own historical and particular connotations, resulting in the synchronization with the identity politics. The transgender community lacked internal solidarity also when it came to excessive amount of state violence (as in the case of forced removal or arrest). Therefore, for the trans community, the example of Ulker Street might also have seen as upshot of

symbolic violence collectively produced internal battles with the field and state. This primary repression of the internal field emerged in the 90's and movement whether consciously or not left behind some of the subjects of the LGBTQ culture. Transgenders, sex workers, poor people and currently unknown elders are among this group. In a similar account, anthropologist Savcı's (2012) work about a woman only club in Istanbul illustrates differentiation between activists and community members. Her analysis demonstrated that cultural capital of activists helped them to evaluate those people attending to the club as lower class, uncool and violent.

> …players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely the immanent rules of the game.(Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 , p. 99)

The LGBTQ history of Turkey represents nested circles, irreducibilities, and a struggle among different agents of the field. This fight become more observable in the 90's because previously uncategorized identities had to re-emerge in accordance with international modern identity-categories. Yet those structured identities also had to change according to the internal demands of the field. In particular, after the middle of the 2000's, transgender activists re-emerged as strong players with high social capitals and fought against formerly accepted levels of symbolic violence. Appearances of Pink Life in Ankara, Istanbul LGBTI Associations and Trans Pride forced the transformation of LGBTQ movement. In addition to that, the arrival of queer studies in Turkey, which is relatively very late comparing to Europe and North America, challenged the erstwhile conditioned and interiorized dispositions of the movement. If all of these dynamics contributed to the development of a new and changing social field until the 1990's in Turkey, the field dynamics of the LGBTQ

movement and its culture no doubt might be crystallized in detailed discussions of the 2000's.

CHAPTER 4

LGBTQ AGING THEORIES

AND THE IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT OF TURKEY

In previous chapters, I attempted to comprehend *'conditions of existence'* in which

circumstances lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender identities and cultures

negotiated various modalities of violence, the emergence of the neoliberalism, urban

transformations, and the politics of identity. I not only considered the formation and

structuring of LGBTQ identities, but also realized the fluidities of sexual identities

and the unnamed categories of sexual existence throughout the 70's, 80's and the

90's. I strived to revisit the occurrence of the movement not as an object of common

sense admiration but through symbolic violence and emergence of the 'field'. In this

last chapter, I am motivated to further discuss LGBTQ aging theories and examine

their practicability in Turkey. I will more directly reflect the non-appearance of the

LGBTQ elders in Turkish society with respect to provided social history of the late

Turkey. To do so, this chapter is designed as in three parts and sub-sections. I do find

it necessary to introduce and argue about existing approaches and studies of the

LGBTQ aging across world, mostly based from North America and Europe, and to

critically examine those theories in their immediate environment and question their

availability and practicality in different societies in where state and civil society

implement excessive amount of violence under totalitarian and oppressive regimes to

the members of the LGBTQ communities, predominantly in Turkish society. In

addition to the historical constructions of the previous chapters, in this chapter I will

also extensively discuss various dynamics between activism and LGBTQ culture and

differences between global and local. What's more is that I will strive to disrupt

conditioned absence of elders with the help of my field-work because I am

reimagining and puzzling early activists' narrations about aging and lost community

of the elders and not necessarily remembered previous comrades of the movement.

4.1 Aging LGBTQ: What theory says

> The harsh reality is that LGBT people face countless forms of discrimination
> and bias as they age, and the accumulated consequences of these
> institutionalized prejudices both create and powerfully reinforce the
> impoverishment and alienation of many LGBT older people. For example, a
> lifetime of being denied employment opportunities and spousal benefits,
> coupled with a lack of access to legal protections around inheritance and
> property rights, vastly diminishes the ability of LGBT individuals to
> accumulate the resources needed for healthy aging. (Abatiell & Adams, 2011,
> p. 881)

At this juncture, a researcher in this field must have realized that provided theories of

the aging characteristically illustrates certain histories and life courses produced

within social context mainly after the 1960's and the Stonewall Riots in the USA [14],

which denotes that north-based global LGBTQ politics becomes only sources of

activism and internally invented strategies of the struggle turns into only available

methods of organization at the global level. As might be assumed, visibility politics

of the northern LGBTQ politics increasingly influenced newly emerging activisms of

the non-West societies and worship to the visibility created conflicts with the internal

institutions and later imitated less-free and dependent activisms so that within this

chapter I will strive to comprehend why social space might generate various realities

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[14] Stephen M. Engel (2011) thought that emergence of the gay and lesbian movement was related to
post war environment of the WW II, then Stonewall Riot, and AIDS Crisis in the USA. In particular
after the WWII, community came out of the closet and such visibility contributed to the Stonewall
Riot in 1969, in which moment rebel was occured according to police's unbearable violence and
threat. Engel (2011) pointed out that "…this event is so crucial because it signifes the emergence of
group action among a previously docile, powerless, and seemingly invisible minority." (2011: 20)
For further reading on Stonewall, see: Duberman, M. (1994), *STONEWALL,* Plume Publishing.

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and knowledge of aging as well as what significant adjective of invisibility might have narrated information in contrast to intercepting notion of visibility. As a critical standing point, aim of this part is not to negate and discredit western gerontological knowledge of the LGBTQ elders but critically examine distributed and accepted knowledge of the elders and remunerate importance of gerontological knowledge in the distribution of health and better aging.

Thanks to emerging LGBTQ politics in the U.S.A. about 60's, today's elder LGBTQ population relatively visible and their problems, concerns and accessibility problems to the health have been problematized and challenged. Western gerontological, disciplinary social science and medical knowledge directly informed by the field corresponded to the varied study topics from care system to the social work (Gardner, de Vries, & Mockus, 2013); (Cartwright, Hughes, & Lienert, 2012); (Croghan, Moone, & Olson, 2014) or mental health to the intersectionalities (Battle & Ashley, 2008); (Sluytman & Torres, 2014) of the varied identities in aging. Apart from these micro scale concerns of aging, LGBTQ elders themselves are another matter of the studies since being gay or transgender elder free from other identities itself potentially bring different aging processes in life course and studies avidly seek out that whether LGBTQ elders age better or not (Adelman, 1991); (Berger & Kelly, 2001) but they rarely interrogate the reachability of historically and socially silenced elders before emerging activisms and their studies scope.

At this point Brazilian scholar Henning (2016) asks significant questions to the gerontological knowledge of the LGBTQ elders of the global north and argues against the very idea of consistency in literature he points out different periods and examine each period according to changing understanding and context of being elder LGBTQ. His deep analysis portrays that four different moments of aging appears in

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the literature. Interestingly, first studies in aging starts in 1969 at the same year with

Stonewall Riots and this first years of gerontological studies can be defined as

'verification and confirmation of the negative stereotypes' regarding gay aging

beginning in the late 1960's to second half of the 1970's. Notion of accelerated aging

refers to a process in which LGBTQ elders feel older comparing to their heterosexual

peers and experience more difficulties regarding their aging identity; these

difficulties are the defining characteristics of this period because LGBT seniors

interiorize the prejudices of society about homosexuality. In the second phase,

concepts of positive aging emerged within the academic circles and community and

in contrast to first phase of accelerated aging, age friendly approaches occurred.

Henning (2016) describes this moment as *'criticism and deconstruction of the*

negative stereotypes' represents the late 1970's and the early 1980's in which time

visibility of gay liberation movement and gerontological studies intersected each

other. This post-Stonewall period namely demonstrated by scholars Kimmel, Berger

and Friend and their studies require to re-visit because of their influence[15]. In

particular, their notions of crisis competence and mastery of stigma seems

indispensable notions of studying LGBT elders. In this context, third moment

characterized as *'diversification of issues and empirical analysis'* that not only

portrays homosexual male but also started to include more lesbians. Yet, transgender

and bisexual elders were still out of the game. As can be inferred that, gay (male

aging was prominently seemed significant in previous studies. Henning (2016)

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[15] For further reading on this topic please see;
1) Berger, Raymond. 1996. [1982]. *Gay and gray: the older homosexual man.* 2nd Edition. New York: Harrington Park Press.
2) Friend, R. A. 1980. "GAYing: adjustment and the older gay male". *Alternative Lifestyles*
3) Friend. R.A. Older lesbian and gay people: a theory of successful aging". Journal of Homosexuality
4) Kimmel, D. C. 1977. "The aging male homosexual: myth and reality". *The Gerontologist*.

indicates that the third stage complicated issues because comparative perspectives among gay and lesbian elders arised and analysis provide more social complexity and become less reductionist. Consequently, in final and fourth stage beginning in the late 1990's to the present '*pragmatic turn*' comes into picture by focusing on public policies, thematic education programs, specific organizations and institutions of aging, etc and we encounter with increasing literature that shows intersection of gerontology and various fields such as public health, social service. Henning said that;

> There seems to be a recent transformation in the literature which defocuses the remarkable theoretical discussions of the past, such as the controversies about the "accelerated aging", "crisis competence" and "mastery of stigma" (although their reflections and proposals are often still based on them) and turns its attention and concerns to proposals of practical gerontological action. (Henning, 2016, p. 144)

Demands from gerontological practice are related to increasing public awareness of the facing disparities of the LGBTQ people and straightforward activism they have conducted with various institutions including medicine, law, family and harvest of the strategic lobby. After all, according to Hennings's points LGBT gerontology represents combination of first and fourth phases (accelerated aging and pragmatic turn) but second stage with its better aging mottos still influential. In addition to Henning's necessary and influential literature review, I want to discuss some of the theoretical discussions of the LGBT aging; particularly, family of choice, community involvement and intersectionalities.

> The language of 'family' used by many contemporary non-heterosexual people can be seen as both a challenge to conventional definitions, and an attempt to broaden these; as a hankering for legitimacy and an attempt to build something new; as an identification with existing patterns, and a more or less conscious effort to subvert them The stories that many non-heterosexual women and men tell about families of choice are creating a new public space where old and new forms jostle for meaning, and where new

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patterns of relationships are being invented. (Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2004, p. 11)

Beginning in the 60's and the 70's non-heterosexual identities had to invent new forms of solidarity networks according to increasing violence, brutality, and exclusion. AIDS epidemic relatively triggered discomposition of social integration and today's elderly LGBTQ population had been subjected to discrimination and invented new mechanisms of surviving. At this point, "family of choice" emerged as a social formation that was previously invented in contrast to heterosexual reproduction of family and life courses and suggesting that alternative ways of re-organization of family structure, community involvement and economies. For my standing point, family of choice refers that; chosen families according to occupied disadvantageous positions of the (sexual) minority group in the social world and aiming to create alternative economies and life schedules in contrast to families of the 'state'. It is a strategy invented within necessities of the care, love, economy, and the sense of coming together. Sociologists Weeks, Heaphy and Donovan (2004) tries to relocate changing family patterns among non-heterosexual individuals reading story in accordance with the changing notion of the family in post-modern accounts. They re-contextualise the appearing land scape according to changing same-sex commitments and new ways of intimacies in where stories people narrate each other becomes central to the meaning. They argue that people become more reflexive and suggest stories in accordance with the lives they have been living. In addition to that, open non-heterosexual relationships in relation to 'crisis of the family' and complex transformation of intimate life provided necessary conditions for the emergence of newly emerging family concept. They said that "the emergence of new ways of expressing basic needs and desires ('new stories') are very important. They signal

both changing perceptions and changing possibilities. We can speak of intimate lives in new ways." (Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2004, p. 12)

In a similar account, scholar of law Knauer (2016) traces paths going to the family of choice by returning to the pre-Stonewall period and she explains that in the U.S. society care is most likely to be accomplished by younger relatives but LGBT elders care for each other. She underlined that "spouses, partners, and friends provide almost 90 percent of the care received by older LGBT adults, and adult children provide only 3 percent of the care." (Knauer, p. 151) She points that (2016) anti-LGBT right bias and inwardness (cost of concealment) leads to preference of chosen family concept. She argued that "LGBT older adults may have little choice but to rely on partners and chosen family because they are often estranged from their families of origin, reluctant to access aging services, and without adult children." (Knauer, p. 162) She add that family of choice concept has difficulty in composition and legality, which mean that members of the family presumably derives from older ages and tend to experience age-related problems either and legally their status and rights was not being acknowledged. Similarly, Croghan, Moone and Olson, (2014) emphasizes concerns in relations to limited available resources of caregiving regarding legal appropriation since state and federal laws can be varied, although the National Family Caregiver Support Act does not look for legal relation.Croghan's social gerontological survey study in Twin Cities illustrates that "high rate of caregiving, as well as the high rate of non- traditional caregiving patterns within the LGBT community and suggests opportunities to create support services that truly support LGBT caregivers." (Croghan, Moone, & Olson, 2014, p. 99) so that social policy reforms seems necessary to include those community members who provides most of the care work to the their friends and unrecognized partners.

In this socio-legal context, how could someone put transformation of family types and intimacies in global neoliberal society? Political scientist and activist Drucker (2009) attempts to answer this question by suggesting queering social movements and reassertion of queer as an alternative development strategy. He says, "focusing on sexual globalisation also risks obscuring the different forms of heteronormativity under neo-liberalism in different social formations." (Drucker, 2009, p. 826) In contrast to unchallenged consuming culture in relation to newly emerging family concepts, he points out relationships between heteronormativity and neoliberalism that buttress the role of the family in privatized matters and demonstrates how multiplie entities of family and community are actually expanses of the state and capitalism in developed countries. Therefore, it might be assumed that transformations of intimacy, the structures of 'families' (types and members) as well as their increased acceptance become possible and triggered by an expansion of global neoliberal reassertions in daily life because market attempts to include not only subjects on the centres but also peripheral identities and subjectivities. Inclusion and exclusion of notions such as 'family of choice' or other alternative models of queer kinships also transpire along with accumulation of capital or to the degree of market circulation at the global level. [16]

What to do with the acceptance and increasing publicity of same-sex marriage, transformations of family types and intimacies in the case of LGBTQ elders? In fact, the notion of family of choice was both different from and related to discussions of alternative and queer families since these discussions both resulted in

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[16] Apart from Drucker's stimulating reminding about context of global neoliberalism, despite of the growing literature about alternative, queer and LGBTQ families we do not have enough demographical sets or various conditions of those families. Biblarz and Savci's literature review reveal that "although significant progress has been made, there is still little research on LGBT families of color and on LGBT families across the socio-economic spectrum." (Biblarz & Savci, 2010, p. 493)

alterations in self and society. And most of the time, 'families of choice' do not only represent LGBTQ elders' social networks, but also might express significant sources of motivation and compulsory necessity to sustain a life. Moreover, family of choice brings aging discussions a positive understanding of aging processes and identity formation in contrast to discussions of disparities among elders or accelerated aging because family of choice introduces rather radical and unconventional solution to elder's social problem. While most of the heterosexual elder peers are witnessing uneasiness of traditional, highly 'moral' and conservative family projections in their later life, previously discriminated and stigmatized subjects construct somewhat lifetime, non-binary and emancipatory friendship supports their age-related concerns and health problems and more importantly serves as proper resolution to old age's common problem of loneliness and lack of communication with the 'social'. It is most likely that family of choice increases community involvement in later ages and initiate generational acknowledgments and both support and keep prudently knowledge of the communities and the experiences.

Community involvement provides a means of institutionalization in later age for LGBTQ elders in contrast to a lack of support of federal governments, state, and insufficient national data aside from inability of both accessing to health services and care. Social gerontologists De Vries and Croghan states that "contemporary community groups, in the absence of federal data and broader network attention, appreciation, and comprehension, have taken it upon themselves to understand and assess the needs of this first cohort to reach later life in a time of LGBT public consciousness." (de Vries & Croghan, 2014, p. 2) Therefore, communities become social groups who conduct knowledge and create information for their members

rather than state, federal governments and other related health or citizenship institutions.

4.2 Intersectionality and considering multiplicities of the aging

Researchers who focus on concepts of community and chosen family context tend to make stronger emphasis on overall identity of being gay or lesbian, but rarely interrogate different forms of identities that someone might hold, or how people might generate diverse subjectivities and life courses. Particularly, ethnicity, race, class, sexual orientation (gay, lesbian, bisexual) gender identity, living environment (rural/city), health status (HIV-, mental illness, etc.), and even age cohorts of old age might end in dispersed conditions of being elder and elder LGBTQ. As a young scholar, I have been striving to digest literature of intersectionality that is conceptualised as "a theory and praxis, an analytical and political tool elaborated by less powerful social actors facing multiple minoritizations, in order to confront and combat the inter- locking systems of power shaping their lives, through theoretical and empirical knowledge production, as well as activism, advocacy, and pedagogy (Thornton Dill and Zambrana, 2009 cited by Bilge) (Bilge, 2013, p. 410) and trying to see what different categories and conditions of identity can contribute to the subjectivities of the individual. Sociologist Bilge (2013) critically reads literature of intersectionality studies and she argued that in the circles of academic-feminism intersectionality has been praised and seen as most necessary contribution of feminism to the academy and had been depoliticised and transformed suitable to neoliberal regimes as diversities and lost its counter-hegomonic, transformative knowledge production, activism, pedogogy and non-oppressive coalitions, therefore

it resulted in ornamental.[17] Therefore, it seems that keeping depoliticization of intersectionality seems significant because Bilge also reminded us that intersectionality had used to work as activism and counter-hegomonic activity.

The changing and highly popular development and debates of intersectionality studies remain significant in the context of inquiry of LGBTQ individuals. In this context, how could someone critically examine being elder lesbian, black gay, working class Latino bisexual woman or disabled transgender in literature? Could we comprehend the composition of these lesser categories of identities in together? Besides, could we trace and study various minority position of the LGBTQ people properly? Some studies of LGBTQ elders were influenced by the rising influence of intersectionality studies and some scholars critically provided traversing identities of the older LGBTQs. For example, sociologists King and Cronin stressed that "intersectional analysis affords a greater understanding of the complex biographies that such identifications obscure, while still retaining a concern with wider dynamics of power." (Cronin & King, 2010, p. 877) Sociologist Jeff Hearn for instance, attempted to look at intersectionalities and transectionalities of the sexuality. He finds out that "sexuality categories are likely to become defined in more complex ways and blurring, in interrelations with other social categories and intersectionalities, and in the deconstructions, transnationalizations and transformulations of those categories." (Hearn, 2008, p. 44) Examples of Cronin and King (2010) and Hearn (2008) contribute to understanding necessity of the intersectionality approach because such concept while successfully illustrating

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[17] For further critical readings of intersectionality see:
1) Ahmed, Sara (2012). *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
2) Luft, Rachel E. and Jane Ward (2009). Toward an Intersectionality Just Out of Reach: Confronting Challenges to Intersectional Practice. In Vasilikie P. Demos and Marcia Texler Segal (Eds.), *Perceiving Gender Locally, Globally and Intersectionally*, pp. 9–37. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing.

myriad biographies of the individuals at the same time could demonstrate wider power relations and reformulations and transformations of the categories of the sexuality. Therefore, complexities of the diverse LGBTQ aging groups become more comprehensible and vigorous in the discussions.

Social gerontologist Slutman and Torre accentuate that "LGBT seniors of color must confront hetero-sexism in the aged community, ageism within the queer community, and ethnocentrism more generally." (Sluytman & Torres, 2014) Sluytman and Torre's (2014) content analysis research that looks published English-written research about LGBT elders between 2002 and 2012 illustrated that out of 64 articles only two articles specifically conceptualize needs of elder LGBT people from racial, ethnic or indigineous populations. Therefore, they argued that they are not invisible but uninvented. "LGBT seniors of color are perceived as guests in practice, policy, and research arenas who may be invited—as possible—but are generally uninvited to contribute to discussions. As a national population transforms, this failure to invite POC into such difficult dialogues demonstrates a lack of foresight." (Sluytman & Torres, 2014, p. 149) In addition to that, Battle and Ashley (2008) discusses black LGBT families and heteronormativity and argues that heteronormativity not only related to sexuality and body but also extends into race and ethnicity because heteronormativity aims to centralize white and bourgeois bodies. After legalization of same-sex marriages in federal states black LGBT families various precarities upsurged the level of heteronormativity since they tend to construct family. In this context, content analysis of Sluytman and Torre (2014) indicated that LGBTQ aging studies not only represent white America and Europe but also it lacks people of color, which means that various contributions of being black or people of color not necessarily understood within the discipline of the

gerontology. In the same context, Battle and Ashley's black-family studies illustrated that black people could have dissimilar family pattern in relation to heteronormativity and same-sex marriage, which also means that different identity categories and experiencing widespread power relations might have differed according to identities that people of color could hold.

To give further examples about intersectionalities and multiplied minorities in later age among LGBT population, I want to introduce study of Witten (2015) which looks at intersection of age, lesbian and transgender identity. She concludes that "endemic negativity against and fear of healthcare providers, coupled with fears around the normative consequences of aging (physical weakness, decreased mental capacity, inability to take care of oneself, etc.) prevent many trans-lesbian individuals from seeking the healthcare that they need as they grow older in their physical bodies." (Witten, 2015, p. 85) Corresponding to the intersectionality studies, Slevin's anthropological study about old lesbians revealed that whether they give attention to criticizing of the hegemonic gender roles, they embodied various social conditioning regarding their aged bodies. She said that "my findings illustrate the complexity of the embodied aging experience, and the narratives of these women remind us that their aging is not homogenous but varied; not only are there different views on aging but there are different approaches to growing and being old." (Slevin, 2006, p. 265) Overall, intersectional applications to the aging studies able researcher to identify various levels of power relations and multiple realities of the identities considering each of them not separate but their overall influence on the individual and the LGBTQ elders tend to experience aging according to their gender identity, sexual orientation, or race compositions as well as class and other identity categories.

Aging populations and the contribution of various identity categories to the aging processes of the individuals are diverse and context dependent. Therefore, it is necessarily significant to bear in mind that knowledge of the aging produced from complex relationships between 'conditionally' interiorized bodies, space and varied academic knowledge in the fields of social gerontology, anthropology, sociology, etc. In particular, gerontological perspectives of the LGBTQ elders initially reflect to the visible social conditions of the elders living in mostly North America and Europe but lacks information from global south, post-colonial world and namely Turkey.

4.3 LGBTQ aging in Turkey

Before starting to discuss elder LGBTQs, it is necessary to shortly cover circumstances of overall population of older citizens of Turkey as a developing country. Arun indicated that "from 1960 to 2013, the population of Turkey increased almost threefold, with older adults aged 65 and older increasing almost sevenfold." (Arun, 2013, p. 891) Turkish Statistical Institute's (TUİK) aging projections illustrates predicted trends of ageing structure of Turkey from 2013 to 2075. As Table 1 shows that statistics and different expectations of TUİK, in scenario 1 (most likely to happen), in 2013 the rate of ageing population was around 7.7% and it is expected to reach 10.2 in 2023, in 20175 expectations show that it will reach to number between 17.5 and 27.7. This statistical projection clearly illustrates that Turkey is aging!

Table 1. Demographical Future Projections of Turkey

Senaryo Scenario	Yaş grubu Age group	2013	2023	2050	2075
Senaryo 1 Scenario 1 (Temel senaryo Basic scenario)	0-14	18,751,164	17,854,319	14,694,508	13,026,803
	15-64	51,852,082	57,768,287	59,296,228	51,472,952
	65 +	5,878,603	8,624,483	19,484,834	24,672,343
	Oran - Proportion (%)				
	0-14	24.5	21.2	15.7	14.6
	15-64	67.8	68.6	63.4	57.7
	65 +	7.7	10.2	20.8	27.7
Senaryo 2 Scenario 2	0-14	18,751,164	18,760,876	21,638,683	25,541,006
	15-64	51,852,082	57,768,287	63,186,077	69,131,341
	65 +	5,878,603	8,624,483	19,484,834	24,672,343
	Oran - Proportion (%)				
	0-14	24.5	22.0	20.7	21.4
	15-64	67.8	67.8	60.6	57.9
	65 +	7.7	10.1	18.7	20.7
Senaryo 3 Scenario 3	0-14	18,751,164	19,206,006	25,840,785	35,863,794
	15-64	51,852,082	57,768,287	65,220,777	80,136,648
	65 +	5,878,603	8,624,483	19,484,834	24,672,343
	Oran - Proportion (%)				
	0-14	24.5	22.4	23.4	25.5
	15-64	67.8	67.5	59.0	57.0
	65 +	7.7	10.1	17.6	17.5

Source: http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15, retrieved August 01, 2017

According to this projection of aging population, Turkey lacks attention to aging studies and as Arun (2013) argues that youth myth of Turkish society conceals reality and difficulties of aging population. Head of state Erdogan explicitly suggested that citizens should have had more child and promoted at least three children for every household, such attempt seems that did not change the direction of the future aging and recently conducted aging studies both signal lack of demographical studies and public policies. (Top, Eriş, & Kabalcioglu, 2012) (Kisa, 2012); (Tufan, 2014) At this point, insufficient concern and lack of public policies on elder population in Turkey and widespread ageism practices as well as unquestioned absence of LGBTQ elders in the movement obfuscate LGBTQ elders visibility in Turkey.

> When working in any marginalized community, I feel a distinct responsibility to surface, and be responsive to, the real issues and problems that exist in communities and yet at the same time to ensure that existing strengths and resources are considered. When working in marginalized communities, how can we raise tough issues without simply reinforcing stereotypes—interpreted as representative of a community? How can we, as gerontologists, understand common trends yet simultaneously attend to the vast range of experiences in any community? (Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2017, p. 125)

Studying the subject position and absence of the LGBTQ elders in Turkey raises significant political issues in terms of social movements, global aging studies and ways of understanding historical subjectivities of the LGBTQ people. At the outset, it seems that social movements appear correspondingly to the social environment where they are located and reflect various localized dynamics. A relatively liberal environment and strong civil society during the 60's hastened gay liberty movements in North America and Europe throughout the 70's, 80's 90's and today's elder LGBTQ population mostly reflects those periods of activism and approachability (Lyons, Croy, Barret, & Whyte, 2015) Furthermore, comprehension

of population of aging only reminiscent in its immediate environment in where conditions of being elder are repeatedly recomposed by actors, state, social policy reforms, activisms and academic information. These two processes (LGBTQ movement and global aging studies) together appropriate ways of being elder and produce 'accepted', 'coherent' and 'legitimate' elders according to historicity of the LGBTQ movement but rarely discusses multiple forms of not fixed, ubiquitous, and, vigorous sexual identities that movement could not have reached and conducted a dialogue. In addition to that, English speaking journals cite properly studies carried out in North America but comparative studies of the LGBTQ aging across different societies have not been legitimized enough to be visible and circulate. Overall, history of the LGBTQ elders usually starts with moment anywhere lesbian and gay people started to consolidate power. Therefore, I want to rethink the fixedness of LGBTQ elder identity and discuss different context and material of Turkey regarding obscured bodies of the elders.

On the one hand, we encounter LGBTQ movement with the attendance of elders in North America and Europe, despite widespread ageism in the movement and culture there. On the other hand, Turkey lacks elder members of the LGBTQ community and moreover, issues such as same-sex marriages or adoption seems still unimaginable for most of the members of the community. At the Stonewall Riot, people aged 20 is 68 years old participated. In addition, there were older people attending rebellions during the time. In contrast to that, as previous chapter illustrated, along with the 70's, lives of lubunya through the Abonoz Street, located in Beyoglu, Istanbul was followable. In the setting of the U.S.A., previous generation of the LGBTQ elders found attention (as gerontological studies demonstrated) and community involvement within new generations was provided. In contrast to that, we

had and archival data and oral histories narrated reflecting to the sexual peripheries of the 70's and the 80's in Turkey, but the appearing LGBTQ movement in the 90's could not give attention to previous generation rather attempted to make a distance between them. In other words, beginning in the 70's it is possible to find out lives of sexual minorities both in North America and Turkey, but why do these stories ultimately differ so greatly in the decades since? In one place, sexual minorities consolidated power and established strong institutions, negotiated with state and civil society, and conquered civil rights for better and equal living conditions. Identity transformation process sterilized various identities and finally transmuted to modern categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and even queer. Upcoming and existing visibility of the elder population in global North is the result of such process but story differs radically in Turkey. Throughout the 70's and the 80's, category of sexual minority remained fluid and unrecognized in the name of lubunya but was not specified as gay or lesbian. Rather, various sexualities and identities intertwined and transformed into negotiated and socially shared peripheral becoming. A normative interpretation of history would have suggested that late identity consolidation and the emergence process of the LGBTQ movement was a late invention but I rather consider that it was unintentional queer moment and the 70's and the 80's might be restructured as an empowering phenomenon for the ones who felt suffocated in identity-oriented neoliberal LGBTQ movement. Yet, the reasons why LGBTQ activism in Turkey was postponed for nearly 25 years of remain unanswered. I do suggest that lingering processes of the queer moments were essentially structured and bargained owing to state violence previously explained replacement strategies, housing problems, body regulations in hospitals, identity card problem, military coup, etc. in chapter III and in relation to that, sexual minority

groups in Turkey had to construct queer moments because places of violence make impossible to conduct those liberal agendas of the identity politics.

If we return to Henning's (2016) conceptualization of different stages of activism it is challenging to put Turkey into the picture. According to Henning, beginning in the late 60's aging gay men considered aging as quick and experienced harsher and in accelerated way. Interiorization of ageism and negative stereotypes were buildingconstruction of their elderly bodies. After this first stage, ways of understanding elder LGBTQ revolutionized because age positive studies started to emerge and rather tuned community involvement and better aging. After the 80's representation of various identities of population - particularly the depiction of lesbian women - enforced studies and pluralized population's depiction as well as in the last stage beginning in the 90's, practical gerontological problems according to social policy, housing, pension system, mental health, diseases, accessing to health services were studied. (Henning, 2016)

The example of Turkey fits mostly close to first stage; but the social context of the first stage had been transformed into 'global'. In particular, lack of governmental and civil society in the 60's and the 70's empowered activism and level of hierarchies, negative consequences of stereotypes and discrimination were experienced harshly. Yet, today's young or aging LGBTQ population of Turkey are simultaneously aware of conditions of living according to civil rights (marriage, partnership, adoption, pride celebrations, etc.) thanks to regularly increasing communication technologies and information but also activisms are more connected with the increasing representations in international institution's board and memberships such as in ILGA, ILGA Europe, Transgender Europe, etc. Due to this connectedness, today's LGBTQ population of Turkey perform locally informed

global subjectivities. Therefore, first stage's interiorized homophobia does not become as powerful as it was in the 60's and the 70's. By considering this globalisation, my fieldwork represents mostly middle- aged activists positioned between stages 1 to 3 and activists reflected to lack of social policy and studies on elder, which represents their globally situated knowledge. At this point, intersectionalities of the identities mostly occurred along with Henning's third stage classification in which place identities become complicated and less reductionist. I might say that deconstruction of negative stereotypes and better aging were tuned to my fieldwork but usually gay population were provided a little more despair, fear, and anxiety of loneliness comparing to lesbian and bisexual women. Both transgender and lesbian, bisexual women underlined specific identities and their invisibility in the LGBTQ movement so that intersectionality tend to crystallize in my field work within in group differentiations. Another most common answer to their future aging was chosen family and age with friend approaches.

Before starting to discuss field dynamics of the aging, I do want to discuss Ozbay's and Erol's (2017) recently published medical anthropology/sociology article that looks at andropouse, middle aged and aging population of gay in Turkey. In contrast to my field-work, the gay population they have interviewed responded to aging either negatively or with avoidance. Demographical indicators represent that they talked with mostly upper and middle-class advantageous gay men and they provided very contrasting body politics regarding aging. "… lack of the sense of (gay) community and the elder mentors, and the absence of any popular, democratic or legal support to LGBT rights might be considered as unique and local dynamics that adversely affect middle-aged and aging gay men in Turkey." (Ozbay & Erol, 2017, p. 3) Aging gay men transformed body, sexuality, social and technology. They

strategically socialize with younger people, try to embed good body shape, approach

sexuality more flexible, and follow advances in social media apps. One of the

participants of their project was Vural, a man in his mid-60's, who looked back to the

90's and criticized 'visibility' not as a queer notion but instead one which reflects

influences of the movement and upcoming younger generations, connectedness to the

global culture and widespread ageism practices in the culture are available in his

account:

> We have had a very beautiful life. After the 1990s though, everything became
> visible and we lost the spell. Before that, everything was more private, more
> mysterious. You knew everybody [who was gay]. Times have changed and
> we have also changed. We are not young and attractive right now. Everybody
> has their own days; our days have passed, unfortunately. (Ozbay & Erol,
> 2017, p. 6)

This advantageous aging population of the study is more reachable compared

to elder activists of the community. Construction and negotiation of body radically

changes in my field-work because activist knowledge differentiates ways of

approaching to the body. In particular, activist identity increases their engagement to

queer and body politics so that they feel relatively less influenced by ageism

practices of the community. Rather, activists call attention to the lack of elders and

unfair, social policies, and try to figure out solutions to their aging future in contrast

to rebrand their bodies. Activists'influences on the concept of aging appear in myriad

ways. As anthropologist Savci's (2016) ethnographic study - conducted in one of the

women and transgender only club in Istanbul – shows, controversies of the activists

and clients of the club illustrated that activist production of the knowledge

differentiates people and class blindness of so-called activism tend to internalize

neoliberal discourses and ways of politics. The class positioning of these people were

varied but the point was that activists had greater cultural capital reflecting to their

advantageous class-positioning in contrast to club's clients. It also influences

activist's language, social positioning, choices, and places they go. Club's members

subject-positioning was not sophisticated enough and legitimate according to

activist's high level of cultural capital as Savcı stresses that;

> Activists' criticism of Kadınca clients was not based on the bac,   /feminen
> dynamic(presumably) reproducing heteronormativity, or on masculinity
> performed by female-bodied people, given the activists' embrace of transmen.
> It was a particular form of masculinity that was seen as unsophisticated, and it
> was the lack of a 'proper' language to defend it with that contributed to its
> lack of acceptance by the activists. (2016, p.376)

Savci's case represents that cultural capital of the activists might create

different social positioning and value-judgements and background of people

contributes ways of acting. Savci manifested that activists performed that they might

decide proper ways of being masculine, transmen and they are capable of supporting

their arguments along with cultural capital they have previously seized. In a similar

point with Savci, my field-work responded that same cultural capital also reflects

aging varyingly because activists tend to consider body politics, widespread ageism

practices in the community and society within an argumentative way. Being aging

LGBTQ activist narrate something significant, which insinuate that you may age but

you know what body politics is and what motivates ageism. In this case, my field-

work on middle-aged and middle-class based LGBTQ activist[18] directly reflected to

the Savci and relatively echoed Ozbay and Erol. For instance, Sümbül (aged 40)

make comparison between herself and older generations of lesbians in Turkey as

follow;

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[18] I should also indicate that LGBTQ activist in Turkey mostly derives from middle-class or upper
class family background. My field-work represents early activists of the movement relatively were
coming from lower-middle class to upper middle-class. Similar to Savci's group both activists groups
had high cultural capital.

> The lesbians of the generation before me are very rigid they are not visible for example. There is a group over forty. The group before us. They have never been political and spent years pressuring themselves. They are very firm, very tense. Lesbians who are forty, fifty in other countries are more peaceful. They are very lonely; they have a lot of psychological problems. They are very dreary. They usually take care of their old mothers at home. They have a very closed, claustrophobic and dreary approach, just like themselves.

On the one hand, they are critical to body politics but they also try to catch what younger people follow, or socialize similarly with younger ones. One of my participants told me:

> I'm busting my ass to follow the current happenings and to stay up-to date. It's not jumping on to every single new thing but you should digest/strainthese from a feminist and queer perspective. I bust my ass to keep my mind and politics current.

Therefore, they have demonstrated less synchronized heteronormative knowledge production in their later age but changing body and social context and socialization influence the way they communicate with the people and contributes new ways of negotiation with the queer practices and LGBTQ politics. Ozbay and Erol concluded their study that;

> aging gay men in Turkey face marginalization, de-masculinization and ageism as their bodies show signs of failure and weariness and as their meaning-making activities seem dated or extinct. They, however, do not accept becoming the passive victims of the exclusionary aging process and they dissociate themselves from being medicalized subjects of andropause. (Ozbay & Erol, 2017, p. 10)

Yet, I do propose that activist identities significantly differ according to their aging practices and reality. My fieldwork contrasted activist identity and aging and activist identity both transformed ageism practices and community involvement. They became more critical to understanding of aging and social isolation and community involvement appeared as a must for the creation of better aging.

At this juncture, let me distinguish between activist middle-aged people's identification with aging and their concerns and predictions of their upcoming future aging. When I went to the field, I was feeling sense of the confrontation as being a younger member of the activist LGBTQ community. While thinking about the past, early activists and my researcher and activist self felt shameful and mused all together; especially when we realized the possibilities we asked ourselves that could history have evolved differently and could have elder members of our community found more space in the movement if we act more alert. In addition to that, for each interview my accumulation of sorrow increased because interviews were starting with demographical questions, then their experiences of the 80's and the 90's, affiliation process with the LGBTQ activism, the 2000's and then the topic of aging. In particular, this last part of the interviews was usually full of question marks, silence, and uncertainty. Interviews also lead them to investigate a proper idea of newly emerging aging and elder context for themselves. They were unprepared! All my participants told me about their tentative plans, but it was comprehensible that their aging plans were underdeveloped and unfocused. Blur feature of aging were stepping up uncertainties and precarities of the LGBTQ identity. I was aiming to learn what they think about absence of the LGBTQ elders in the current movement and mostly their comrades participated to the movement in the early 90's and I also probed about their plans about upcoming aging.

As a result, I realized that early activists I have talked were experiencing widespread ageism practices both within LGBTQ community and the society. They could not invent tactical strategies against aging as Ozbay and Erol's (2017) participants did. Yet, they were at least attempt to follow younger generation, technological developments and aware that what aging means and the reasons of

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starting isolation and invisibility in the community as an aging person. I argued that

such consciousness of the aging appeared along with the cultural capital, and the

previously internalized and experienced body politics in a similar way to Savci's

points about activist positioning and cultural capital. In contrast to Ozbay and Erol's

upper middle, and upper class participants, middle-class based early LGBTQ

activists created different assumptions and orientations for future aging such as

increasing community involvement, queer families, critical interrogation of the aging

processes, at the same time they reconsiders their aging bodies and tries to socialize

with younger people and follow technology (in relation to Ozbay and Erol's case)

which discussions might be found at the end of this chapter within examples.

4.4 Being a student, activist then a 'regular' citizen

> A lot of people come to the movement. They give labor to it. But later on they
> start to come just to the big marches. Or you know they come to watch a
> product of art. Even people who are ten years younger than me are not there.
> Or rather people who are between 16-30 are there mostly. They have always
> been the big crowd. They were the big crowd when I was at that age and they
> are still the big crowd now too. There is a retirement. Thus I already feel old
> in it. That's why I chose that word. I, myself, am quite old than the generation
> nowadays. (Gamze)

According to understanding of different contributions of activist identity, one of the

significant question throughout the interview was participant's ideas about lack of

elder people in the current movement. Participants Cem, Burak, and Gamze all

stressed the high degree of the youth orientation of the movement and reflected on

affiliations among being a student and LGBTQ activist. These circumstances make

activism demographically young, but they also signal that in later ages after

university, circles of activism do not tend to include LGBTQ activist because

previously participated activists become too busy with getting a job, construct a 'proper' life. Moreover, working environments of the people also do not fit into practices of the LGBTQ activism as continuous comrades. Similarly, reports of LGBTI employees' working conditions in the private sector (Göregenli & Serdengeçti, 2015) and Göçmen's (2015) social policy survey indicate that LGBTQ people face discrimination regarding their sexual orientation and gender identity in work places. I tend to read these two processes together because LGBTQ activism only appear as a conditioned structure of being a student but later identifications of the people such as work sector, working environment could not find a voice and realities of the working LGBTQ people do not fit into practices of the movement as a young and university student oriented. Discrimination in the workplaces further result of this young orientation of the movement because movement does not reflect and carefully provide a solution to work-place based discrimination since movement does not properly aware of it as well as lacks diverse subjects working in private or public sectors. On the one hand, there is a young-oriented LGBTQ activism. On the other hand, there are quickly outmoded older activists and they just follow certain major events, and do not directly attend to the activism. And as many of the participant suggest, the process of change in generations are very fast and widespread. It internally creates a new kind of rule of youth, but it also requires a new type of body politics as Ozbay and Erol (2017) pointed out, which is fit, flexible, social, and technological.

For instance, let's consider my participant Cem's identification with the younger LGBTQ generations in the movement and circumstances, in which condition he became the oldest and the obsolete and also Burak's experiences about fast changing circles of activism and youth orientedness.

Cem

I am of course by far the oldest person in Lambda[19] right now. In fact I am not that old. Our friend who came after me and who also comes after me in matter of experience in Lambda, how old is she—I suppose 26. She is quite young. The rest is university students. It is always mostly students. I feel like when people start working after a while cannot help but take their hands off. Even if they stay for some time eventually they break off. I think the struggle of life break them off. They don't have flexible schedules as they do in university. I think it also has something to do with the generation too. My generation mostly comes from a different experience. Even if people have come out while they were young their social life is confined to a specific queer environment. I think of them as people who are living that way. But when I look at it I see that people from my generation mostly—I mean they grew up; they became adults, in a time when this movement's effect was not felt as much.

Burak

Identity, its formation happens in a period when you have less struggles in life. They can experience this only in university, then the military service starts then they get a job, get married whatever so there is only those five years when they can be free, whatever they do, they do in that time. There are people who keep going for 20-30 years but in general civil society movements are very young in Turkey. The youth doesn't have a structure that leaves a legacy to each other. An organization can be seen in a completely different structure just in three to five years. There is a lot of circulation. The people you work with keep changing.

On the whole, advanced knowledge of the body politics of the activists and regularly re-structuring dynamic processes of the discursive practices of youth conflict with each other and it tend to create a new type of persona for an aging activist. One of the important insights from the field is that older people are still very passionate and they are ready to be active as much as they were in their twenties, but their aging bodies have somehow lost a 'legitimate' way of making activism and they become the oldest person in the activist circles, as in the case of Cem. Their own age

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[19] First officially registered LGBT Association in Istanbul.

concern problems and the prevailing ageism practices around them limit their activism and set up new rules for the creation of determining their availability and activeness. A common point of these three activists express that they were still actively insiders of the field but their literal availability and reachability significantly diminished as they age. In one of the interviews, I asked to Gamze *'do you think you mean something to the young?'* My question was spontaneous but reflected to immediate environment in which moment I contacted with the aging activist. I realized that our mood was diminishing and long silences were drawing attention to difficult emotional surrounding of the interview. Her answer was clear enough, that she was thinking she means something but there is no generation ready to incorporate it. She was courageous in the past to dare and pronounce that lesbian and bisexual women exist in Turkey in contrast to ongoing silence of lesbian and bisexual women in a gay dominated LGBTQ movement in the 90's.

Therefore, identifications of the university student and young seems indispensable parts of the LGBTQ activism in Turkey. What I presented within this section reveals that youth-oriented organizations failed to problematize diversities of the organizations and not necessarily suggest a place for the elder and middle-aged groups. Cem's example, in which case he underlined that he was the oldest person in the organization indicates that LGBTQ movement does not represent age cohorts of the middle ages but engendered sufficient environment for the people aged between 16 to 30. Widespread ageism practices not necessarily interrogated in the organizations but ageism will later bring that less concerns of the aging in the LGBTQ organizations and will contribute to absence of the elder community members. According to social schema that underlines structural importance of the youth also generates a discourse creating modalities under the rule of youth and early

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activists do not sufficiently creates strategies but their aging LGBTQ identity has to

negotiate within new generation otherwise they might have disappeared as

previously occured in the 90's. This transgression between younger generation

(current movement) and early activist tend to transform requirements of the body

politics, which was appeared as interrogation of the relationship between body and

society because early activists still aimed at being active in the movement, therefore

might have embodied bargained approaches to identity, sexuality and the body.

4.5 Conditions of existence

> First of all, the community does not give a clear message to the elderly. You should be energetic, fun; you should know the technology; you should know and apply the fashion of the middle class. It is not open to lower classes as much as it is not open to the elderly. I mean you will go to a club on a Saturday night. You can't socialize when you don't do these. And you are not invited much. You are not seen as a friend. (Gamze)

While thinking through the absence of the elders in the interviews, participants

provided conditions, in which circumstances LGBTQ people are welcomed and

accepted. Their explanations were not directly referring to reasons of the non-

appearance of the elders in the movement but early activists elaborated conditions of

existence as being someone identified with LGBTQ politics and identity. These

conditions were presented as eliminative and reacted to the very existing current

conditions of surviving as an activist. Namely, participants argued that community

did not give a clear message to the elders in suggestion of participation, western type

visibility politics limits bodies in their immediate non-western environment and

conditionally before the movement, Turkish society is age blinded and ageist. See

modalities presented within field-work as follow;

Sümbül

"I think the macho culture has a lot of effect on fresh meat, fresh bodies, it is
also effective in the lgbt movement. It is also a young movement I would say.
It is newly visible. It is a movement in which the homosexuals who are
visible are just getting old. The western type is universal. If you start the story
with the perception of a standard lgbt identity and a visibility strategy weaved
around this perception, the number of people with the class, intellectual,
emotional and family privilege who will dare to realize it will decrease a lot. I
think the main thing here is, with all of the social movements in Turkey, the
problem is the west-east issue. I think we are constructed with a colonialist
view of aesthetic. Things that I, myself, am still struggling within my daily
life for example. Like a visible lesbian, like a visible lesbian in London we
fight then live our pain of love in a completely different way. It has nothing to
do with it. We get into a mood of Sezen Aksu."

As introduced, appearing theme along with interviews was the way in which

participants of the research constructed different forms of modalities of existence and

how they criticized the current structure of the activism as being too demanding,

class-blind, and young; they argue that being member of the LGBTQ community

requires some of the identity assumptions and direct you to act in that way. My own

experience as LGBTQ activist share similarities with my respondents in the field. My

observations also engage with the high value placed on being young, to contain high

cultural capital, to be able to have fun in every moment and condition. Fixedness of

the identity centralizes both movement and culture and their affirmative practices

rarely challenging. Gamze's point about less-welcoming environment of the LGBTQ

culture for the elders directly echoes Ozbay and Erol (2017). As their anthropological

study illustrated that technology, flexible sexuality, good body shape and compulsory

engagement to the young generation appeared in Gamze's critics in my interview to

the LGBTQ culture. As a result, you are unseen and uninvited if you do not obey the

rules of the game. As a quick tip; socialize with the young, be aware of the latest

technology and do not miss going to party on Saturdays! What is more significant that activist people do not directly digest what community suggest; they rather do not unique and successful enough to generate solutions to unaffordable demands because aging does not appear as a legitimate discussion point both in community and activism. My fieldwork also demonstrates this feeling of stagnation. It is my motivation that aging activists will be able to establish these newly appearing identities considering plurality and body politics in the near future.

Furthermore, one of my participants disapproved of the visibility politics of the current movement. Sümbül narrated to me that commitment to visibility was going back to the very idea of 'west' as universal, and she questioned practicability and usefulness of the visibility politics of the LGBTQ movement. In addition to that, she was searching for the new types of non-colonial aesthetic in contrast to visibility and she aimed at encouraging me to think through different ways of making activism from different locations of the world particularly the Middle East. She gave examples from non-Western LGBTQ politics and argued that they seem invisible but they might be very powerful and strategic, which links that visibility does not only mean successful way of doing politics. What she was making triggered and opened up a new space for this project and I decided to interrogate visibility politics as a colonial aesthetic. Sumbul' accounts of visibility and invisibility directly affiliate with the elder's conditioned invisibility. Therefore, problematizing reachability of the young population may also be related to unquestioned politics of the visibility which makes elder LGBTQs invisible. Ahmed's (2006) contribution to phenomenologies of the bodies of the knowledge intersect Sümbül's problematization of the invisibility. Elder's conditioning 'reality' has a direct relationship with the promoted youth in which circumstances elder's legitimation of circularity encounter with limits and

binaries of young and old. The movement is 'visible' *because* it is young in Turkey –
those it excludes are disconnected/unseen, and struggling to find acceptance and a
value for their lives in any kind of community.

In addition to that, aging itself accounted that being an elder in ongoing
Turkey is difficult and it is more unpleasant in conditions of being woman and
LGBTQ as Can have pointed out. He reflected to me that difficulties of being aged
in Istanbul and how elders become invisible and lonely as follows. The anxiety and
worry he carries can easily be seen through this quote.

Can

Istanbul is very hard for old people. It's a city that the crippled people cannot
travel easily. A city where they are invisible, where they are confined. The
same thing goes for old people. Old women also face very serious problems.
It has extra difficulties for LGBTIs. The issue of loneliness is a thing on its
own. There is this situation that they are alone while facing a difficulty. How
are they going to get passed this? With whom are they going to get passed it?
There isn't a system for this. This is not just for LGBTIs; it is also like this
for heterosexual elderlies who have not been married. It is a struggle to travel
in public space. It is a struggle to be excluded once it is known that you are
homosexual. Where are you going to come with people who are like you?
The health issue is a problem. How open are you going to be about health?
Economically it is a problem. Not everyone has a pension.

4.6 Construction of the future aging

When I invited contributors to answer question of *'what are you planning to do when
you age'* I did not catch a general future plan; instead, tendencies and answers were
varied. Significantly, two of my gay-identified participants responded with anxiety
and one of them affiliated this question with the partner, close family members, and
pension system. He directly contemplated aging with the caregiving. Another

middle-aged gay man told me that 'I see my aging very lonely, I will continue alone. Most probably I will write, read my books, and listen to LP's, and I will have a dog. I am most scared of madness. I will be producing but I am thinking that I will be deferred." Therefore, I might say that some of the early activists do not look forward to aging and they do not have flexibilities or tend not to produce negotiated aging subjectivity. These kinds of appropriation of aging correspond to interiorization processes of negative stereotypes of being a LGBTQ people (Henning, 2016), which is deeply circulated in Turkish society. See Gamze's account regarding this question about future plans it includes fear of loneliness not only through social scene but also considering economy as well as she underlines in which places elder members are not symbolically welcomed and invited.

> Gamze
>
> The possibility of being lonely is quite high; both economically and socially. This community is made up of young people and as the age goes up there is an incompatibility. It of course works up the feeling of "Am I going to be alone?" For example lezbifem[20] had a party. It has been a year. There were a couple of friends I knew previously they were more than thirty, around forty years old women. I went to them and we chatted. They were nervous. That place does not accept them, they did not feel welcome. They took off after a short while.

Therefore, I might say that social circumstances of the activists still bodily reflect to discrimination they have been experiencing throughout their ages. A high level of discrimination and negative experiences draw the ways of defining future aging along with the ageist tendencies and the unwelcoming spaces of the current community towards aging people.

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[20] A feminist-lesbian and bisexual political group based in Istanbul.

4.7 Better aging with the community

> An aging as an alternative to family, even if not in the same house in the same neighborhood with small networks of life that are in continuous contact with each other. I think this is what we can manage. It does not work as effectively as in dreams of a chosen family. It changes, transforms after a while. A difference is that I have a child; I neither feel like a part of a heteronormative family nor like a lone ranger. It is something more out there but I made this, I gave this my labor. I think I have created a place to breathe but I'd wish it were more crowded. (Sümbül)

Aside from tentative feelings of loneliness, some of the informants suggested better aging mechanisms and proposed chosen family and cooperatives as a method of aging. Sümbül underlines that she imagines a network of chosen family not in the same house but in the same neighbourhood and she aware that chosen family does not function easily since it is a field of ongoing alterations and Sümbül's mothering practices and chosen family concept generate new types of mothering and less synchronization with the heteronormative production process of the family. In addition to that, the most well-argued and planned proposal came from Can and he suggested cooperatives or mixing up elders and young people. Both Sümbül and Can resonated approaches of better aging and their arguments obtain solutions to caregiving, loneliness, and promotes better aging and community involvement as Can explained to me that:

> For example, to buy a place like a cooperative in a different region, a place where there are people above a certain age and to mix the portions of it too; not a place where there are just the elderly but a life space where those dynamics mix up. A life space, an experience where there are both the elderly and the youth, where different things are together. It could be in a building here. There would be twenty apartments, fifteen of those twenty apartments would be elderlies and five of it would be university students. To sustain that experience and to live there is a matter of community. (Can)

Informants of the research project simultaneously show that they identify the importance of social policies and aging conditions but did not question practical gerontological information and servicesIntersectionalities reverberated mainly among different sexual orientations and gender identities because being transgender was most disadvantaged and discriminated identity category and it followed by lesbian and bisexual woman. In addition to that, informants classified activist circles as middle-class groups but intersection of class and sexual identities cannot be elaborated according to field study. Furthermore, ethnicity tend to appear as a multiplying disadvantaged category but it less took part in the discussions because none of the interviewed people shared strong and acclaimed ethnicity category. Yet, destitute contributions of ethnicity might further bring negative additions to aging processes such as Kurdish gay men might experience aging two times harder comparing to middle-class white lesbian. As stated earlier, field shared different tendencies and resulted in showing fear of loneliness and anxiety of aging as well as echoed better aging concepts such as chosen family and community involvement and intersectionalities glimpsed but class, ethnicity and various combinations of sexual orientation and gender identity should be elaborated in further studies.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The research I present here depicts a story of the emerging LGBTQ movement in the 90's in Turkey, and absent bodies of the elders in that movement, through varied directions and understanding. Rather than praising the transformation processes of the modern identity categories of the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer subjects, in this research I consider the transformation process' multiple dynamics and competing actors' various identifications and social positioning along with a changing Turkey beginning in the 70's, 80's and the 90's. As Sara Ahmed demonstrated in her writing on the body and space dialectic (2006), in certain circumstances bodies can extend into space as well as space can extend into body. With the emergence of LGBTQ movement in Turkey, particular bodies were outpaced and could not reach to the emerging movement. Therefore, along with the 90's someone could observe that appearing LGBTQ activist was organized and consolidated power at the same time they distanced themselves from the previous generation, whose subjectivities and cultural, social capital was different considering to new showing generation.

This research for instance, demonstrates that discussions of queer temporality regarding Ulker Street experience and the case of Osep Minasoğlu disrupt the conditioned normative understanding of the LGBTQ movement and help to point out previously emerged symbolic violence during the transformation years of the identities and the movement along with the showing dispersed realities of the transgender community and other pre-modern identity categories (lubunya, gacı, dönme) as well as regularly increasing and intensifying state violence towards

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unsolicited (sexual) bodies living in Turkey. What's more is that, typical studies of LGBTQ aging, which are based in a white global north, do not necessarily discuss other places living under conditions of severe and ongoing violence. In such places like Turkey, we also see the contributions of different identity categories, in which circumstances categories of the subject tend to experience multiplication of the minoritization and inequality processes. Apart from identity categories, as my research also reflected, subjects' political orientation could generate different comprehensions of the body, sexuality, and aging. Therefore, accounts of aging in relation to community, scientific knowledge and the activist brings about different understanding of aging process and individuals tend to reflect their previously interiorized conditions and knowledge.

The significant realization and difficulty of this research was that the broader community and the newer movement in Turkey do not have a direct dialogue with one another. Rather, the LGBTQ movement represents certain forms of subjectivities – which are queer and young enough, white, educated – and embodies as much as high cultural capital as possible. This is in stark contrast to transgender sex workers, older persons, or those with different intersectional sexual identities regarding ethnicity, class, and religion, who are often excluded from the movement as a result. It might be assumed that community culture and movement are intertwined and reflected to the each other but Turkish society rather shows different story because ties between movement and members of the community were quite weak and this trend have been intensified throughout the 2000's. For instance, the different results between my research findings on activist aging groups and other studies focusing on different class groups (e.g. Ozbay and Erol 2017) directly links this differentiation between community culture and the activists.

In this thesis, one of my two main arguments were that there was a transformation of the sexual identities along with the changing Turkey and mechanisms of this transformation can be understood within comprehending social history of the Turkey. In particular representational crisis in the parliament beginning in the 70's, increased legitimate state violence against minority and left groups, military coup of the 1980, and emergence of the neoliberalism as well as discomforts of the neoliberal reasserted society throughout the 80's and the 90's characterized the changing Turkish society (Kaya 2013; Akça, 2014; Ozan, 2015; Saraçoğlu 2015) and these transformations also altered lives of sexual minorities. Concrete understanding of this transformation process of the identities secondly helped me to interrogate about the absence of the elders in the current LGBTQ movement because I argued that during this alteration, rather than generational transfer, appearing movement implemented symbolic violence to the previous generation and contributed to the emergence of the activism field, which was resulted as emergence of the new 'invisibility' category because transformation of the identities also left behind previous generation and conditions of invisibility emerged in as an example of the results of this alteration process. Therefore, occurring movement remained as young and new but previous generation moved away from the field and become invisible, and this lost generation are the ones potentially signifies the elder members of the community. To point out these conditions of invisivibility I approached to the topic with queer perspective in which condition, it empowered research to demonstrate non-normative sexualities and invisibilities of the social groups and bodies. In addition to that, Bourdieu's notion of the 'field' represented dynamic battle among different actors and social processes in the conditions of the emergence process of the LGBTQ activism field in the 90's.

In addition to the relational two research questions (mechanisms of transformations and their results, particularly the emergence of new 'invisibility') within my last chapter I considered LGBTQ aging theories and examined my findings derived from early LGBTQ activist of the Turkish society. This last part of the thesis not directly links to the previous discussions (Chapter II, III) but studies aging as much as possible within the activism circles within giving a voice to the middle aged identified early activist population and provides a proper space to further continue with aging LGBTQ studies in Turkey. Therefore, this last chapter can be evaluated as a starting point in which case concreate relationship between sociology of aging and histories of the LGBTQ community and modern history of Turkey can be together studied in future research according to increasing demand of gerontological concerns of the LGBTQ community. As a short summary, early activists were well aware of the body politics, therefore they criticized the influences of the ageism practices within the community and society so that they were motivated to resolve their concerns of the future aging.

This research project triggered new research questions and further explanations regarding social movements, body, aging and sexuality studies both at the theoretical and the practical level. First of all, I was not directly able to apply post- Stonewall, North-based white LGBTQ aging theories because I presented non-normative, and much more fluid and disadvantaged histories of the sexual minorities living in Turkey. Using the information and context I provide in this story of Turkey, I ask: how could someone reflect to pre-Stonewall period and re-discuss current LGBTQ aging theories? Such an interrogation could have potentially depicted capacities of the symbolic violence during the appearing years of the LGBTQ movement in US so that this discussion could also have generated new 'invisibility'

categories for the movement there. This kind of comparative understanding of the LGBTQ movement in different countries and cultures could provide a new understanding for the theoretical discussions of the social movement and identity politics. In addition to that, questioning the pre-Stonewall years in the global north might have resulted in less reductionist and more comprehensive ability of seeing subjectivities of the aging population for the resulting global movement.

In Turkey, visibility politics was directly inherited from the western-dominated ways of doing politics in the LGBTQ movement, so that it necessarily structures conditions of making activism as well as being 'aged'. Therefore, it is another significant point that, searching non-western understanding and multiplicities of the cultures of the Middle East and global South must be contrasted with the hegemonic politics of the North and I suggest that it is necessary to bear in mind that new categories have to be established in accordance with the new manifestations of the non-West cultures and subjects, in which task circumstances entail considerations beyond the 'visibility'.

Another future concern regarding aging bodies is the necessity to look from an intersectional perspective. As the discussions provided in chapter IV illustrate, the current literature of LGBTQ aging theories do not necessarily discusses various conditions of aging groups, but the idea of 'the gay elder'. However, being an elder LGBTQ has been mostly problematized and studied in US society, while literature on aging studies and intersectionalities are limited, which is also true in Turkey. Such an understanding of intersectionality could not only contribute to generate better social policies and to help in the future, but also could provide better opportunities for dialogue among different identities and community groups. For instance, the gap between different ethnicities and the sexual identity groups in Turkey still an arena of

explanation. No doubt that routes of being a lesbian Kurdish woman potentially could have engendered meanings of intersections of different identities and multiple minorization processes of the subjects as well as an interrogation of the mutualities of the identities could create a public realm of the discussions beyond identities.

My fourth point is that throughout my research, the dispersed conditions of the transgender community remained significant because in most of the cases their structured living conditions were related to the LGBTQ community but it was not reducible to identity categories of the LGBTQ. State violence and the internal culture of the transgender community, as well as commitment to the solidarity of each of its members, differentiated their positioning radically. Therefore, another more concrete comparison between the transgender community and LGB community might reflect those differences more directly and obtain better comprehensions of the complex relationship between these groups.

As I challenged to LGBTQ movement in many ways and criticized their appearances as non-inclusive and white-washed, the visibility politics of the LGBTQ movement in Turkey is still momentous and necessary to consider in understanding of lives of the LGBTQ people in Turkey. Organizations intensively strive to increase their activism capacities and funding mechanisms in order to create and equal constitutional system, as well as better access to law and health and support for LGBTQ individuals according to their sexual orientation and gender identity based concerns and needs. Yet, the community also must think about their inclusiveness and should create a better culture of remembering. In particular, internal critics of youth oriented widespread ageism practices might obtain more inclusive attendance to the activism as a starting point. Within this critique, the movement also should begin to dwell on practical gerontology in order to provide better aging conditions

within community engagement as well as in the creation of future social policies. A starting survey about young activist' opinions about future aging and pointing out their concerns and plans for future could help to signify the current conditions of information about aging and ageism as well as such project might demonstrate the expectations of the young population.

My last input for future research is that within this project, I considered the 70's, 80's and the 90's, but not the 2000's in which years LGBTQ activism visibly increased its capacity and dispersed different cities of the Turkey and become a significant political actor in the scene of human rights. Within this growth, neoliberal tendencies also become more demanding, which decreased the activist's autonomy from the market. Along with neoliberalism, institutionalisation, globalisation and financialization also was augmented. These transformations of capital, which were crystallized as 'resources' and 'influences,' also produce boundaries. For instance, my participant Burak explained the difficulties of being a funding-oriented organization as follows;

> If you are funded by United Kingdom for instance, the structure and the values of the UK, relations between Turkey and the UK all of them directly or indirectly influence your way of thinking and organizational schema. Legitimacy of your resources decreases according to the more you grow up.

Burak's point indicates that organizations lose their freedom because they must consider the values of the funder and act according to rules prescribed by this external capital institution. Increased circulation and connectedness of the movement increase organization's value and impact but it also creates more orientation to the market and disintegrates inclusive politics because neoliberal transformations expect certain subjectivities and designed a reasonable allies network.

For instance, imagine that you are working in an LGBTQ organization funded by US Embassy and European Union. How could this organization interact with the anarcho-queer or socialist LGBTQ groups? Answer would probably suggest that it is better to engage with the more liberal groups rather than the left radicals. Therefore, I am suggesting that, within this fund oriented organization schema, LGBTQ activism might become more exclusionist depending on different factors such as class positioning, ethnicity, and political orientations of the activist. Another detailed study about the 2000's of the LGBTQ activism in Turkey therefore might depict story more differently and provided a picture of growing years of the movement more detailly considering neoliberalisation, globalisation, institutionalisation, and financialization of the movement across different generations, activism practices and cities.

Throughout the thesis, my aim was to understand history not as fixed and settled but to suggest how could history of the Turkish society can be understood within dynamics of sexual minorities. Therefore, I believe that non-normative understanding of the LGBTQ history able to generate better sociology of aging because such discomforts of the history contributes to pointing out visibilities of the LGBTQ elders. Moreover, relationship between historical understanding and sociology of aging might potentially create a conversation among different generations and more importantly sociology of aging exceeds practical gerontological concerns of the elders but also includes social surrounding, environment and accumulated histories and bodies of the community. Therefore, as this research aimed at demonstrating, sociology of aging must be quite vigorous and cannot be construct without the understanding of the notions of generations, communities, temporalities and the space as well as social history of the society.

Finally, for future research, it will be important to bring these fields more closely together (LGBTQ and aging) and I suggest that taking a 'queer' perspective in the questions, theory, and methods of research can help us to bridge that gap because LGBTQ seniors are quite widespread and invisible social group and queer methodologies and theories' most common agenda are to increase ability of understanding of non-normative, sexually embodied and excluded lives in the places of heteronormativity. Therefore a queer understanding of the sociology of aging help us to see structurally invisible identities and rather than the similarities and the concentrations it points out difference, which generates a new kind of knowledge able to reflect and consider conditions of the visibility. These points thus suggested that someone must insist that it is better to understand aging itself in a non-normative way.

In this thesis, I have focused instead on the idea of 'generation' in the LGBTQ history of Turkey, in order to explain why there was a 'generation gap' between the older community and the new movement. The 'invisibility' or absence of elders in in the movement is rooted in the specific cultural and political history of Turkey, as well as in the history of the global movement itself. It is critical to pay attention to local contexts in order to tell this story.

The theoretical spirit of this research was generated with the help of queer perspectives and Bourdieusian concepts of the social fields, and capital. Throughout the thesis, invisibilities of the society and non-normative understanding of the community was generated and these perspectives were beneficial in this comprehension process. How this relationship between queer theory and Bourdieu can be extended in further studies? It might be realized that more and more scholar attempt to apply Bourdieu's notions to the field of sexuality. For instance,

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McDermott (2011) tries to understand UK society after changes in legislation that gave legal rights to the LGBT people by considering class understanding of Bourdieu and queer theory in the discipline of the social policy. In particular, emergence of the notion of sexual field, which tries to grasp romantic and sexual interest of people according to the logic of the desirability and creation of stratifications according to the specific logic produced within these encounters (Green, 2014) or erotic habitus (Green, 2008) among other studies that presented Bourdieu's notion along with LGBTQ movements and identities. (Ward, 2003) Occurring relationship between sexuality and Bourdieusian understanding able to point out how structured and structuring relationships of sexuality manifest relationships between agents and broader social fields, and structuring mechanisms of sexuality according to the previously interiorized social conditions, habitus, and dispersed conditions of the capital as well as other fields in relation to field of sexuality. Further in depth attempts of covering Bourdieu and sexuality could have provided profound understanding of structured sexuality and identity. In particular, I see that Bourdieusian historical sociology could generate very promising new understanding of histories of the sexual minorities and communities. As my study intended, different understanding of the history could provide necessarily different information and depicts social structure rather differently, this is a very motivating potential for the Bourdieusian scholarship.

Fig.3 A photograph taken by Osep Minasoğlu
Source: Serttaş, T. (2009). *Studio Osep*. Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

As a final point, I want to return to the story of the Armenian, gay

photographer Osep Minasoğlu (as a taken picture of him shown in Figure 3). His

funeral in the summer of 2013 triggered this research project because I deeply

wanted to comprehend why at the funeral only there were young and middle-aged

LGBTQ activists, and Armenian community, but where were Osep's elderly LGBTQ

friends? I attempted to see Osep's relative visibility in the movement not as a

peculiar condition and a positive point of the movement but his story helped me to

see conditions of invisibility of the elders in the movement and the structural gap

occurred during the transformation process of the movement. I had very little

information about Osep's life. Osep Minasoğlu's memoirs appeared in Kaos GL

Magazine, Tayfun Serttaş' dedicated book of Studio Osep (2009), and apart from

some of the very limited narrations of the early activists of the LGBTQ movement, it

is nearly impossible to gather more information about him. Yet, the spirit he

provided within the funeral I believed that will bring a radically better understanding

of the elder LGBTQ people living in Turkey and disrupt conditioned absence of the

elders as well as heteronormativity, which is deeply surrounded in comprehensions

of the histories of the LGBTQ movement among occurring temporalities and spaces.

Osep's elder body could not extend directly into activism environment of the

movement but hopefully in the future ageism practices will be eroded and more

inclusive, less white movement will emerge in and generations will have a proper

space to transfer information they previously had.

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