Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of English Linguistics

THEMATIC AND DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF HOMOSEXUAL MOVEMENT IN TURKEY THROUGH *KAOS GL MAGAZINE*

Cihan ALAN

PhD Dissertation

Ankara, 2019

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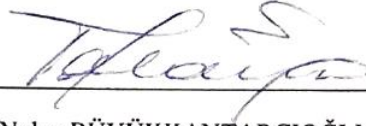Department of English Linguistics

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Cihan ALAN has on the date of 12.03.2019 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his doctoral dissertation titled "Thematic and Discursive Construction of Homosexual Movement in Turkey through *Kaos Gl Magazine*".

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- o Enstitü / Fakülte yönetim kurulu kararı ile tezimin erişime açılması mezuniyet tarihimden itibaren 2 yıl ertelenmiştir. [1]

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10/04/2019

Cihan ALAN

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Cihan ALAN

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ABSTRACT

ALAN, Cihan. *Thematic and Discursive Construction of Homosexual Movement in Turkey through Kaos GL Magazine*, PhD Dissertation, Ankara, 2019.

This dissertation aims at investigating thematic and discursive construction of homosexuality through texts published in *Kaos GL Magazine*, the first and longest-standing alternative gay and lesbian publication in Turkey. More specifically, the research is an attempt to unearth two discursive-linguistic aspects of texts: (1) thematic distribution and thematic relation patterns of the texts; (2) discursive strategies and linguistic means and forms of realisation on which the construction of homosexual movement is based. To this end, 6 texts in the first five-year of the magazine (between the years 1994 and 1999) were purposively selected at the end of a preliminary inventory research, and included into grounded thematic analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In the former analytical procedure, based on Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2008), a systematic coding process was carried out, eventually finding out two most frequent thematic categories which describe the social order and the way homosexuals positioned themselves in the specific period of time. Textual segments pertaining to the categories obtained through the coding process were finally included into CDA. This analysis was based on the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach, a well-established tradition in CDA studies. In accordance with this model and an added 'insider' perspective (Wodak, 2011), textual segments were diachronically analysed to find out the ways the social actors are represented (van Leeuwen, 1996 & Wodak et al., 2000). The findings of grounded thematic analysis show that, within five years, homosexuals' description of the social order was mostly and consistently based on the themes heterosexism and homophobia while a strong emphasis on constructing a collective and unifying action was observed in the second half of the period as a way of self-description. In a parallel sense CDA findings demonstrate that, in the context of the socio-historical background of the period, homosexuals construct a counter negative-othering discourse to describe the society in the early texts of the period while a positive-self presentation comes to the forefront towards the end of the period based on the goal of forming group solidarity. The study is significant for revealing that it is not always the

marginalised groups that are negatively presented in dominant discourses but also marginalised in-groups can identify themselves with out-groups by making use of similar negative-other presentation strategies. In this sense this study has implications for researchers, particularly in the field of Queer Linguistics, who aim at investigating in-group discourses. Also, the findings of the study can serve as a basis for further research on the construction of homosexuality not only through texts but also other discursive practices.

Keywords

Critical Discourse Analysis, Queer Linguistics, social constructivism, homosexual movement, group identity, *Kaos GL Magazine*

ÖZET

ALAN, Cihan. *Türkiye'deki Eşcinsel Hareketin Kaos GL Dergisi Aracılığıyla Tematik ve Söylemsel İnşası*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

Bu doktora tezi, Türkiye'nin ilk ve en uzun soluklu eşcinsel ve lezbiyen yayını olan *Kaos GL Dergi*'de yayınlanan metinler aracılığıyla eşcinselliğin tematik ve söylemsel olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma daha özelde metinlerin iki söylemsel-dilbilimsel yönünü ortaya çıkarmaya yöneliktir: (1) metinlerin tematik dağılımı ve tematik ilişki örüntüleri; (2) eşcinsel hareketin inşasının dayandığı söylem stratejileri ve dilsel gerçekleşme araç ve biçimleri. Bu amaçla, derginin ilk beş yılında (1994-1999) 6 metin envanter ön araştırmasının sonucuna göre amaçlı örnekleme ile seçildi ve gömülü tematik çözümleme ve Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi'ne (ESÇ) dahil edilmiştir. Gömülü Teori (Glaser ve Strauss, 1967; Corbin ve Strauss, 2008) yaklaşımının çözümleme aşamalarının benimsendiği ilk aşamada sistematik bir kodlama işlemi gerçekleştirilmiş ve belirlenen zaman dilimi içinde toplumsal düzeni ve eşcinsellerin bu düzen karşısında kendilerini konumlandırma biçimlerini ortaya çıkaran en sıkla görülen iki tematik kategori belirlenmiştir. Çalışmanın ikinci çözümleme aşamasında, kodlama sürecinden elde edilen kategorilere ait metin parçaları ESÇ geleneği içinde önemli bir yeri olan Söylem-Tarihsel Yaklaşımı ile incelenmiştir. Bu model ve bir "içeriden" bakış açısı (Wodak, 2011) benimsenerek, ilgili tematik kategorilerde toplumsal aktörlerin temsil edilme biçimleri (van Leeuwen, 1996 ve Wodak ve diğerleri, 2000) artsüremli bir çözümlemeyle orataya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Gömülü tematik çözümlemenin bulguları, beş yıl içinde eşcinsellerin sosyal düzeni çoğunlukla ve tutarlı bir şekilde heteroseksizm ve homofobi temaları çerçevesinde betimlediklerini; bunun yanında, beş yılın ikinci yarısı itibariyle, eşcinsellerin kendilerini tanımlamanın bir yolu olarak kolektif ve birleştirici bir eylemin inşasına güçlü bir vurgu yaptıklarını göstermiştir. Buna parallel olarak, ESÇ bulguları, toplumsal-tarihsel koşullar bağlamında, eşcinsellerin dönemin ilk metinlerinde toplumu tanımlamlarken 'karşı olumsuz-öteki' söylemi inşa ettiklerini; diğer yandan, dönemin sonuna doğru, bireylerin grup dayanışması oluşturma amacı doğrultusunda, olumlu-kendi sunumunun ön plana çıktığını ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma, ötekileştirilen grupların baskın söylemlerde olumsuz olarak sunulduğu genellemesinin

yanında, ötekileştirilen grupların da benzer şekilde olumsuz-öteki sunum yöntemlerini kullanarak kendilerini grup-dışındakiler üzerinden tanımlayabildiklerini ortaya çıkarması açısından önemlidir. Bu bakımdan bu çalışma, özellikle Queer Dilbilimi alanında ötekileştirilen grup-içi söylemleri araştırmayı amaçlayan araştırmacılar için önemli öneriler sumaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışmanın bulguları eşcinselliğin sadece metinlerle değil, diğer söylemsel pratikler aracılığıyla inşası üzerine yapılan araştırmalar için de temel oluşturabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi, Queer Dilbilim, toplumsal inşacılık, eşcinsel hareketi, grup kimliği, *Kaos GL Dergisi*

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BDP: Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Peace and Democracy Party)

CA: Content Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)

DHA: Discourse Historical Approach

E: Excerpt

GT: Grounded Theory

GTA: Grounded Thematic Analysis

ÖDP: Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi (Freedom and Solidarity Party)

QDA: Qualitative Data Analysis

QL: Queer Linguistics

S: Segment

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. 1. CLEARING THE GROUNDS

1. 1. 1. Language and Discourse as a Reflection of Social Reality and Cognition

We, as human-beings, and as individuals of particular communities, are introduced, from the moment we are born, to a world of reality which is composed of the 'common-sense knowledge' shared with other individuals. In the process of socialisation, we conceptualise ourselves as well as the world around us by means of this 'social' knowledge which constitutes the fabric of meanings (Berger & Luckmann, 1989). The reality, or the shared knowledge about the common world we live in, is constructed as a result of intersubjective interactions and communication within the society where the 'meanings' and perspectives ('ideologies' in other words) of one differ from of others. Even if the meanings change from one individual to another, we share a common sense about the reality of the world (p. 37).

Language is the primary tool for the signification of this taken-for-granted social reality. Through language, or conversation among individuals, knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation as the objective truth, and thus it becomes the subjective reality of the individual in the socialisation process (p. 172). Those who have internalized the same objective truth as their subjective reality tend to act in the same way, to put it differently they become a part of an 'institution' based on the particular knowledge that has been socially constructed with reference to the activity the individuals perform (p. 84-85).

In such institutional realities all our behavioural and mental actions are mediated by means of language which is also an inseparable part of the realities in question (Vygotsky, 1978). In this sense, sign systems, like languages, which serve as the essential cognitive ability of human in perceiving the world, are produced historically within societies, and they lead to mental and behavioural transformations in the course of individual development (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 32; Cole & Scribner, 1978, p. 7). In

sum, language is crucial in two ways in terms of individual's relation to the social reality: it mediates human action, enabling the internalisation of the social reality that builds the mind as a whole; on the other hand, individuals maintain and reconstruct their subjective reality (that is the reality made up of objectivised knowledge of the society) through interaction with other individuals by means of language.

Following the Vygotskian thought of social situatedness, Wertsch (1991) brings a sociocultural dimension to the theory of social reality and assumes that, besides being mediated, human action cannot be isolated from the milieu, i.e. its social and cultural situation, in which it is carried out (1991, p. 18). According to this view, thinking or using language is socioculturally situated and intramental process of an individual is actually realised as an intermental process within the social interaction of individuals in specific cultural settings. Or, in Bakhtin's (1981) terms, as reiterated by Wertsch (1991), an utterance of a single individual includes 'voices' of other individuals who previously came into contact in social interactions, which makes meanings *dialogical* and *multivoiced.* This supports the assumption that meanings that come from a single mind do not exist. Even, the world of reality that is represented by language always half belongs to someone else (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). A word, an utterance, or language in general, thus, cannot be thought isolated from its sociohistorical, sociocultural and institutional situations it is produced in.

Social construction of realities has close bounds with the notion of discourse as well. Discourse theory, based on Foucauldian tradition of archaeology of knowledge, regards language as structured into discourses, thus 'signifiers' (linguistic units such as words) gain meaning within the context of the discourse in which they are used (Burr, 2003, p. 31). Although Foucault did not concentrated on the concept of reality, this aspect of the theory clearly supports the idea that reality is a set of constructs formed through discourse, and that it is the discursive structures that determine our perceptions of the reality (Mills, 2004, p. 45). For him, discursive structures (or 'discursive practices' with his terminology), are the ultimate units of analysis we have access to for learning about things, and these practices are the products of complex and manifold relations of 'power' (Foucault, 1984/1990, p. 6). In this respect, a parallelism can be drawn between Berger and Luckmann's (1989) institutional realities and Foucault's discursive practices: the subjects who have internalized the same

objective truth and become a part of an institution can also be said to share a certain set of 'statements', as bits of a discourse, that is confirmed by some authority (Mills, 2004, p. 55).

Certainly, it is important to state that discourses are not merely constituted of linguistic signs, words, sentences, or utterances; rather they are groups of "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1969/2002, p. 54). It is not to say that discourses are isolated from linguistic signs: language functions as the site to act within certain discursive constraints; any performance on this site is determined by discourse (Mills, 2004, p. 38). In this sense, it is discourse that shapes the way we think and act. Discursive practices are not supposed to be intentional; rather, these are acts formed historically within social interactions based on a struggle for domination (p. 55-56). Hence, a discourse is related to other discourses somehow pertaining to the subject in question as a result of hierarchical and organized power relations (Smart, 2002, p. 95); that's why, the boundaries of a discourse is very unclear and it is always subject to change through time (Mills, 2004, pp. 55-56). Consequently, an analysis aiming to find out the reasons for the emergence of discourses is useless; rather, for a sound understanding of discourses the complex relations between the multiplicities of discourses as well as power relations associated with them within a sociocultural context need to be analysed (Smart, 2002, p. 95).

Having a long and well-established tradition among the methods of text and discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter, CDA) has proven itself as a research paradigm that handles 'language as social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001a), attaches importance to context in which discourse is created, and particularly concentrates on the relation between language and power (Wodak, 2001a, p. 1). To put it in terms of social reality, CDA, with its interests and approaches, serves as a medium to account for the social realities constructed through discursive practices within certain sociocultural contexts. It is a common idea that CDA's primary objective is to deal with intricate relations of power, discrimination and dominance, which are manifested in discourse, as well as the injustice and inequality resulting from these relations (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 252; Wodak, 2001a, p. 2). This effort of CDA to focus on dominance and social inequalities is driven by the sociocultural conditions that lead some groups of people to be disadvantaged, rather than an interest to

contribute to any discipline or theory of discourse (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 252) —without ignoring any theoretical background that falls to the concern of the issue handled, though. In brief, with its multi-faceted nature, CDA enables the researcher to better understand the social problems and realities.

Investigation of social problems through a variety of relations that influence the production of discourses requires CDA to be a context-dependent paradigm in the interface of multiple disciplines (van Dijk, 2001b, 2008 and 2009). The notion of context is of utmost importance in CDA's endeavour to investigate the relationship between the social problems and discourses, and it encompasses social-psychological, political and ideological aspects about the social phenomenon in question (Meyer, 2001, p. 15). van Dijk (2009a), who brought a socio-cognitive approach to CDA, contends that one of the most important dimensions of contexts is 'social cognition' which refers to "socially and culturally shared beliefs such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values" (p. 24). For him, it is social cognitions through which language users form their representations of social groups, institutions or classes of which they are a member, and only through these shared beliefs or representations can relate social power to social discourse (2009b, p. 133). As for interdisciplinarity, CDA should look into its subject matter from a wide perspective preferably focusing primarily on problems, bringing together different disciplines, and valuing each discipline equally —that is, an 'integrationist model' as called by van Leeuven (2005, pp. 7-10).

The present dissertation deals with the very concept of 'homosexuality' as a sociohistorical and sociocultural notion, which is continuously prone to producing contesting discourses, and as a field of social struggle in Turkey. All the words in the above paragraphs about the relations among language, discourse, social reality, social cognition and power apply to homosexuality —a socially constructed concept for Foucault (1976/1978). The social realities or cognitions of homosexuality, as all other realities and cognitions, are constructed within historical and cultural contexts. In other words, the knowledge or discursive practices pertaining to homosexuality that individuals internalise in the socialisation process is the product of the culture and society they live in.

Intricate power relations in the society has the potential both to produce and restrict discursive practices on homosexuality: on the one hand, the productive effect of power is observable in the emergence of a number of local LGBTI groups since the early 1990s in Turkey; on the other hand, the restrictive effect to 'other' discourses is already predominant as a result of continuous reproduction of heterosexist and homophobic discourses in the struggle for dominance. It is a fact that through CDA, interpretation of discursive practices realised on the site of linguistic structures and devices as well as of covert ideologies and meanings between the lines can unearth the complex relationship between social phenomena and discourse, and provide impressions about the inequalities due to dominance (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2001b, 2001c; Wodak 2001a). With this in mind, any CDA research on the discourse (i.e. discourse topics, ideological strategies and linguistic realisations) of homosexuality, be it the dominant discourse in the society or of a social movement working for the liberation of homosexuals, can be deemed to reveal intricate relationships between the discourse patterns, ideologies and social structures.

The present study departs from an interest in the discourse(s) of homosexual liberation movement which dated back to the early 1990s in Turkey. Therefore, the following subsection is to provide the reader with some basics on the concept of homosexuality, its evolution into a field of social struggle, and some reflections of the struggle in Turkey.

1. 1. 2. Homosexuality, Social Struggle and Some Reflections

Homosexuality, referring in the plainest sense to same-sex relationship, has always been a matter of lasting discussions in the stage of history in many aspects — such as cultural, social, scientific, political, legal and so forth. The never-ending controversies on same-sex relationship derived from different discourses or social realities on homosexuality that existed on the grounds of peculiar socio-historical conditions of the times. Throughout the centuries, there were cases in which those who violated the social and biological gender norms[1] had the chance to receive social acceptance, like

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[1] The term 'social and biological gender norms' as well as 'homosexuality' itself can only be understood within the context of the literature on same-sex relationship, developed in the late 20th century, which describes the socially-constructed terms 'sex' and 'gender', above all (Grosz, 1994; Gatens, 1996; Antony, 1998; Prokhovnik, 1999 and Butler, 1999). These terms are not suitable to account for, for instance, the sexuality norms in ancient times (For further explanation, see Chapter 2).

in the Ancient Greece, while others were wiped out and even were deleted from the records as in the case of massacres at the time of Nazi Germany (Baird, 2007, p. 8). There is no doubt that any interpretation on the perception of homosexuality in different times is necessarily in need of a description of socio-historical backgrounds of related periods of time.

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that homosexuality became an issue of social struggle of subjects. With the changing global economic order as a result of established effects of industrial revolution, social perceptions on homosexuals transformed into a radical negative stance by favouring the heterosexual nuclear family structure which is regarded as the core of capitalist societies (Wolf, 2009, p. 41). Thus, for the last several centuries, industrialised states controlled and regulated sexualities by drawing a sharp line between heterosexual ('normal') and homosexual ('pervert', 'abnormal' and 'deviant') patterns. This distinction was supported in time by states and religious authorities, and consolidated by many means including education, medicine, welfare services, common prejudices, and housing patterns (Weeks, 2007, p. 5).

Today, attitudes towards homosexuality display a strict paradox. Fundamentalists, on the one hand, bear an extreme and escalating hostility to homosexuality with a conventionalist conservatism, while there is an open-mindedness and concern about and a recognition of sexual diversity due to growing visibility of homosexuals (Baird, 2007, p. 8). It would not be wrong to state that this opposition is becoming more apparent each day with the rise of liberation movements in the globalised world, basically since the idea of sexual diversity poses a threat to heterosexual family structure. This attitude of capitalists towards non-heterosexuals, which is also the reason for the oppression of women, does not simply derive from their search for a prevailing morality; rather their aim is to protect family, which is seen as the fundamental means to obtain low-cost labour, to reproduce the dominant ideology for each future generation, and to sustain the mechanisms depending on property and legacy (Margulies, 2004, p. 9).

Homosexuals, on the other hand, did not receive the support they expected from leftist politicians against capitalist idea. Socialists, communists and social democrats did not contribute to the development of a free gay identity and culture, they rather implicitly

supported homosexuals' social integration by merging them into "family values", the micro mechanism of a society to which the subjects would directly be exposed (Hekma, Oosterhuis & Steakley, 1995, p. 4). Backed up by the materialist goals of capitalism, and valorising the heterosexual family, the heterosexist social order is constantly being reproduced by conservatism which is characterised with "fear of change" that influences many life practices (Göregenli, 2016).

The Stonewall riots in 1969 in the USA can be said to be the global incentive for proliferation of gay liberation movements in different geographies as well as the development of the queer literature. With an added inspiration by the civil rights movement and experiences in student, anti-war and women's liberation movement, the rebellion galvanised a new generation in the North America; and gay and lesbian activists organized their own movement to fight against social, political, and cultural oppression of homosexuals (Zimmerman & Haggerty, 2000, p. xi). The increasing effect of the homosexual movement and accumulating literature on homosexuality in the USA as well as the political outcomes of student riots in 1968 in France soon led scholars primarily in the continental Europe and the UK, such as Michel Foucault, Guy Hocquenghem, Luce Irigaray, Monique Wittig, Mary McIntosh, Kenneth Plummer, Jeffery Weeks, etc., to produce theories on sexuality and gender issues (p. xii-xiii). In the late 80s and the early 90s, "queer theory", which was mostly based on the studies of Michel Foucault (1969/2002, 1976/1978, 1972/1989 & 1984/1990) became the central concern of scholars. Depending on the idea that sexuality and gender are socially constructed, the theory, which is still an issue of controversies, has been greatly influential in academia (Pickett, 2009, pp. 157-8).

The gay liberation movement could not arise in Turkey for more than twenty years when compared to the North American and European examples. At the time of gay liberation movements in 60s and 70s, the country had not yet become acquainted with New Social Movements[2] due to the fact that there was a political turmoil in the general society where the leftist and rightist groups were ceaselessly fighting each other, and democracy was suspended every ten years by military coups. Having been one of the

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[2] The term 'new social movements' refers to the social movements that appeared from 1960s onwards. These movements were different from the "old" Marxist movements that were realised by working-class against capitalist society. Rather, these movements were organised around such themes as gender, race, ethnicity, youth, sexuality, spirituality, countercultures, environmentalism, animal rights, and so on (Buechler, 2013, p. 420).

oppressed groups in the repressive regime after the 1980 military coup, homosexuals strived to find a solution on the political grounds for the first time under the auspices of Radical Democrat Green Party which dissolved in 1987 due to some reasons (ILGA, 2009).

The failure in the political arena led homosexuals to continue their struggle by means of local groups. The most outstanding organisations were established in the first half of 1990s in Istanbul and Ankara. The one in the latter city was called Kaos GL which published the longest-lasting gay-lesbian magazine and aimed to reach the society and make homosexuals' voice to(?) be heard by means of printed and visual media at various organisations, mass meetings and universities (Türkiye'de Eşcinsel Yaşam, https://www.turkeygay.net). In this sense, the magazine serves as a historical document of the homosexual movement in Turkey since it has been published without interruption since 1994. Historical development of the movement in Turkey will be handled in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Current social situation of homosexuals, or LGBTI people more generally, in Turkey can be handled in several aspects. Regarding the legal status of LGBTI citizens, there is not any law or regulation on sexual identities defending the rights of LGBTI citizens, and this brings together the "invisibility of different groups". That is, if a group of people are not regarded as 'different', in other words, if they are invisible, then they are not discriminated (Altıparmak, 2016, p. 45-46). A discriminatory attitude and 'hatred' discourse was dominant in mainstream media in 1990s, while today there is an increase in the representation of LGBTI issues (İlaslaner, 2014). Despite this seems to be a positive development, still LGBTI people are represented incorrectly and defectively by traditional media, and any LGBTI content in new media can be censored by governmental institutions (Binark, 2016, p. 32). Also, there is a lack of official data on hate crimes and discrimination against LGBTI people due to mainstream media's systematic lack of attention towards sexual minorities (Engin, 2015, p. 847). As for the representation of homosexuals in the political arena, several opposing political parties showed their apparent support to the homosexual rights only after 2010 (Türkiye'de Eşcinsel Yaşam, https://www.turkeygay.net). In the case of family and educational relations, homosexual subjects who are considered to deviate from gender norms are marginalised and oppressed by their families, peers and teachers (Özbek,

2017, p. 148). Also, homosexuals are discriminated in the work place by their employers and colleagues. These and many other socio-political factors to be handled in the second chapter of this study are influential in the discourse production of homosexuals and their media.

The object of research in the present dissertation is *Kaos GL Magazine*, which can be categorised as a publication of 'alternative media' in Turkey. The term alternative media is basically used for media products that provide a different point of view from that of mass-media products or that advocate the social change (Waltz, 2005, p. 2). By this definition, media products that are published as a reaction to the repressive regimes, such as gay and lesbian media, can be classified as 'alternative'. Accordingly, it can be assumed that, as an alternative media publication, *Kaos GL Magazine* has constructed, as a result of the productive nature of the power mechanisms, a discourse which is saturated with certain ideologies, and iterated through various socio-cognitive and linguistic devices. The alternative nature of the magazine led it to be an object of scholarly controversies as well. For instance, some scholars (e.g. Adam, 2001; Bereket and Adam, 2006) criticise the magazine by claiming that, with the effect of globalisation and capitalism, it strives to transport the Western, middle-class gay and lesbian identity into Turkey. Notwithstanding such criticisms, a discursive-linguistic investigation of the magazine should provide considerable social, cultural and ideological peculiarities about the movement conducted by the organisation.

1. 2. INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1. 2. 1. Purpose of the Study

The aim of this doctoral thesis is to investigate the discursive construction of homosexual movement in Turkey through *Kaos GL Magazine*, an alternative print and online mass media product, within the first 5 years (1994-1999) of the magazine by means of QDA and CDA procedures. In accordance with these procedures, it is endeavoured, on the one hand, to find out salient themes and discursive patterns manifest in *Kaos GL Magazine* pertaining to the social order and homosexuals' discourse production as against to the domination and discrimination as a part of the homosexual liberation movement policy, on the other hand, to understand if there is a

diachronic change in the discourse of the magazine in both aspects within the specified period. Due to the methodological framework of the research, the portrayed clashing power relations between the societal mechanisms and homosexuals, who express their unrest for the existing situation, will systematically be analysed in the light of sociopolitical and sociohistorical facts.

In Turkey, where it is considered that many fundamental human rights of homosexuals are violated, Kaos GL, as an association defending the rights of LGBTI people in Turkey, has a powerful voice ―within the boundaries of the LGBTI community in Turkey― about any issues related to homosexuality via print and internet mass media tools. Without any doubt, this power does not derive from a potency, for now, to radically change the social conceptualisations of LGBTI people, but from the association's mission of creating a platform where LGBTI people share their ideas concerning any issues of the community and lay claim to their own problems ("Kaos GL Dergisi", 2011). Having been published since 1994, *Kaos GL Magazine* is the most important means of the association to put into effect this mission. As an alternative media magazine, *Kaos GL Magazine* is the unique Turkish periodical publication of homosexuality that has been continuing its publishing life since the first day it was published. The discursive distinctiveness of the magazine, which publishes numerous types of writings in different genres and topics, stems from its opposing political and ideological stance against the heteronormative and heterosexist social structure. In fact, the magazine serves as a pool of ideologies since, as a part of its policy, the magazine publishes writings not only of the editors or regular writers but also of non-regular contributors, which makes the magazine a publication handling the issues of homosexuality with multiple perspectives. With this in mind, the primary aim of this study is to provide a discursive-linguistic insight on what society 'actually' was between the specified years in the eye of magazine, as the representative institution of homosexuals, and how homosexuals positioned themselves within the social structure which was dominated by heteronormative and homophobic discursive practices.

Also, the purpose of the study is to observe if there was a diachronic change in the discourse of the magazine, pertaining to the social constructs and positions of homosexuals, in terms of thematic distribution, predominant ideologies which are indispensable part of discursive structures.

1. 2. 2. Research Questions

The dissertation takes its point of departure in a curiosity towards the answers of the research questions to reveal (a) what thematic categories constitute the discourse of homosexual alternative media, i.e. *Kaos GL Magazine*, and (b) how the magazine becomes agent in constructing the discourse of homosexual movement and how this construction manifests itself through discursive practices. To this end, the dissertation is deemed to be based on finding answers to the following research questions:

1. Considering the texts sampled from *Kaos GL Magazine* on the whole, what are the salient categories through which the magazine describes the society and the way homosexuals express themselves as against the social conditions between the years 1994 and 1999?
    a. What are the categories that saliently co-occur in the magazine within the context of homosexual movement in Turkey?
    b. What is the significance of these foregrounded and co-occurring categories and values in the construction and perception of homosexuality by homosexuals themselves?

2. How is the discourse of homosexual movement constructed and maintained through the written discursive practices of *Kaos GL Magazine*?
    a. What are the contents, representational strategies and linguistic means of realisations through which the ways of negative-other and positive-self presentation are constructed?
    b. What social and ideological stances and practices can be identified in the analysed discourse against the system, and how do homosexuals socially represent and identify themselves as against the system?

3. Taking into account the previous research questions, would it be possible to talk about historical variations in the discourse (re-)constructed by the magazine in the course of time between 1994 and 1999? If yes, in terms of which thematic categories and discursive patterns these variations are observable?

1. 2. 3. Study Design

For the purposes and research questions of this study, QDA and CDA are determined as research methodology. Since the aim of the study has a diachronic aspect, discourse-historical approach (hereafter, DHA) of Vienna School of Discourse Analysis is adopted. The approach has three major components: (1) contents, (2) strategies, and (3) linguistic means and forms of realisation (Wodak, 2001b; Wodak et al., 2000; Wodak and Meyer, 2004). For the first component, an additional data analytic method is needed in order to better analyse the discourse topics. Considering the texts sampled, a grounded thematic analysis is carried out using the QDA analysis tool of MAXQDA. The results from both analyses are used to interpret discursive construction of homosexual movement by means of the magazine. The details about the methodological framework are presented in Chapter 3.

1. 2. 4. Significance of the Study

The present dissertation is primarily significant in the sense that it is the first study carried out in Turkey in the field of (queer) linguistics and CDA that handles homosexual movement as a discursive construction formed by the very actors of it. Earlier linguistic studies on homosexuality, as extensively reviewed by Kulick and Cameron (2003) and Kulick (2000), were interested in grammatical aspects of gay and lesbian language —an intriguing research field for researchers to establish gay and lesbian identities— with an attention to the vocabulary used by gay people (Legman, 1941; Cory, 1951; Rodgers, 1972); homosexual slang (Sonenschein, 1969; Stanley, 1970); homosexual language varieties (Baker, 2002); patterns of verbal communication in gay bars (Chesebro and Klenk, 1981); phonetic features of gay and/or lesbian speech (Gaudio, 1994; Moonwomon-Baird, 1997); stereotypic discursive characteristics of gay male language (Leap, 1996); as well as later studies under the effect of queer theory with an attempt to make the critique of structural perspectives (e.g., Queen, 1998; Barret, 2006; Livia & Hall, 1997).

With the development of queer theory and poststructuralist gender theory, however, the field called "queer linguistics" (hereafter, QL) found a place in the academia after a long tradition of linguistic investigations based on homosexuals' use of language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006, p. 757). The studies that falls to the concern of the field focus

on how sexuality is linguistically regulated by heteronormativity, and how non-normative sexualities are handled with respect to the heterosexual system rather than trying to find out so-called grammatical aspects of gay and lesbian languages in a monolithic manner (p. 757). With its scope, QL has common grounds with CDA in that both fields try to reveal how certain discourses, representing people, groups or even nations, are negatively or positively constructed. Considering the theoretical background and methodological framework of the present research, it can be said to be a study the two interrelated fields.

The shift of scholarly interest into the queer linguistic investigations led researchers to carry out studies on linguistic construction of heteronormative and non-heteronormative discourses in specific contexts (e.g., Baker, 2005; Canakis, 2015; Coates, 2013, de Oliveira, Costa & Nogueira, 2013; Koller, 2013; Kuhar, 2013; Mongie, 2016; Mothschenbacher, 2012, 2013; Schneider, 2013). All these studies show the evolution of linguistic studies on homosexuality from an essentialist point of view that tracks the ways 'deviant sexual identities' use language into a non-essentialist paradigm that leads to the investigation of discursive regimes that governs all sexual identities/desires (Mothschenbacher and Stegu, 2013, p. 523). However, discursive construction of homosexuality within the context of homosexual liberation movements have not received attention in the literature, though it provides a valuable field for research that enables one to discover the discursive-linguistic practices of subjects. Therefore, this study is significant since it is an attempt to fill in this gap within the literature of QL and to conduct CDA through a selection of texts from *Kaos GL Magazine* in terms of thematic and discursive patterns (re)produced.

By now, three MA and a PhD thesis, among many other studies of social sciences on homosexuality and LGBTI issues, have been written specifically on Kaos GL and LGBTI movement by Turkish researchers. The first MA thesis, written in the field of anthropology by Özkan (2004), critically handles the relation of the politics and practices of Kaos GL and its magazine to the homosexuality experienced locally by subjects. The second MA thesis by Kural (2012) discusses Kaos GL's policies with reference to the concepts of counter-hegemony and antagonism towards ideologies such as patriarchy and capitalism. Lastly, Diltemiz Mol (2016) is a research of political communication that analyses the historical conditions the LGBTI movement in Turkey

has undergone as well as the practices of several LGBTI groups, including Kaos GL, in terms of political communication. Engindeniz (2012) discusses, in her PhD thesis in the field of communication sciences, the concepts of public space and public sphere within the context of LGBTI movement as a representative example of new social movements in Turkey. The researcher seeks to clarify the role of Kaos GL in creating a public sphere and its relations with other social movements, examining the formation of public space within the context of specific topics and the relationship between the movement and the media (p. 6). The present study, thus, will be the first thesis as well on the social struggle of LGBTI groups in Turkey (especially of Kaos GL).

Contrary to the conventional critical discursive studies based on 'us'/'them' distinction which usually handle discriminatory or marginalising role of dominant discourses, this study specifically concentrates on the discursive construction of a magazine which is a publication organ of a non-profit and non-governmental organisation that was established as a reaction to all forms of discrimination against homosexuals in Turkey. Owing to this specificity, the study will present valuable findings on how the social order is portrayed in the eye of the most active and stable organisation that regards itself as the voice of homosexuals in Turkey, and how homosexuals are located and described within the effect of the discrimination they are facing every day. In other words, this study aims to put forth the ways the organisation tried to (re)construct homosexuality in Turkey between 1994 and 1999. As *Kaos GL Magazine* functions both as a publication organ of an organisation and the forerunner of a social movement, scrutinising the discourse of the magazine critically into its components should provide a linguistic insight on conceptualisations of homosexuality in Turkey, and on how it rather should be perceived —certainly from the perspective of the magazine.

The study is also significant in terms of the *perspective* it adopts in the investigation of the discursive construction. There is an indispensable and rightful interest among CDA scholars with regard to the description of hegemonic discriminatory discourses against marginalised groups since several powerful curiosity-arousing ideological frameworks such as racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, heterosexism, etc. embrace such discourses. However, studies investigating the discourse of the oppressed and discriminated groups within the framework of CDA are rarely conducted (See, for examples, Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; Burns, 2007; Flam, 2007). In this sense,

the present study can be said to be the first of its type in that it brings together homosexuality and the 'insider perspective' within Discourse-Historical Approach of CDA.

Critical linguistic investigation of the look from *inside*, that is a look by the homosexuals' magazine to the society and to homosexuals themselves, is assumed to reveal considerably distinct thematic and discursive patterns as opposed to discourse of others who are coerced into the heterosexual system. It is, however, important to note that findings from such an analysis are solely related to one group within the homosexual movement in Turkey. Thus, this study provides a model and an incentive to carry out studies on other homosexual organisations or more holistic and comprehensive studies on the homosexual liberation movement in Turkey.

This study brings together the fields of CDA, QDA, QL, and queer politics. Comprising the methodological framework of the study, the former two are rarely used by researchers together for textual analysis; rather content analytic approaches are opted for in critical discursive studies in detecting the discourse topics (See for examples, Wodak, et al. 2000; Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; Wodak, 2004; Briscoe & de Oliver, 2012; van Dijk, 1991). In this study, however, a grounded thematic analysis which is an inductive qualitative data analytic approach has been adopted, which enabled the researcher, on the one hand, to obtain categories to determine the contexts of discourse, on the other hand, to make a more complex and data-driven thematic analysis rather than using any content analytic approach based on preconceived categorisations. Any study of CDA conducted with the approach of DHA requires a review of socio-historical background on the subject matter to be researched. In this sense, political and ideological stance of social movements cannot be separated from their histories and social realities. In our case, queer politics is an indispensable part of the historical development of homosexual movements. A QL approach problematizes gender and sexual identity categories, such as woman, man, gay and lesbian, since such categories regulate and exclude people who do not conform to social norms (Mothschenbacher and Stegu, 2013, p. 523). Hence, the discursive construction of *Kaos GL Magazine* revealed through CDA will reciprocally benefit from and contribute to the literature of QL. All in all, the interface of these fields is significant in the sense that it will provide a multi-faceted and thorough analysis of the

issue, and also it will assure that similar discourse-linguistic studies on homosexuality need to adopt such an interdisciplinary approach.

In the context of Turkey, this study has a particular significance as it will fill the gap in the literature of qualitative, critical linguistic and sociolinguistic studies on homosexuality and LGBTI people. Ethnographic studies in the future pertaining to homosexuality and LGBTI identities, in particular, should benefit from the findings of this study. The study serves as a reference point for making comparisons between the thematic and discursive patterns of LGBTI subjects in the street and of *Kaos GL Magazine* writers with a regard to the issues related to homosexuals.

1. 2. 5. Boundaries and Limitations

This study does not aim at investigating the discursive construction of homosexuality and the homosexual liberation movement in Turkey holistically. For such a purpose, a comprehensive project is needed. Such a project should comprise interviews with LGBTI subjects from all walks of the society, including the representatives of all LGBTI organisations; legislative texts on homosexuality, publications of mass media, speeches of political parties' representatives and non-governmental organisations and many other texts on the issue. The present study, however, includes the analysis of *Kaos GL Magazine* only. Due to this specificity in the sampling of the research data, the study can provide results only peculiar to the historical development of the magazine's discourse[3].

One of the biggest problems of alternative media publications is their continuity. The reason for selecting *Kaos GL Magazine* as the text of analysis for the study, is that the magazine, has been published since 1994, is the longest-lasting LGBTI publication in Turkey. The time span since its first issue is a remarkable source to monitor the discursive construction as well as the possible changes in the discourse of the magazine. As will be explained in Chapter 3, a meticulous sampling from the issues

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[3] With the technological development in media tools, *Kaos GL Magazine*'s mission of organising the movement was mostly transferred to the website of http://kaosgl.org in the second half of 2000s (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016). The magazine, on the other hand, went on publishing articles that discuss theoretical issues at a higher intellectual level. This change in the format of the magazine is an important point in the historical investigation of magazine's discourse.

published between 1994 and 1999 was made and 6 texts were included in the analysis. Those publications which were published or having been published for a limited period of time such as *% GL*, *Cins* (by Lambda Istanbul), *Lubunya* (by Pembe Hayat), *GMag*, *G ZONE*, *Beargi*, *Hebûn LGBT*¸ etc. have not been included in the study.

This study is solely oriented to the thematic and discursive-linguistic analysis of texts selected from *Kaos GL Magazine* based on methods of QDA and CDA. In this context, it is not the purpose of the study to make any plain criticism on or praise Kaos GL's policies and its practices. Moreover, it is not aimed with this study to introduce and support an ideal homosexual identity. Such an intention would not conform to the theoretical and methodological framework of the study as well as today's epistemology and socio-political reality of homosexuality. As van Dijk (2001a) maintains, in its focus on social problems by means of discourse, CDA supports the struggle of groups who act against inequalities, power abuse and domination, and proudly defines and defends its socio-political position in the advantage of these groups (p. 96). In this sense, the only bias that could be perceived in this study stems from the positive attitude for the social struggle of Kaos GL against domination and inequality as well as the negative attitude towards ideological stances that defend stereotyping LGBTI people and categorising them into essentialist identities. It should not be forgotten that homosexuality is quite a critical and delicate issue on which there are numerous ideological approaches from different fractions in the Turkish society. Presentation of the peculiarities of the discourse in the eye of *Kaos GL Magazine* only, as a requirement of the 'insider' perspective of DHA, might make the readers of this dissertation think that the study is biased. However, dissenting from this point of view of the study means no more than denial of CDA as a methodological framework.

Lastly, the sampling method of the study poses another limitation: the whole issues of the magazine are limited to argumentative texts, and those related to 'homosexual movement' have been selected for the analysis. Purposive sampling method has been used to determine the texts of analysis at the end of this extensive sampling process.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1. INTRODUCTION: EPISTEMOLOGY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

Throughout history of humanity, homosexuality, which conventionally refers to same-sex sexual relationship, has been recorded to have existed since ancient times with distinctive conceptualisations and practices depending on the *épistémè*s[4] (i.e. cultural and historical *a priori*) of particular epochs. Michel Foucault (1984/1990) tells in *The History of Sexuality - Vol 2: The Use of Pleasure* that in Ancient Greece, homosexuality —the term coined in the second half of the 19th century— was a widespread practice and it was not condemned either by law or by the public. People were not labelled according to being 'homosexual' or 'heterosexual', in modern terminologies; that is a man could sexually have an enjoyment of a boy, and he did not think of himself as being 'different' from those who preferred women (Foucault, 1984/1990, p. 190-2).

In line with what Foucault accounts for, Lewis (2017) states that homosexuality, in Ancient Greece, often showed itself as pederasty, and it was depicted in paintings, pottery and poetry. In this type of sexual relationship an older man who could grow a beard, known as the *erastes*, had the active role in sex, and the younger *eromenos* played the passive role. The critical point in such a relation is that the partners did not have gay identities, i.e. they could marry women and have children (Lewis, 2017, p. 73).

Similarly, in pre-Christian Roman period, married men could have sexual relations with their male slaves freely, and pederasty was not as much a matter of concern as was adultery. Also, in this period, masculinity came into question in that if a man was penetrated by other men, then he would be ridiculed (Williams, 2010, p. 3). With the advent of Christianity, any kind of sexual relations that would hinder procreation, including homosexual relationships, were met with hostility; and homosexuality was

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[4] In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, (1989, p. 197), Michel Foucault described *épistémè* as "the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements [of particular discourses] which are possible those that will be acceptable within, […] and which makes possible to say are true or false".

thought to be contravening the laws of nature more than adultery (Greenberg, 1988, p. 227). Such shifts in the conceptualisation of homosexuality in the pre-industrial Western world can be said to have accelerated with the growing impact of the Catholic Church.

Same-sex desire had never been confined to Western cultures. There are also numerous similar non-western examples to how homosexuality was differently perceived in history. For instance, as Greenberg (1988) quotes from Gulik (1961), in China, homosexuality was quite fashionable, and there were even striking examples as such that several emperors of the Han dynasty (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.) kept "powdered and rouged boys" along with their wives (p. 161). In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, homosexuality was practiced as seizure of young boys by sultans for sexual purposes for centuries (Lutes, 2000, p. 1385). Bayezid I (1360-1403) is said to have sent soldiers to seize beautiful boys for his harem (p. 1385). Also, Mehmed II, who is known for sleeping with boys (Lewis, 2017, p. 75), immediately after conquering Constantinople in 1453, dispatched troops to capture the beautiful boys of the Christian aristocracy; young boys, in turn, would use this as an advantage to enhance their social status within the Empire (Lutes, 2000, p. 1385).

It goes without saying that these examples and many others show that same-sex relations had already existed regardless of cultures, societies and civilizations very long before 1868, i.e. the year when the term 'homosexuality' was coined by the novelist Karl Maria Benkert (Que Hee, 2000, p. 1228). Moreover, these examples make more sense when realizing that in the UK, for instance, it was not until the mid-20th century that homosexual relations of two men over the age of 21 had been "partially" decriminalised (Lewis, 2017, p. 70). Or, when it is considered that in Turkey, today, LGBTI (Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) people are not even mentioned in the constitution and laws, and they did not have a voice within political parties until a very recent past, one can realize the radical transformations in the epistemology of homosexuality.

Turning back to the historical evolution of the phenomenon, several crucial questions deserve to be answered: At what point in time did homosexuality became a problematic issue then? How did same-sex relations that have been recorded to have

existed become a matter of sexual identity[5] ? To put it in another way, how was the modern homosexual constructed?

The radical breaking point in the perception of same-sex relations and evolution of homosexuality as a problematized concept trace back to the emergence of bourgeoisie following the industrial revolution in the 18th century. To put it briefly, Foucault (1976/1978) explains homosexuality as a socially constructed form of sexuality under the repression of the bourgeoisie as of the 17th century (*repressive hypothesis*), and he bases his *archaeology* on knowledge/power mechanism of discourse. According to this discursive relation, those who have the power, the bourgeoisie in this case, decide how things, i.e. sex, can be spoken about, by whom they can be spoken, and what can be regarded as knowledge about things (p. 11). In this direction, the bourgeoisie desired to confine sex, by controlling the discourse on it, since it regarded sex as an expenditure of energy which would threaten its working (p. 6). Thus, in order not to hamper this bourgeois and capitalist order, sex, which had once —until the early 17th century— needed no concealment, became a taboo which was restricted only to the bedroom of married couples (p. 3).

In turn, this repression and secrecy forced upon sex led on the one hand to shift the interest to various non-marital sexual practices, including of children, of the mentally ill and of homosexuals (p. 37). In other words, the repressive discourse brought along proliferation of discourses on "sexual perversion" (p. 38-39). Therefore, in the 19th century, homosexuality began to be regarded as the fundamental aspect of human-being. For the first time, 'sodomy' for instance, was seen as the manifestation of homosexual identity, rather than simply a crime, as was the case before the 19th century (p. 38). This was a clear indication of people practicing same-sex relationships, which was seen as a very natural and normal way of life practice in the antiquity, were since then categorized as homosexuals, as having an 'abnormal' way of sexual interest.

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[5] "Identity" is not, though, a preferred terminology for explaining the gender and sexual minorities particularly by many queer theorists, particularly by Judith Butler.

2. 2. HISTORY OF LGBTI LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD AND TURKEY

2. 2. 1. The Concept of Homosexual Movement in the World

LGBTI Movement in the Western world developed as a radical social movement in 60s and 70s placing itself into the identity politics through which individuals have questioned types of domination and oppression (Partog, 2012, p.163). In this sense, LGBTI movement in America and Europe benefited from social democracy, socialism, feminism and anti-militarism, and in turn, with its dynamics, it could contributed to these movements. The ability of LGBTI movements in the Western countries to unite with other opposing movements in common grounds distinguishes it characteristically and chronologically from the movement attempts in developing countries like Turkey (p. 164). However, social struggles of LGBTI groups and organisations remained Euro-American centred, and thus could not rapidly trigger the movement attempts in other geographies (p.163).

Although there are numerous examples of rebellious actions of gay and lesbian individuals in the first half of the twentieth century, as a result of the negative effects of Cold War period, in North America, Australia, New Zealand, many European countries as well as South American countries such as Mexico and Argentina, the actual breakthrough of the gay movement was in the late 1960s (Baird, 2007, p. 29). Vanessa Baird states that this riot was an expected move since 60s were a decade of radicalism; that is, Afro-American citizenship rights and feminist movement had a great incentive role non-heterosexual people's struggle against prejudices (p. 26). Although serious riots of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender individuals took place in France and the Netherlands in 1968, a year later "Stonewall riots" in New York, Greenwich Village, is accepted as the first organized riot that triggered the initiation of a global gay liberation movement (Baird, 2004, p. 25). Having been known as 'gay' movement in the first phases, the movement later changed into 'gay and lesbian' movement. Yet, in time, a more comprehensive terminology was sought to include all non-heterosexual groups, namely gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and even some heterosexual individuals so as not to exclude and discriminate any of them (p. 33).

With Queer Theory, any issue concerning gender and sexuality began to be handled not in terms of classical binary distinctions (e.g. heterosexual vs. homosexual, or lesbian vs. gay) but as a socio-cultural phenomenon. In this sense, the word "queer" has been adopted not as synonymous with lesbian and gay; rather, the term encompasses any gender and sexual disagreement, and proposes a way of thinking through which one seeks to challenge any taken-for-granted assumptions and normalizations concerning, at least primarily, gender, sex, and sexuality (Browne, 2006, p. 39).

One of the most important changes after Stonewall was that American Psychiatric Association agreed to remove homosexuality from the Handbook of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders in 1973, and it was completely removed from the list in 1987. In this way, gay and lesbian people would no more be labelled as 'sick' on official grounds (Burton, 2015). On the other hand, there were other developments in Europe; many countries abolished the laws punishing homosexuality, and there were cases in which countries like Sweden legal regulations were put into effect on gender reassignment. The positive atmosphere, however, suddenly changed with the outburst of AIDS in the early 80s. As Bayramoğlu (p. 390) quoted from Larry Gross (2001), the American media soon declared that the reason for this new 'plague' was "Sexual Revolution". It goes without saying, gender revolution was perceived as a concept mostly referring to the sexual orientations (p. 94).

While these were the developments about sexual diversity in the Western world, a quite different story was experienced in Turkey.

2. 2. 2. A Socio-Historical Overview of Homosexual Movement in Turkey

> "To come out, to be visible and to have a word of yours are all parts of a political struggle. In short, you cannot be homosexual without being political. Without any policy, you could only be someone who sleeps with a same-sex partner. Confining yourself to be so leaves you unarmed and defenceless against any kind of oppression system."
>
> −Murathan Mungan, *in a Kaos GL conference* (Erol, 2011, p. 432)

2. 2. 2. 1. The Situation of Homosexuality after the 80 *Coup d'état*

Homosexual reality could not reveal itself in Turkey up until the 1980s when new social movements began to show themselves as by-products of 68 Uprising. Similar to the examples in the North America and Europe, homosexual reality began to be discussed along with other social movements in Turkey. The September 12 military regime oppressed feminine gay males and transvestites fiercely, and hid all non-heterosexual from the public view. The 80s were the years of oppression for all non-heterosexual sexualities due to the prevailing military regime. Transvestites and gay males were exiled to suburbs; they were arrested by the police violating their privacy, and were subject to torture and violence where they were kept (Çetin, 2015, p. 3).

Nevertheless, the failure of conventional social movements (e.g. labor movement, socialism, communism, nationalism, etc.) in that period paradoxically paved the way for other social movements such as green movement, feminist movement as well as homosexual movement (though it came out in the early 90s). In the 80s, homosexual individuals had the opportunity of coming to the realisation of the oppression and exclusion they faced in the society just because of their sexual orientation (Erol, 2011, p. 444).

A Western model of new social movements, on the other hand, could not succeed in Turkey due to many reasons. Partog (2012) explains this with the 68 generation's inability to adopt the Western theoretical and practical processes that would lead them to the achievement of fundamental rights. The leftist policies in Turkey before the 80s did not include groups with identities, and an orthodoxy was dominant to these policies. The left could not either succeed in integrating with identity struggle (except

for Kurdish identity) after 1980 (p. 167). In the 80s, on the other hand, there was a global and gradual failure in conventional social movements; in the same years, in Turkey, new social movements had the opportunity to come out as new voices approximately 20 years later that their Western examples. Nevertheless, it is evaluated as a strategical failure by Erol (2011) since the Western models of these movements developed on the basis of concepts such as autonomy, participation and direct action; the movements in Turkey, yet, did not come out with such a tradition. Radical Green Party, for instance, was established in a country where there was not a green movement at all (p. 445).

The first organisation attempts of non-heterosexual people was under the auspices of Radical Green Party which also included representatives of other new social movements such as environmentalists and feminists. The political party was the first of its kind that paved the way for autonomous organisation of LGBTI movement (Güneş, 2016, p. 11).

Although discussions on a homosexual movement in Turkey initiated and the reality of homosexuality was understood in the 80s in such political conditions, it was not until the first half of the 90s that homosexual movement in Turkey emerged actively (Erol, p. 445). In the military regime period, all kinds of political, social and cultural organisations were banned, suppressed and even eradicated (p. 433). Within the socio-political conditions of the time, homosexual individuals were in their closets and the idea of 'organisation' was not welcome due to previous experiences. These led to the late emergence of homosexual identities under the label of homosexual movement (p. 432).

Homosexual movement in Turkey can be said to have started with coming-out practices of individuals who had lived in their closets by the early 1990s. For Erol (2011), emergence of various homosexual identities not only had a confidence building effect on homosexual individuals pertaining to their existence but also it led the civil society and the general public to reconsider their perception of democracy (p. 432). In other words, by means of homosexual movement Turkish society has been transforming, and homosexual identities have been transforming and having been reconstructed (p. 432). For this reason, the slogan of *Kaos GL Magazine* in the early

years of its publishing life was "Eşcinsellerin özgürlüğü heteroseksüelleri de özgürleştirecektir" [Freedom of homosexuals will free heterosexuals as well].

Emergence of homosexual reality in the second half of the 80s and the movement in early 90s also had influence on the feminist movement which comparably was initiated before homosexual movement in Turkey. Activist women who had no interest before in questioning compulsory heterosexuality, even though they questioned any kind of domination relation. Erol (2011) claims that it was due to homosexuals' efforts that feminists also had to face compulsory heterosexuality while they were questioning the male domination system. *Sokak* magazine was the first platform where a group of people started to talk about feminism, ecology, antimilitarism, socialism and LGBTT. The *Sokak* magazine example in that period showed the possible allies of homosexuals (Partog, 2012, p. 170).

A pride week was planned by a group in 1993 just like its examples in the Western world, and even permission was granted by Istanbul Governorship. Intellectuals and MPs were invited to the event. But then it was banned by the Istanbul Governorship upon media's manipulative news about the event. This last incident and earlier experiences led to the germination of the homosexual movement in two metropolitan cities by Lambda-Istanbul and Kaos GL (Güneş, 2016, p. 24).

Organised struggle of homosexuals in the first years was oriented at unearthing the identities. Kaos GL in Ankara tried to reach individuals by means of the magazine as of 1994. Later, the mission of the magazine as well as the movement was to organise the individuals and transform the outer organisations (such as feminist groups and NGOs). Partog (2012) indicates that the years between 1993 and 2000, which correspond to the first five years of *Kaos GL Magazine*, was a period in which "homosexual identities" were constructed by the very individuals and the groups, thus an in-group construction (p. 172). In a similar vein, in a personal communication, Ali Erol (2016) stated that the general policy of Kaos GL in the first five years was based on stressing the existence of homosexuals by means of slogans such as "İbne değil, eşcinsel!" [No fags, we are homosexuals!] and "Gay, lezbiyen buradayız!" [We, gay and lesbian people, are here!], and psychologically supporting homosexual individuals to recognise themselves and come out of their closets as homosexual identities. In this way, individuals who had come to realisation of their sexual identities would either

contribute to the homosexual movement or go on their lives with self-confidence and awareness of the fact that being homosexual is not a bad thing actually.

From 1993 onwards, Lamba-İstanbul and Kaos GL continued their activities without having a legal status for about 10 years. In 2005, first Kaos GL applied to Ankara Governorship to gain the status of association, and it was approved 'unexpectedly' with a legal support from the prosecution office (Erol, 2011). Based on the decision, other groups such as Pembe Hayat (Ankara), Gökkuşağı (Bursa), Lambda-İstanbul (İstanbul) and Siyah Pembe Üçgen (İzmir) soon became other LGBTI associations. Any achievement, be it on the legal grounds or a change in the attitude of people towards homosexuals, is realised by means of the efforts and impetus of homosexual organisations within a period of more than 20 years (Erol, 2011).

2. 2. 2. 2. Legal status of homosexuals in Turkey

Although Constitution of Republic of Turkey guarantees all rights of its citizens, there is not any sentence in laws concerning that can protect individuals against discrimination on their sexual orientation or gender. The Article no. 10 of the Constitution titled "Equality before law" does not include sexual orientation identity. For this reason, non-heterosexual groups and associations are always struggling for inclusion of this expression in the Constitution (Öner, 2015, p. 81).

2. 2. 2. 3. Heterosexism, Heteronormativity and Homophobia

In many instances the terms *heterosexism* and *heteronormativity* are used interchangeably. Heterosexism is mostly understood as a vision of the social world that is promoting heterosexuality and excluding homosexuality (Tin, 2008). Heterosexists inevitably develop homophobic attitudes and behaviours. In this sense, heterosexism and homophobia are quite similar. Heteronormativity, on the other hand, is the implicit moral system and ideology that promotes gender conventionality, heterosexuality and family traditionalism (Oswald et al., 2005). Although it is quite difficult to draw a strict line between heterosexism and heteronormativity, the latter refers more to the social setting that normalises heterosexual gender distinction and pave the way for discriminatory attitudes and practices against homosexuals.

The term 'homophobia' was first coined in the 1960s in the United States, and it generally refers to the fear and hatred of homosexuality and gays and lesbians (Pickett, 2009, p. 93). The term is often used to emphasize the 'phobia' aspect especially by those who favour social and legal equality for homosexuals (p. 93). Although homophobia is pretty a new term, any social and individual attitudes or behaviours peculiar to homophobes, most of which are associated with violence, actually have existed for centuries in many forms (Fone, 2000; Foucault, 1990; Greenberg, 1998; Weeks, 2012).

Kantor (2009) listed several psychological characteristics of homophobes: they unoriginally recycle old ideas about homosexuals; they live in a world of myths about and stereotypes of gays and lesbians; they construct false logical relations such as equating 'some' with 'all' and making 'similar' into 'dissimilar'; they have convictions of absolute certainty about gay and lesbian issues; they change from reasonable into defensive and panicky when the subject of homosexuality comes up; they actually speak about themselves when they criticise gays and lesbians; they establish social relationships with like-minded homophobes; they are mostly racist, ageist, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic as well; and they tend to be emotionally disordered (pp. 3-8). Beyond such psychological traits and practices of hatred, a more comprehensive description of homophobia was made by Yeşim T. Başaran (1998), one of the regular contributors to Kaos GL Magazine. For her, homophobia is "a tendency to perceive homosexuality differently anyhow" (p. 18), thus not limiting the conceptualisation of the term to negative attitudes and behaviours of its subjects only.

2. 2. 2. 4. Kaos GL Magazine

The mission of *Kaos GL Magazine* (2015) is described on its website as follows:

> […] *Kaos GL Magazine* is published in order to enable LGBTI people and homosexuals in Turkey to have their own words, make a claim to their own problems, and share their thoughts and experiences.
>
> Celebrating its 21th year in 2015, *Kaos GL Magazine* has been an alternative platform for LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans) people, who have always been invisible or ignored within society, to say their own words, set their own agenda, and discuss their own issues. The magazine has also adopted an important mission against gender discrimination by reaching various fractions such as women organisations, NGOs, academicians, artists, etc.

> Being the longest-standing and the sole LGBTI publication in Turkey, *Kaos GL Magazine* has been continuing its publishing life, as the most important document of LGBTI life and culture in Turkey, in order to contribute to the sexual politics in the country. ("Kaos GL Magazine", 2015, own translation)

While there had been several short-lived publications released by other homosexual and transgender groups as of 1990s, *Kaos GL Magazine* has kept being published until today —dismissing several interruptions due to financial problems. This magazine, functioning as the main publishing organ of LGBTI people in Turkey, has been chosen as the data of the present research since it has been published for a considerable period of time (since 1994), and it encompasses many fields of action of LGBTI people in Turkey. Therefore, such a huge quantity of textual production extending over quite a long period of time can most possibly display an evolving discursive construction in time.

A personal communication was held with Ali Erol and Umut Güner, past editors of the magazine, on November 23, 2016. As stated by the editors, the publishing policy of the magazine, in the very early years, was based on unearthing multiple existences of homosexuality within Turkish society so that the magazine would be a platform for homosexuals to say their words. The magazine has a distinctive continuity in the sense that it, as a social movement, organizes itself as an alternative media product and reproduces its own society, i.e. homosexual community, by means of the publication. In this sense, the mission of the magazine, in other words, can be said to be handling the relationship among the subjects of the community in Turkey, reorganizing this community, and producing discourses to transform the community. In order to put this mission into practice, the magazine has indispensably been opposed to any essentialist views such as "homosexuality is but this and that"; rather it has developed a unifying discourse to bring any forms of homosexuality together (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016).

As for the ideological stance of the magazine, the editors (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016) claim that the magazine cannot be said to have a single ideology rather it aims to bring multiple voices together under the same roof, which provides itself a comprehensiveness and continuity. It also mediates to reach the LGBTI community, and feeds the fields it reached in order to transform

them. Such a mission led the magazine to be accepted, by many LGBTI groups in Turkey, as the media organ of the LGBTI movement in Turkey. This multi-voiced structure of the magazine also reflects on the issues handled. The organisation made up of a variety of individuals led the magazine to embrace many fields of discussion such as being Kurdish, struggle with any kind of domination, problem of hierarchy, problem of sexist discourse, negative effect of militarism on homosexuals, etc. (Erol, 2011).

The publishing life of the magazine was initiated by a group of friends in Ankara as a reaction to the general growing opinion that "fags are unreliable people" in the early 90s (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016); the group was also dreaming of organising "prides" in Turkey ("Tarihçe", 2011). Even if the magazine was a photocopied publication between 1994 and 1999, it gives the impression that it was published with the discipline of a serious journal. In 1999, the magazine gained its legal identity by the necessity of Public Prosecution Office so as to continue its publishing activities. Therefore, the editors needed to publish the magazine with the title *Kaos GL Gay & Lezbiyen Araştırma Dergisi* (*Kaos GL Magazine of Gay and Lesbian Research*) ("Tarihçe", 2011). With this new identity, the magazine tried to establish the idea that "homosexuality, transvestism and transgenderism are not issues related to 'sex' only, rather they have serious aspects in the lives of gays, lesbians and other sexual minorities" (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016). In sum, in the first 6 years, the movement and the magazine depended on each other, i.e. an LGBTI movement could not be sustained without a magazine, and in turn, the magazine could not be published without an LGBTI movement.

During the first 5 years, in particular, the challenge undertaken by the magazine focused on regaining homosexuals' self-esteem and self-confidence seized from them because of their sexual orientations (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016). Thus, the magazine served for enabling homosexuals to self-identify themselves and actuating these new identities. The magazine revealed and created the gay and lesbian identities in Turkey; based itself on manifesting the existence of previously despised people who were not even called by their names; and established a network among similar existences. In this sense, *Kaos GL Magazine*

created itself and the LGBTI community in Turkey out of nothing, and this effort, particularly in the 90s, provided psychological support to the LGBTI people in Turkey, which in turn made the members of the LGBTI community feel confidence in *Kaos GL Magazine* (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016).

For about the first decade of *Kaos GL Magazine*'s publishing life, any activity or awareness-raising campaign within the LGBTI movement was coordinated via the magazine. Therefore, it can be claimed that a homosexual who came out to himself/herself or to the society between the years 1994 and 2006 must most probably have read the magazine, if he/she lived in Turkey, since the sole printed material handling the homosexual issues within a 10-year period was the magazine (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016). The discourse was constructed by the magazine and the reactions from both the homosexual community and the rest of the society were based on the discourse of the magazine.

As of 2005 and 2006, Kaos GL association began to devise different tools to reach the LGBTI community. The organizations titled *Homofobi Karşıtı Buluşma* (Meeting against Homophobia) and *Yerel Etkinlikler* (Local Activities), for instance, were designed to undertake the responsibilities of the magazine, and such activities began to be organized via *kaosgl.org* website. In this sense, the aim of informing the public on homosexuality and raising homosexuals' awareness on facing homophobia was excluded from the missions of the magazine. Such goals, the activities materialising these goals, and discussions before and after such activities fell into the concern of *kaosgl.org* (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016).

A distinction between the early texts published in the 90s and the ones published as of 2006 can be located: the latter appear to handle the issues with a more academic perspective while the former are more protesting in tone. According to the editors (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016), although there are some changes in the balance of more intellectual/academic texts from one year to another, there has never been a political change in the magazine. This distinction mainly derives from the establishment of the web site *kasogl.org* in 2006. With the website the texts similar to those in the magazine that had been published until 2006 were started to be published on the website in the forum titled *Gökkuşağı Forum* (translated as "Writers and Reporters" in the website). Thus, since 2006, the magazine

has been a platform where more intellectual discussions are handled while *kaosgl.org* continued to publish articles and news from the field, functioning as a digital version of the magazine. Even if this is the case, there has always been a coordination and parallelism (with small exceptions in 2006 and 2007[6]) between the issues handled by the magazine and the website (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016).

One of the radical changes in the format of the magazine came with the decision to spare a considerable part of each issue to a specific subject as of 2006 which developed as a requirement of the current issues of the time. For instance, the special issue titled "Hatred" was published in a period when rates of hatred homicides increased considerably (Kaos GL'den: "Başka"larının acısına "bakmak", 2016, p. 1). Thus, *Kaos GL Magazine* opened a platform to discuss it intellectually by means of preparing a special issue. This can also be observed in the special issue assigned to 'family'. Family, being one of the ideological state apparatuses, was described as a "cesspool" by the magazine in the early issues. However, with a raised awareness on homosexuality, gay and lesbian people started to come out to their families, by means of which families started to get involved in the coming-out processes of their children, which in turn led to a need to discuss this as a topic in a specific "family" issue (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016).

Table 2. 1.

Circulation figures of Kaos GL Magazine*

Years	Number of copies
1994-1998	100-1000**
1999-2006	1000-1500
2006-2009	3000
2010- …	1500***

*The figures have been obtained from Kaos GL Association and based on average number of copies.

**In this period, the magazine was published in fanzine style and was individually copied by the editors and therefore there is not an exact figure per issue.

***The number of printed copies decreases as of 2010 due to the increase in online subscription.

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[6] In 2006 and 2007, the editors of *Kaos GL Magazine* preferred to demand articles from non-regular authors. For this reason, an irrelation between the issues handled by these articles and the current issues pertaining to homosexuals can be observed.

Unlike many mainstream magazines, for *Kaos GL Magazine,* which is a product of alternative media, circulation and subscriber rates are of little importance due to the fact that the magazine's continuity has developed along with the evolution of LGBTI movement in Turkey (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016) — for average circulation rates of the magazine see Table 2. 1.

The LGBTI movement in Turkey had close bonds with the magazine in that the movement could not be sustained without the magazine, in turn there would not be any published without a LGBTI movement. Thus, the interrelation between the movement and the magazine cannot be explained with the effect of circulation. It is a fact that all the activities, the magazine and the LGBTI organization has been in coordination under the auspices of Kaos GL, which has an effect on the perception of the mainstream media on homosexuality ("Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültür Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği Çalışma Alanları", 2011). For instance, in 1996, after the magazine published an article criticising Zeki Müren's donations to Mehmetçik Foundation and Turkish Education Foundation, the journalist Can Dündar mentioned, in his column in *Hürriyet* newspaper, how *Kaos GL Magazine* interpreted the event ("Merhaba!", 1996) .

Today, *Kaos GL Magazine*, whose number of issues exceeds 160, is a well-established, alternative and agenda-setting publication drawing its impact on the social movement it is representative of. Having begun its journey with a 16-pages and 100 copies, the magazine evolved into an association and a culture centre in 24 years; and it is continuing its mission in spite of some changes in its format and the way of handling the issues.

All issues of *Kaos GL Magazine* including the texts used in this study are available at http://www.kaosgldergi.com/arsiv.php by subscription.

2.3. QUEER LINGUISTICS

2.3.1. Early studies: Investigations of Gay and Lesbian Language

Without any doubt, gender, as a sociolinguistic variable and a concept of curiosity, has always been an intriguing issue in many disciplines, particularly in anthropology, sociology and linguistics. As a sub-discipline of scientific study of language, sociolinguistics holds as a frame discipline for investigating language use of various gender groups. Systematic studies on gender were initiated in the first half of the twentieth century with an aim of investigating the differences of language use between men and women (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006, p. 756). The particular interest of these studies were the binary differences on the basis of grammar, phonology and lexicon. However, the central criticism on these studies have been that they were oriented to hold that men's languages and women's languages are radically different from each other, that they are mutually exclusive, which led to think that such distinctions were adopted as evidence for the rigidity of gender roles in traditional societies (p. 756). The breaking point of such a conventional sociolinguistic approach was when lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer studies emerged within many academic disciplines in the late the 1960s (Leap, 2001, p. 332). With the additional advent of poststructuralist gender theory, queer theory and feminist theory in the following years and the realization of the fact that gender is a socially constructed term led the way to a shift from binary-based discussions of female and male language differences into a more modern and pragmatic gender theory (p. 332). This shift led to the emergence of a distinctive field Queer Linguistics which "focuses on how sexuality is regulated by hegemonic heterosexuality and how non-normative sexualities [i.e. gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender] are negotiated in relation to […] regulatory structures (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006, p. 757).

In fact, the tradition of investigating binary differences continued in the case of marginalized sexuality groups. By the time Queer Theory was developed to a certain level in the 1990s, researchers had tended to distinguish between gay and lesbian language use and to "categorize individuals into speech communities based on etic identity categories" (Barrett, 2006, p. 316). With the advent of Queer Linguistics, as a component of Queer Theory, on the other hand, it was held that speech communities are mere prototype categories which by no means have clear-cut boundaries (p. 316).

Developments on linguistics of LGBTI groups have been in parallel with the socio-political challenge of the groups. Although there are numerous examples to the rebellious actions of gays and lesbians in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century (see *Cinsel Çeşitlilik* [origin. *The No-nonsense Guide to Sexual Diversity*] by Vanessa Baird, 2004), the actual breakthrough of the gay movement was in the late 1960s. "Stonewall riots" is known as the first organized movement started in New York, in 1968 (Baird, 2004, p. 25). Similar movements aiming at confronting the prejudices against gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender individuals were also seen in some countries in Europe, such as France and the Netherlands (p. 25). Known as 'gay' movement in the first phases, this challenge later changed into 'gay and lesbian' movement. Yet, in time, a more comprehensive terminology was sought to include all non-heterosexual groups, namely gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and even some heterosexual individuals so as not to exclude and discriminate any of them (p. 33). With Queer Theory, any issue concerning gender and sexuality began to be handled not in terms of classical binary distinctions (e.g. heterosexual vs. homosexual, or lesbian vs. gay) but as a socio-cultural phenomenon. In this sense, the word "queer" has been adopted not as synonymous with lesbian and gay; rather, the term encompasses both any gender and sexual disagreement, and proposes a way of thinking through which one seeks to challenge any taken-for-granted assumptions and normalizations concerning, at least primarily, gender, sex, and sexuality (Browne, 2006, p. 39). With this in mind, one who adopts the concept of "queer language" cannot defend that there are clear-cut, and essentialist, variants of languages in general, such as lesbian language, gay language, so forth.

The radical change in the perspective of studies about the language use of gays and lesbians had its roots from the Foucauldian view of 'identity' (Cameron and Kulick, p. 78). According to this view, identities are created by social relations of power; that is, they are not fixed and discovered (p. 78). Therefore, the general tendency in the 1990s, when Queer Theory reshaped the sociolinguistic studies on LGBTI language use, was researching how identities are realized through language rather than how gay and lesbian identity is reflected through language (p. 78). Although the studies concerning the distinctive language use of lesbians and gays in certain aspects ─most of which are related to lexicon─ date back to the first quarter of the twentieth century, language of LGBTI individuals has been of great interest for about four and a half

decades under the auspices of sociolinguistics. In the next section, a selection of these studies will be presented.

Although the aspects of investigations and the way researchers regarded the non-heterosexual and marginalized sexual groups vary, it is an undeniable fact that there have been numerous studies on language of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender individuals particularly since the early 1980s. Even if this is the situation, it is often thought that there are not actually enough studies carried out in this field. Don Kulick (2000, p. 246) states that the possible reason for this is that studies on gay and lesbian languages actually did not have any impact on sociolinguistic and social anthropological research. Another reason might also be that numerous studies concerning the issue did not have a specific disciplinary home; that is, the language of non-heterosexual groups have been studied by philologists, phoneticians, linguists, anthropologists, speech communications specialists, researchers in feminist studies, so forth (p. 246). One last reason he contends is that most studies were hampered by the terminological confusion that has been mentioned in the above-paragraph. As a result of this, researchers mostly dealt with the terms such as homosexual, gay, lesbian, queer, etc. and discussed one's advantage or disadvantage to the other (p. 246) and overlooked the linguistics perspective of language use of such groups.

Studies related to the gay and lesbian language can be summarized under categories such as lexicon, structural characteristics and discourse. The most abundant studies in the literature are seen in lexicon category. The first published study on English lexicon of homosexuality was carried out by Legman (1941), which was a part of a medical study of homosexuality (Henry, 1941). Legman made a list of words associated with homosexuality some of which were forgotten and some of which survived; and included definitions of those words even though he did not mention much about a specific language of homosexuals (Kulick, 2000, p. 248-249). Ten years later, Cory (1951) handled homosexuality in relation to sociology, psychology, patterning, culture, personal adjustments, and outlook (p. 1), and defended that the homosexual vocabulary were created by homosexuals since they needed words that do not denote them pejoratively (Cameron and Kulick, 2003, p. 100), which paved the way for the view that homosexuals form speech communities.

Stanley (1970) distinguished homosexual slang into two as core slang and fringe slang in his study titled *Homosexual Slang*, at the end of which he added a limited number of homosexual slang terms as a glossary. For Stanley, core slang used by homosexuals in a homogeneous speech community can be observable in the theatre, in the speech of prostitutes, in the criminal underworld, and in some slang of adolescents, while the fringe vocabulary proves to be more creative and not very common to all homosexual community (1970, p. 55). He further contended that the use of homosexual slang by heterosexual individuals make them seem 'sympathetic' and 'nonhostile' (p. 55). Rodgers (1972) published *The Queen's Vernacular: A Gay Lexicon*, the most comprehensive gay glossary by that time with over 12.000 entries. As Kulick (2000) states, in a period when the relationship between homosexual slang and gay subculture was discussed, Rodgers' work provided examples from homosexual slang in English with "an extraordinary range and variation" (p. 251).

One of the best known studies on local homosexual language varieties was carried out by Baker (2002) on *Polari* which was spoken in the United Kingdom. What makes Polari different from other gay/lesbian varieties of English are the syntactic differences and more importantly the vocabulary which are uniquely specific to this variety (p. 53). All in all, the studies mentioned here and many others regarded gay and lesbian vocabulary as a marker of homosexuality. Although these studies have given remarkable clues pertaining to whether gay and lesbian languages exist and they have enabled to define social roles in gay and lesbian communities (Kulick, 2000; Barrett, 2006, p. 318), further aspects should be considered to fully understand the distinctiveness of these varieties.

It is a known fact that after the development of Queer Theory and postmodernist views on gender, the revised term homosexuality enabled one to distinguish between gender and sexual orientation; yet, stereotypical language uses based on gender still holds to determine if the speech is gay or straight (Barrett, 2006, p. 318). There were more linguistic-oriented studies in 1980s and 1990s. One of the most comprehensive studies concerning gay and lesbian language was carried out by Chesebro (1981). Although his outstanding book *Gayspeak: Gay Male and Lesbian Communication,* which is composed of articles handles gay and lesbian language as a mode of communication shaped by rhetoric and representations of homosexuality, several chapters are assigned

to some linguistic generalizations, such as the patterns of verbal communication in gay bars (Chesebro and Klenk, 1981). One of the most obvious phonetic indicators of English gay males is the sibilant fricative and /l/ with a long duration (Crist, 1997). Another inspiring study was carried out by Gaudio (1994) about intonation and gay stereotyping through an experimental analysis. He concluded in his study that respondents who were asked to evaluate the recordings of 4 gay and 4 straight males could distinguish between gay and straight males not only according to pitch differences but also other mysterious effects (Gaudio, 1994, p. 53-54). A similar experiment was conducted by Moonwomon-Baird (1997) to investigate lesbian speech. She tried to reach generalizations through responses to the surveys asking about social identities such as age, class, educational level, region, sexual preference and ethnicity; and voice characteristics such as speed, pitch, loudness and force (Moonwomon-Baird, 1997, p. 202). She concluded that finding out whether the speaker is lesbian or straight is more difficult since she found that there were no correlations between intonation and sexuality (p. 209).

A comprehensive collection of studies on gay language were conducted by Leap in the 1990s. In his book titled *Word's Out: Gay Men's English* (1996), he presented a linguistic ethnography of the North American gay speech community making use of discursive strategies and theories such as conversational analysis, pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics, the ethnography of speaking, and speech act theory (Jacobs, 1997, p. 204-205). Leap concentrated in his book on the fact that gay language is not only determined by intonation and lexicon (1997, p. 205). Besides Leap's studies concerning discursive characteristics of gay male language, Queen (1998) put forward that gay males and lesbians had a shared identity. Accordingly, she contended that the term 'queer community' refers to "any gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered people who see themselves as having their sexual orientation in common and who see that commonality as influential for their sense of culture and identity" (Queen, 1998, p. 203). All these studies on the discursive aspect of gay and lesbian language tried to establish cultural norms for language use based a shared sexual identity (Barrett, 2006, p. 320).

2.3.2. Queer Linguistic Turn and Basics

Queer Linguistics (QL) is a field which "provides analyses of language data informed by the insights of Queer Theory" (Motchenbacher, 2013, p. 521). The field principally deals with how language enables or disguises the intersections of social inequalities based on sexuality, gender, race, class, so on (p. 521). Due to its motivation to challenge heteronormativity, it is mostly described as "critical heteronormativity research from a linguistic point of view" (Motchenbacher, 2011, p. 1). According to Leap (2013), QL and CDA focus their attention to discourse, and both fields conduct such a discourse analysis in a critical way, which requires the researchers to unveil the conditions and structures of power in which social interactions are located (Leap, 2013, p. 661).

Queer Linguistics has deveped as a reaction to the field called "lavender linguistics" or "gay and lesbian linguistics" which, as exemplified in the previous section, had a motivation to investigate structural and lexical features of so-called gay end lesbian languages. Contrary to such essentialist linguistic investigations, QL concentrates on all sexual identities or desires and their discursive systems (Motschenbacher, 2011, p. 150).

As previously mentioned, heteronormativity is the focal discursive regime that QL focuses on. The discipline adopts the principles of Foucauldian discourse and Queer Theory. In the Foucauldian sense, it is a discourse that is precieved as normal or natural as a result of a continual citation and re-citation process at the end of which it reaches a degree of materialisation (p. 153). In this perspective of discourse, Queer Theory constructs a basis for the investigations in QL since it takes sexuality, desire and sexual identity as a starting point and questions the reconceptualisations of dominant and hegemonic gender and sexuality discourses (p. 153). With this in mind, Queer approaches, including QL, depart from the idea of fixed identities. Therefore, identity categories such as "woman" or "man" as well as "gay" or "lesbian" are not treated as stable sexual identity categories (p. 153).

With the influence of Queer approaches to langue the scholarly interest shifted to linguistic construction of heteronormative and non-heteronormative discourses in specific contexts. In this context, the field has interfaces and close bounds with other

discourse analytic approaches such as Conversation Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis and Feminist Linguistics (Motschenbacher, 2011; Motchenbacher and Stegu, 2013).

This chapter has presented several theoretical issues related to the study. The next chapter, the method of the study will be presented in detail.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This study makes use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods in data collection and analysis procedures in accordance with the purpose and research questions of the study. Below, these procedures are elucidated respectively.

3. 1. DATA OF THE STUDY

Aiming at investigating a case of discursive construction employed by the homosexual community in Turkey, the present study draws on the data from *Kaos GL Magazine*, an alternative media product of a local homosexual community which has been publishing in a wide variety of issues in various text types since September 1994. The magazine has been published in printed version and it has a subscription system. Also, e-versions of all issues are open to access by subscription. The early issues were printed and disseminated with individual efforts. Since 1996, it has been sold in bookstores in many cities (for average circulation rates see Table 2.1). The number of cities it was distributed to increased in time: For instance, the 20th issue (April 1996) was distributed in Ankara, İstanbul, Eskişehir and Denizli; the issue 32 (April 1997) was distributed in Antakya, Balıkesir, Antalya, Bursa, Adana, Mersin, İzmir, Denizli, İstanbul, Ankara and Eskişehir. In 2000, it was distributed in 12-13 cities. After the magazine had an official registration it was distributed in many other cities. The magazine was published monthly by the end of 1999; since 2000, it has been published bi-monthly.

143 issues (between the issues September 1994 - July and August 2015) have been included in the total inventory of the research. A detailed classification process has been conducted through the issues. Then a subset of this inventory covering from 1994 to 1999 was focused on, six texts published in this period were selected, and further analyses were conducted on these texts. Below, details about sampling of the data as well as further analytical procedures have been presented.

Data collection

STAGE 1

Data set

Inventory of *Kaos GL Magazine* → Argumentative texts between 1994-2015

Argumentation criteria

Editorship criteria

883 texts

General classification of the total set of argumentative texts

STAGE 2

22 Categories
1. Conceptual/identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2. **Homosexual movement**
3. Evaluation after event
4. Media and homosexuality
   ...
22. Internet and homosexuality

Periods of discourse

Period I : 1994-1999
Period II : 2000-2005
Period III: 2006-2010
Period IV: 2011-2015

Systematic sampling
Purposive sampling

6 texts

Grounded Thematic Analysis

Initial coding   Axial coding   Code frequency analysis & Conceptual mapping

MAXQDA Analytics Pro

Discourse topics

STAGE 3

Socio-historical context of homosexuality

Discourse-Historical Approach

Contents

Strategies   Linguistics means and forms

Insider perspective

Representation of social actors

Systemic Functional Grammar

1994 ⟷ 2015

Findings

Figure 3.1. Methodological Stages of the Research

3. 2. STAGES OF DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

This part is designed to provide a detailed explication on how and in what stages this study was conducted. The methodological framework is composed of three major stages: (1) inventory research, (2) GTA, and (3) CDA based on DHA. These stages and the interrelatedness in between them are displayed in Figure 3. 1.

To make an initial outline of the stages depending on the figure, the first one is related to handling the data as a whole and limiting all texts in the magazine into a single genre, i.e. argumentative text type. To this end, argumentation criteria based on certain textual requirements were benefitted from. Later, the total number of argumentative texts conforming to the criteria were subjected to a second categorisation by their contents in line with editors' classification system in the magazine.

The second stage is oriented to specifying the category of analysis and proceeding to the content analytic procedures. The inventory research concentrating on classifying texts in the first stage of the study provided 22 general categories, which led to make an easier and sounder sampling from the large corpus. Among 22 categories, 'homosexual movement' was purposively selected for the analysis based on research questions. The discourse of the magazine was divided into four theoretical periods after general classification process; and six texts from the category 'homosexual movement' per each period were purposively selected depending on its high frequency in all periods. Considering the fact that the first five years of the magazine would be representative of an emerging homosexual movement in Turkey, 1994-1999 period and six texts selected in this period were chosen. All these efforts were to obtain a representative number and quality of texts to include in the successive grounded thematic analysis and CDA. A simplified and mixed version of Grounded Theory (hereafter, GT) (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2008) was adopted as a model of GTA. In this qualitative model, initial and axial coding procedures were accomplished respectively through the qualitative data analysis tool MAXQDA Analytics Pro. As a result of the coding process, frequency values of categories were provided, and those with highest frequencies were regarded as the discourse topics, or *contents*, of the subsequent analysis.

The last stage of the research is a comprehensive CDA which adopts DHA. The model has a tripartite structure which is composed respectively of *contents*, *strategies*, and *linguistic means and forms of realisation.* For the first component, data was driven from the previous GTA; i.e. the categories with high frequency were used as discourse topics in CDA. DHA in this model of analysis is supported by the '*insider*' perspective (Wodak, 2011), one of the two points of view in discursive construction studies —the other one is 'outsider' perspective. The two subsequent procedures, i.e. *strategies* and *linguistic means and forms of realisation*, were conducted within the context of the way social actors are represented (van Leeuwen, 1996 & Wodak et al., 2000). Hallidayan categories of Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) were benefitted from in the last procedure of the analysis. The discursive analysis over texts which encompasses 21 years was made based on the socio-cultural history of homosexuality movement in Turkey, which began in the early 1990s. This historical background serves as the contextual framework of the analysis.

These three stages are explained in depth in the following subsections.

3. 2. 1. Sampling the Data: An Inventory Research

3. 2. 1. 1. Selection of Text Type: Argumentative Texts

For the purpose of the present study, an extensive inventory research on data was conducted based on argumentative texts. Since the texts to be included in the content and critical discursive analysis in Stage 2 and Stage 3 are expected to be ideologically saturated, the most convenient text type for this study was thought to be 'argumentative texts'. Thus, beginning from the first issue of the magazine, published in September 1994, every piece of text in the magazine was evaluated for its argumentation qualities.

Werlich (1976, p. 39) classified texts into five types: descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative, and instructive. Argumentative text type, according to Werlich, is characterized to be persuasive in style, trying to make the addressee(s) consent to what is being said in the text (p. 276). The persuasive style forces the text to be a subjective one in most cases as well. An argumentative text can also be expected to be informal, ironical, appreciatory, and depreciatory in style (p. 108). Describing the semantic and pragmatic features of text types, Beaugrande (1980, p. 197) states that the control

centre of argumentative texts is the entire propositions which are composed of values of truthfulness and reasons for belief as facts. He also adds that such texts are dense in evaluative expressions (p. 198).

The most problematic issue concerning the text typology is the hybridity of texts regardless of how strong a working definition of 'argumentative text' the researcher has made. It is almost impossible to say that every text has a fixed type. Nevertheless, for the present study, following the classification and description by Werlich (1976) and Beaugrande (1980), the following items are held as a working definition of argumentative text:

For a text to be defined as argumentative, it must

      a. be *persuasive*, i.e. it needs to make the reader consent to the propositions laid by the writer;

      b. be *evaluative*, i.e. it needs to defend or refute ideas;

      c. include *subjective* expressions;

      d. have a *criticising* (negatively or positively) tone;

Keeping this description in mind, each text in *Kaos GL Magazine* were scanned or, in some cases, read in detail to decide on whether it is an argumentative text or not. In most cases, it was easy to detect the argumentative textual features. However, in some cases it was challenging to distinguish argumentative texts particularly from expository and descriptive texts. In such cases, texts were read in detail; the topic sentence was found and analysed in order to check if it really had the characteristics of typical argumentative topic sentence structures. Also, the consistency of supporting paragraphs was checked throughout the text. In some cases, particularly a few regularly-contributing authors opt for using more than one text typology. In such instances, only the argumentative parts were taken into consideration and they were included in the inventory of argumentative texts. Dividing texts in such a fashion does not pose a methodological problem since such texts are regarded as separate texts on their own and only argumentative sections were analysed using a qualitative data analysis tool, i.e. MAXQDA Analytic Pro.

3. 2. 1. 2. The Inventory Analysis of Argumentative Texts in *Kaos GL Magazine*

A previous pilot study based on Grounded Theoretical approach over the argumentative texts in issues selected by systematic sampling —September issues of every six year period— showed that thematic content of argumentative texts published in the *Kaos GL Magazine* were quite heterogeneous without the guidance of a general categorisation. Therefore, a preliminary limiting procedure for a sound and reliable selection of texts was necessary in order to proceed to the stages of GTA and CDA. For this, without making an inductive effort to find out *concepts* and *themes/categories* just like in GT ——that will be elaborated in the following section— a general classification method was adopted having been inspired from the categories assigned by the editors of the magazine to the special issues as of the year 2006. A few examples to the magazine's own classification of special issues are as follows: *Family, Rights, Nationalism, Leftism and LGBTT, Homophobia, Hatred, Religion and Homosexuality, Social Policies, Militarism, Heterosexism and Homophobia in the Field of Mental Health, City/Space, Harassment, New Media, Heterosexuality,* so on and so forth.

The inventory research was based on the categorisation of argumentative texts according to editorial categories peculiar to the general themes of the magazine. An MS Office Excel sheet including the information such as *issue, year, month, title of the text, author, source, language* and *category* (See Appendix 1 for the full version) was created to classify the 'argumentative texts' on 'homosexuality' in the 'context of Turkey'. 883 texts from 143 issues (1994-2015) were classified as argumentative texts (including articles, propaganda, critique, etc.) with a detailed reading.

According to the aforementioned definition of *argumentative text*, the following parts of the *Kaos GL Magazine* were not included into the argumentative text inventory: *Haberler* [News] (expository/descriptive), *Tanıklıklar* [Witnesses] (narrative/descriptive), "how to" texts giving advice to individuals in specific situations (instructive), *GL Kitaplığı* [GL Library] (expository), film critics or book/journal/magazine reviews (expository/argumentative—though not on homosexuality), biographies (expository/descriptive) and *Yaşamın İçinden Kartpostallar* [Postcards from Life Experiences] (narrative).

Werlich (1976) does not establish separate text types for compare-and-contrast and cause-and-effect texts. Also, frequently there are *propagandas* in the issues. Thus, as long as the textual features peculiar to argumentative texts were observable, such texts were also included in the inventory.

The argumentative texts concerning homosexual movements in other countries written by Turkish or non-Turkish authors were not included in the general classification. Translated texts which involve conceptual discussions on homosexuality, on the other hand, are included in the general classification since their existence in the magazine shows that the editors attach particular importance to the issues handled in these texts, and this would of course affect the frequency and percentage of general categories assigned to the texts. Nevertheless, these texts were selected as texts of analysis for the further stages. Critiques about the magazine itself are not also included in the classification since they are solely related to publishing.

Table 3. 1.

A sample from the general classification of argumentative texts on homosexuality in the context of Turkey published in Kaos GL Magazine

YEAR	MONTH	TITLE	AUTHOR	SOURCE	TUR./TRANS.	CLASSIFICATION
		KaosGL Journal 'argumentative texts' on 'homosexuality' in the 'context of Turkey'				
1997	January	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	January	Daha Ne Zamana Kadar Seyredecegiz?	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	February	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	February	Lezbiyenler artık luna mı yiyeceğiz?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1997	February	Kaos	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	March	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET? (İlk paragraftan son	Bora	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	March	Kaos	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	April	EŞCİNSEL ÖĞRENCİLER İÇİN HEPSİ ZULÜMDÜR!	Bir grup lezbiyen ve gay öğ	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1997	April	"HETEROSEKSÜELLİK NORMAL DEĞİL, SADECE YAYGIN"	Derek Jarman	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	General discussion/evaluation
1997	April	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET? (İlk kısım)	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	April	Eşcinsel Kimlik	Cengiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	April	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	Kapak	Kapak	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	May	1 Mayıs'ta Aşk ve Özgürlük için Yürüdük	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1997	May	Lambda'nın *Yeni Mezunları*	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	Mekanlarda Eşcinsellik	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Space and Homosexuality
1997	May	İzmir	Ezgi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	KaosGL'nin dayanışma notu	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	KAOS'A DAİR	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	June (1)	"LEZBİYENLER SOKAĞA İNDİ!"	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1997	June (1)	SENDİKALILAŞTIRABİLDİKLERİMİZDEN MİSİNİZ? (birkaç soru)	Nedim B.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life/labour union and homosexuality
1997	June (1)	Kimlikten sonra	Urvashi Vaid	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual movement
1997	June (1)	Abartıyor muyuz?	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	June (1)	ODTÜ Eylül'den Haziran'a	Devrim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (1)	NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET	Halil Seyhan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	Derilerin kalınlaşması	Mustafa Konur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	SONUNA KADAR TOZPEMBE!	Ezgi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	Aslında tüm kurumsal yapılara karşı olmama rağmen	Burak Karacan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1997	August	Orada Kimse Var mı (Grincheus'tan itibaren)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
1997	September	4	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	September	Değinmeler, Dertleşmeler (iskenderun'dan yazan arkadaş)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	September	ve ARTIK BİRLEŞİM!	Ezgi Giz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	October	Yumruğunu Sık!	Mustafa	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	October	Gari tabii mukarenet	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1997	December	ÇAĞRI ya da "Haklar verilmez, alınır!"	Enver	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation

The texts, particularly in the section titled *Mektuplardan* [From the letters], coming from readers or non-regular authors were classified in the inventory if they were argumentative and relate to homosexuality in the context of Turkey. This decision conforms to the general policy of *Kaos GL Magazine*, i.e. publishing any text from authors or readers having any kind of ideological and socio-cultural background. It is important to remind that this study focuses on the analysis of the discourse of *Kaos GL Magazine*; thus any piece of text published in the magazine is an organic part of it whether the editors or the regular authors agree with the arguments in it or not.

The general categories and their contents are shown in Table 3. 2.

Table 3. 2.

General classification of argumentative texts on homosexuality in Kaos GL Magazine and their contents

NB.	CATEGORY	CONTENT
1	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality	• Discussion in the context of social order/gender • Sexual identity • Body • Patriarchy • Capitalism • Poverty • In the context of masculinity • In the context of feminism • Coming-out (of celebrities) • Solitude of homosexuals • Terminology discussion • Fear • Left policies • Criticism on reasoning efforts for homosexuality • Conservatism • Nationalism • Queer theory/politics • Homosexual porn
2	Homosexual movement	• How to act/Criticism on the act • Activities of KaosGL Association besides the magazine • 'Homofobi Karşıtı Buluşma' [Meeting Against Homophobia] • Güztanbul meetings • Pride • Other protesting activities • Publishing • Bear movement • Gay culture in Turkey

		• Regional movement
		• Feminists' contribution
		• Political approaches to the movement
		• University organizations
		• Other organizations
		• Family solidarity groups
3	Evaluation after event	• After events of homosexual visibility
		• After crimes against homosexuals
4	Media and homosexuality	• Censorship
		• On homophobic columns/news
		• General attitude of media
5	Legal issues and homosexuality	• Unjust sanctions/Human rights violation
		• Evaluation of legislation/penal code
		• Obscene publications act/publication ban
		• General approach of the legal system in Turkey
		• Social justice
		• Unions and homosexuals
		• Social work
6	Violence and homophobia	• Homophobic discourse of celebrities
		• Hatred (crimes)/homophobic practices
		• Homophobia as a concept
		• Passive and active violence
		• Police terror
7	Education and homosexuality	• Attitude of university administrations
		• Education system
		• Queer pedagogy
8	General discussion/evaluation	• Evaluation/discussion of the current situation
9	Family and homosexuality	• Family as a heterosexual institution
		• Coming-out to family
		• Families speak out
		• Queer families
10	Homosexual relationships/ marriage	• Love
		• Sex
		• Marriage
11	Military and homosexuality	• Homosexuality in the military service
		• Militarism
12	City/Space and homosexuality	• Room
		• Home
		• City as a space for homosexuals
		• Homosexuality in non-metropolitan cities
		• Homosexuality in country
		• Gay bars
13	Science and homosexuality	• Approach of psychologists and psychiatrists
		• Psychoanalysis
		• Genetics and biology
14	Working life and homosexuality	• Challenges in working life
15	Religion and homosexuality	• Coexistence of religion and homosexuality
		• Approach of Islam to homosexuality
		• Manipulation of religion against homosexuality
		• Approach of communities

16	Health and homosexuality	• Sexually transmitted diseases • Health policies
17	Politics and homosexuality	• Attitude of political figures • Political elections/referendum • Attitude of political parties • LGBT involvement in politics
18	Child and homosexuality	• Abuse of children
19	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality	• Harassment • Abuse
20	Migration and homosexuality	• Immigrant homosexuals
21	Capitalism and homosexuality	• Effect of capitalism on homosexuality
22	Internet and homosexuality	• Effect of internet on homosexuals • Relations through social media/internet

Considering the development of *Kaos GL Magazine* in 21 years (1994-2015) in terms of its policies and its position within society as well as the socio-political conditions embracing the movement, the discourse of the magazine was divided into four periods as shown in Table 3. 3. This division of periods was useful in terms of the method of analysis to be adopted in this research. The periods were determined according to literature about the historical milestones of *Kaos GL Magazine* as well as of the homosexual movement in Turkey. The first period (1994-1999) is characterised with the emergence end development of a homosexual movement for the first time (Erol, 2011; Güneş, 2016; Partog, 2012). In this period, activist groups tried to reach out the subjects with an effort to raise awareness among homosexual subjects, which can also be seen as a form of identity construction (Erol, 2011; Partog, 2012). The following periods are more related to the inner developments of Kaos GL organisation and the magazine. Certain changes were observed in the efforts of the movement as of 2000. At the end of 1999 the magazine was registered at the procesution office, thus it had the legal publication status. Efforts on institutionalisation and increasing the public visibility, after a considerable awareness was constructed among the subjects in the first five years, were seen in 2000s (Partog, 2012). Accordingly, the group was noted as the first homosexual group that attended May 1 celebrations in 2001 (Erol, 2011, p. 460). In 2005, the organisation gained the status of legal entity and became an association, which is another milestone of homosexual movement in Turkey (Kaos GL, 2011). The third period refers to a process in which a change in the mission of the magazine took place, leaving the objective of organising the

movement to the online platform called *kaosgl.org*, and giving some coverage to popular figures and issues (A. Erol and U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016) as well as to intellectual discussions based on special issue format. Although many authors tend to handle the history of the homosexuality as a social struggle according to decades (i.e. 80s, 90s and 2000s) (e.g. Çetin, 2015; Partog, 2012), theoretically, the periods in the present study were divided into four periods based on the milestones of *Kaos GL Magazine.* For this reason, since three periods were specified as 5-or-6-year periods, with a similar fashion, the fourth period was specified as a five-year period (covering the years 2011-2015). The period is characterised with the radicalisation of the political polarisation between the ruling party and LGBTI groups, particularly in terms of new constitution discussions (Yılmaz and Demirbaş, 2015, p. 241). Although the relationship of non-heterosexual groups with political parties dates back to 70s and 80s in Turkey (Güneş, 2016), a strong bound with opposing parties, such as CHP (Republican People's Party) and BDP (Peace and Democracy Party), became more apparent in this period (Yılmaz and Demirbaş, 2015, pp. 241-42). Also, the Gezi protests in 2013 proved to be one of the most important milestones in the history of homosexual movement in Turkey since the resistence provided a strong social visibility to LGBTI groups in many cities of the country (p. 242).

Table 3. 3.

Periods of discourse in Kaos GL Magazine

Period	Date range	Feature of the period
I	1994-1999	Emergence of the movement, reaching out the subjects, raising awareness, constructing the identities
II	2000-2005	Legal identity of the magazine, maturation in awareness, first public visibility, struggle for institutionalisation and becoming an association
III	2006-2010	Establishment of *kaosgl.org*, transition to special issues

IV	2011-2015	A changing political atmosphere, new costitution discussions, Gezi protests, visibility of homosexual movement

As shown in Table 3. 4, the distribution of the total number of argumentative texts according to predetermined periods is as follows: 257 in Period I (1994-1999), 244 in Period II (2000-2005), 240 in Period III (2006-2010), and 142 in Period IV (2011-2015). It is also obvious that "Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality" and "Homosexual movement" are consistently the most recurring categories in all periods. In periods I, II and III, "Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality" is the most frequent category; only in the period IV between 2011 and 2015, "Homosexual movement" outnumbers all categories. The reason for this difference is that in the years between 2011 and 2015 the subjects that could be handled under the category "Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality" are presented as expository or descriptive texts, rather than having an argumentative style. Similar dramatic differences on a category between the periods can be explained with such variations in the text type, e.g. the percentages of the category "Homosexual relationships/marriage" between the Period I and the other periods.

Table 3. 4.

General classification of argumentative texts on homosexuality in Kaos GL Magazine between the years 1994-2015

Category	PERIOD I: 1994-1999		PERIOD II: 2000-2005		PERIOD III: 2006-2010		PERIOD IV: 2011-2015	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality	63	24,51	75	19,67	75	31,25	28	19,72
Homosexual movement	48	18,68	60	18,44	60	25,00	35	24,65
Evaluation after event	6	2,33	9	15,98	9	3,75	0	0,00
Media and homosexuality	25	9,73	4	4,92	4	1,67	2	1,41

Legal issues and homosexuality	2	0,78	20	4,92	20	8,33	21	14,79
Violence and homophobia	7	2,72	13	4,51	13	5,42	7	4,93
Education and homosexuality	6	2,33	4	2,05	4	1,67	4	2,82
General discussion/evaluation	38	14,79	9	7,38	9	3,75	0	0,00
Family and homosexuality	6	2,33	7	1,64	7	2,92	7	4,93
Homosexual relationships/marriage	17	6,61	0	2,05	0	0,00	1	0,70
Military and homosexuality	6	2,33	1	1,23	1	0,42	7	4,93
City/Space and homosexuality	6	2,33	10	3,69	10	4,17	9	6,34
Science and homosexuality	6	2,33	11	3,69	11	4,58	2	1,41
Working life and homosexuality	2	0,78	2	3,69	2	0,83	2	1,41
Religion and homosexuality	2	0,78	7	0,82	7	2,92	1	0,70
Health and homosexuality	6	2,33	1	1,64	1	0,42	1	0,70
Politics and homosexuality	2	0,78	6	0,82	6	2,50	8	5,63
Child and homosexuality	4	1,56	1	0,00	1	0,42	0	0,00
Abuse, harassment and homosexuality	3	1,17	0	0,00	0	0,00	6	4,23
Migration and homosexuality	0	0,00	1	0,41	0	0,00	1	0,70
Capitalism and homosexuality	2	0,78	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
Internet and homosexuality	0	0,00	6	2,46	0	0,00	0	0,00
TOTAL	**257**	**100,0**	**244**	**100,0**	**240**	**100,0**	**142**	**100,0**

3. 2. 1. 3. Selection of the Category for Research and Sampling the Texts

Only one category from the list of major categories found out in the inventory research was selected based on purposive sampling. Of 22 major categories, the 'Homosexual movement' was regarded as the most eligible category to specify the core theme to be handled critical discursively both for its high frequency and percentage values among

other categories per periods, and for its textual features. The contents of the category "Homosexual movement" presented in Table 3.2 seem to support this thematic rationale. The texts categorised under the theme include such topics: how homosexuals in Turkey should act; pitfalls and achievements of the movement; activities of Kaos GL and other organizations; events such as 'Homofobi Karşıtı Buluşma [Meeting against homophobia], 'Güztanbul' [Fall meetings in Istanbul], pride, etc.; publishing activities; gay culture in Turkey; regional movement; university organisations; family solidarity groups, etc. Also, it is a matter of fact that the magazine as a whole is regarded, particularly by 2006, as the primary means to organise the homosexual movement in Turkey (U. Güner and A. Erol, personal communication, November 23, 2016). Therefore, the category 'Homosexual movement' could reveal the conceptualisations of homosexuals pertaining to the social conditions they are integrated into and their 'self' perceptions as opposed to the system as well as power relations between the heteronormative institutions and among the homosexual groups.

The period covering the years 1994-1999 has been selected for GTA and CDA stages. The related period is purposively selected for several reasons: (1) the five-year period corresponds to the emergence and development of the homosexual movement that never existed in Turkey. For some authors (e.g. Erol, 2011; Partog, 2012) the years between 1993 and 1999 are regarded as the first period of the movement (as well as the magazine) which was characterised with construction of gay and lesbian identities. (2) The magazine was published in the form of fanzine by the end of 1999 when it gained an official status as a result of registration at the prosecution office, changing its name into "Gay & Lezbiyen Araştırmaları Dergisi Kaos GL" (Kaos GL - Journal of Gay and Lesbian Research). Since the magazine presents peculiar features pertaining to its activities, mission and format, the period covering 1994-1999 was included into the analysis.

6 out of 48 total texts from the inventory category 'Homosexual movement' were selected with a combination of a systematic and purposive sampling techniques. The years from which the texts were selected were systematically determined. Accordingly, texts were selected from the years 1994, 1996 and 1998. Since there were not enough texts for the category in 1998, a text in the same category was selected from the subsequent year. Of the texts which fall to the category of 'homosexual movement' in the determined years,

two texts were purposively selected. The reason for selecting 2 texts per each specified year was that the researcher selected in order to increase the reliability of the thematic distribution of the texts in the related years. This was an attempt to see that texts in the same year would provide similar code distributions, which should represent the context of discourse in the related years. According to this purposive selection texts should handle the movement with a wide perspective in the context of describing the current socio-political conditions and the position of homosexuals in the society, i.e. referring to more than one aspect of the movement, rather than concentrating on a single issue related to the movement. According to this criterion, considering the contents of the category 'homosexual movement' in Table 3. 2., the texts whose contents are related to issues such as: 'How to act/Criticism on the act', 'Activities of Kaos GL Association besides the magazine', 'Homofobi karşıtı buluşma' [Meeting against Homophobia], and 'Political approaches to the movement' were finally selected as the texts of analysis that are to be included in GTA and CDA.

3. 2. 2. Methods of Data Analysis

3. 2. 2. 1. Grounded Thematic Analysis as a Content Analytic Approach

In the second part of Stage 2 (Fig. 1), a QDA was carried out through the selected argumentative texts. To this end, a GTA was formulated as a means of qualitative description that leads to find out the discourse topics in thematically-intricate argumentative texts. In this thematic content analysis framework, primary coding processes of GT were used. Developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), GT was simply defined as discovering theory from data systematically obtained from social research (p. 2). In such a theoretical inquiry, the researcher usually, but not necessarily, sets out with a research question in a specific area and with a blank mind about the phenomenon to be investigated (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 25). The researcher, using his/her creativity and skills of interpretation and synthesis, creates categories and relate them to each other, and finally puts a theory, that he/she thinks, explains the phenomenon in question with abstract and conceptual understandings (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). Such a systematic data-

oriented investigation is principally to free the researchers from potentially-biased data descriptions of deductive processes that depend themselves on prevailing theories (Locke, 1996, p. 242). This inductive nature of GT was thought to serve for attaining one of the purposes of the present study, i.e. discovering the discourse-thematic structure of argumentative texts in *Kaos GL Magazine* based on homosexual movement in Turkey.

It is crucial to state that the GTA model designed for the purposes of this study is a simplified version of GT which incorporates certain coding procedures of two schools, i.e. Glaserian and Straussian GT. The former is the classical GT, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), in which the researcher adopts an objectivist, post-positivist and etic position, seeking to reveal the residing theory within data without any effort to getting actively involved in the process of conceptualisation (Howard-Payne, 2016, p. 52). In Straussian GT, on the other hand, the researcher holds a contextualist, constructionist and emic viewpoint through which findings and theories are constructed inter-subjectively out of the data obtained from the research participants and the researchers themselves (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 10). With these in mind, the GTA in this study conforms to the Glaserian approach due to the source of the data and the way the findings are used in the further stages of the study. First, the source of the data in this study is written documents, i.e. argumentative texts in a magazine. Whereas in most GT studies data are obtained from field notes by the researcher, e.g. interviews, observations, etc., though Corbin and Strauss (1990) indicate that data may also come from many other sources such as government documents, video tapes, newspapers, letters and books (p. 5). However, researchers regard such texts as supplementary data for a fieldwork (Charmaz, 2006, p. 38). Still, in GT studies texts like ours can be used as objects for analytic scrutiny besides for providing supplementary evidence for a more extensive study (p. 39). Conducting a QDA only over such texts with a Straussian approach is simply useless for the researcher, to a great extent, since it would not be possible for him/her to engage with the research to describe and understand the phenomenon as the originators of the texts perceive it to be (Howard-Payne, 2016, p. 53).

Moreover, a GTA with Glaser's objectivist perspective fits the procedure realised in the 'contents' component of DHA. The 'contents' of a discourse include themes of the texts for analyses, historical and political context, and other social and cultural settings that

could be related to the analysis (Blackledge, 2005, p. 20). Rather than opting for quantitative methods, e.g. word frequency analysis, or plain descriptions on the contents, texts were scrutinised into their conceptual categories, and frequencies of these categories were obtained; also, hierarchical relations as well as co-occurrences between categories provided the analysis with the contexts of the discourse.

As a last word, GTA designed in this study includes in certain coding procedures of both GT traditions without an effort to construct a theory. Constructing a theory following all grounded theoretical procedures would be a separate and independent study by itself. This study, however, benefits from qualitative data analytic techniques provided by GT in order to contribute to the critical discourse analysis in the following stage. Qualitative analysis, after all, is a process that cannot be rigidly codified; what it requires is to understand intuitively what goes on in the data and to be flexible and creative in the methodological procedures that would give answers to your questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 16). Using qualitative data analytic techniques, one can develop a grounded theory, while others can aim for thick and descriptions or just delineate basic themes (p. 16-7). From this point of view, the aim of the present GTA can be said to be to reveal the basic themes of the discourse of *Kaos GL Magazine* within the context of homosexual movement in Turkey between 1994 and 2015, and to describe and delineate the relationship among these themes.

3. 2. 2. 1. 1. Coding in GTA

Coding means "categorising segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). It is the first step the researcher takes in analysing a text before makings analytic interpretations. As a requirement of GT, all categories arise out of data by scrutinising it with an attempt to understand the essence of what is being expressed. In this sense, coding requires searching for the right word(s) that best describe(s) conceptually what the researcher thinks is indicated by the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 160). It is the primary task of the researcher to decide on the best-defining code for each pieces text segments; thus, mind and intuition of the researcher is the most important tool that guides him/her in this process.
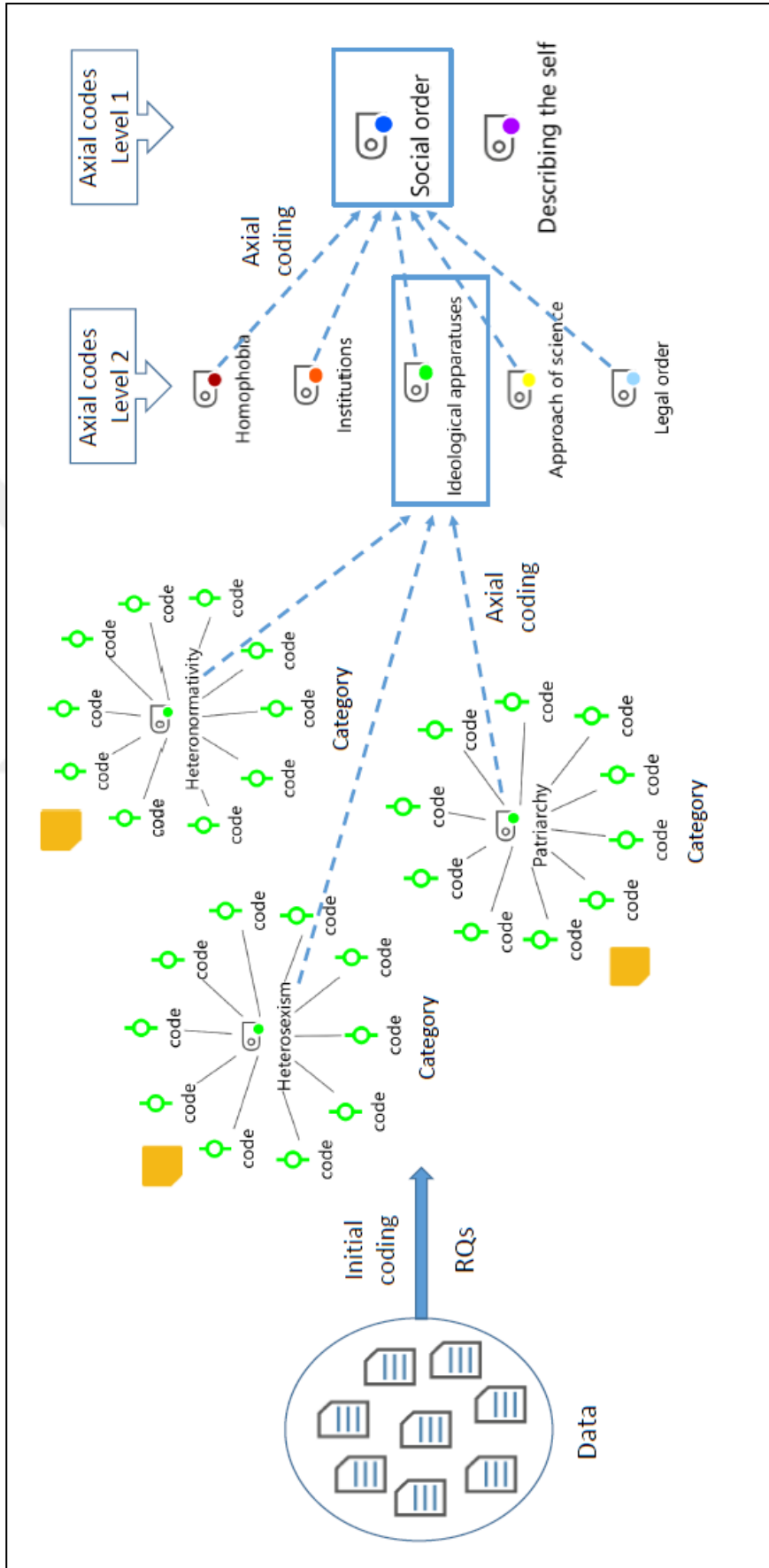
Figure 3. 2. The procedures of grounded thematic analysis

Although the motto of GT analyses is "all is data", and an analytic eye would discover the conceptualisations of data, GTA started with a too general question in mind; this research question is adopted as the first research question of this dissertation.

Two coding procedures were used in this study: (1) initial coding, (2) axial coding. The Glaserian *initial coding* refers to the preliminary coding of data in which the researcher studies "fragments of data —words, lines, segments, and incidents— closely for their analytic imports" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 42). Each text was analysed thoroughly for recurring conceptual textual units. If certain concepts were recurrent within the text and referred to or constituted a specific meaningful unit, they were coded with a category. Each initial code that was produced through close reading of data was compared to other initial codes for their distinctiveness. The size of code unites varied: data was coded either word-by-word, line-by-line, or segment-by-segment based on the conceptual boundaries of codes. If they occurred in the same way in further texts, they were regarded as reliable codes; if not, the previous codes needed to be refined. Each text contributes to the conceptuality of initial codes, their salience increase as the researcher continues coding; and finally, through the comparison of texts with other texts and occurrences with each text, these initial codes emerge as categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 12). As it is shown in Figure 3. 2., 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'patriachy', and many others that are not displayed in the diagram, are categories which developed into salient conceptual units by means of recurrent coding. Memos, i.e. written records of analysis in Corbin and Strauss' words (1990, 2008), were used in some cases for taking notes about defining features of categories and any details about codes.

New texts could also lead to rewording of the codes, revising their conceptual boundaries, or even to discarding since new aspects of initial codes arise in time. Focused coding, another major coding step presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967), referring to the use of the most significant and/or frequent initial codes to examine large amounts of data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57), was not used in this study so as to obtain a general view of categories with their frequencies of occurrences throughout the data set.

Axial coding is a Straussian way of coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; 2008) which is defined by Strauss (1987) himself as building "a dense texture of relationships around the

'axis' of a category" (p. 64). In Charmaz's (2006) words, "axial coding relates categories to subcategories, specifies the properties and dimensions of a category, and reassembles the data you have fractured during initial coding to give coherence to the emerging analysis" (p. 60). Glaser confronted axial coding on the grounds that it hampers freedom of the researcher to conceptualise much data, as (s)he does in initial coding (Howard-Payne, 2016, p. 56). The main reason for his opposition is that certain previous codes are regrouped under a predetermined category, which contradicts with the procedures generating a theory (Locke, 1996). Nevertheless, for a systematic description of the phenomena in question, axial coding was applied in the present analysis. The right side of Figure 3.2., there is a hierarchical relationship between the codes: the categories 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'patriachy' are ensembled into another code titled 'ideological apparatuses' functioning as a mother code that represents the common characteristics of its sub-categories. The same type of relation is true for a second level of axial coding, as shown by Level 1. The relationship between initial code and axial codes used in this study can be explained in depth with the coding process of the axial code "Homophobia" (See Fig. 3. 3.).

A three-level of coding is observed in the MAXQDA code system for the category 'homophobia'. First, initial codes revealed the following categories: 'suppression and oppression', 'prejudice', 'rendering non-existent', 'discrimination', 'humiliation and ridiculing', 'marginalisation', 'excluding/ignoring', 'violence', 'internalised homophobia', and 'despising other homosexuals'. The axial coding for this category was practiced in two ways. One way was relating initial codes to each other by constructing a hierarchy among them. For instance, while 'discrimination', 'humiliation and ridiculing', 'marginalisation', 'excluding/ignoring' revealed themselves as initial codes at the same level; the latter three, later by realising their further aspects, proved to be organic components of the more general term 'discrimination'. The second is the classical way of creating an upper category that incorporates certain conceptual features of other codes. The code 'homophobia' is an example to this type of axial coding. Axial codes can also be members of other axial codes. In our case, in the further stages of data coding, 'homophobia' proved to be one of the major parts of the social order with many other categories. Thus, as one of the two encompassing codes, 'social order' —the other is "describing the self"— was created to complete the hierarchical order of the code system.
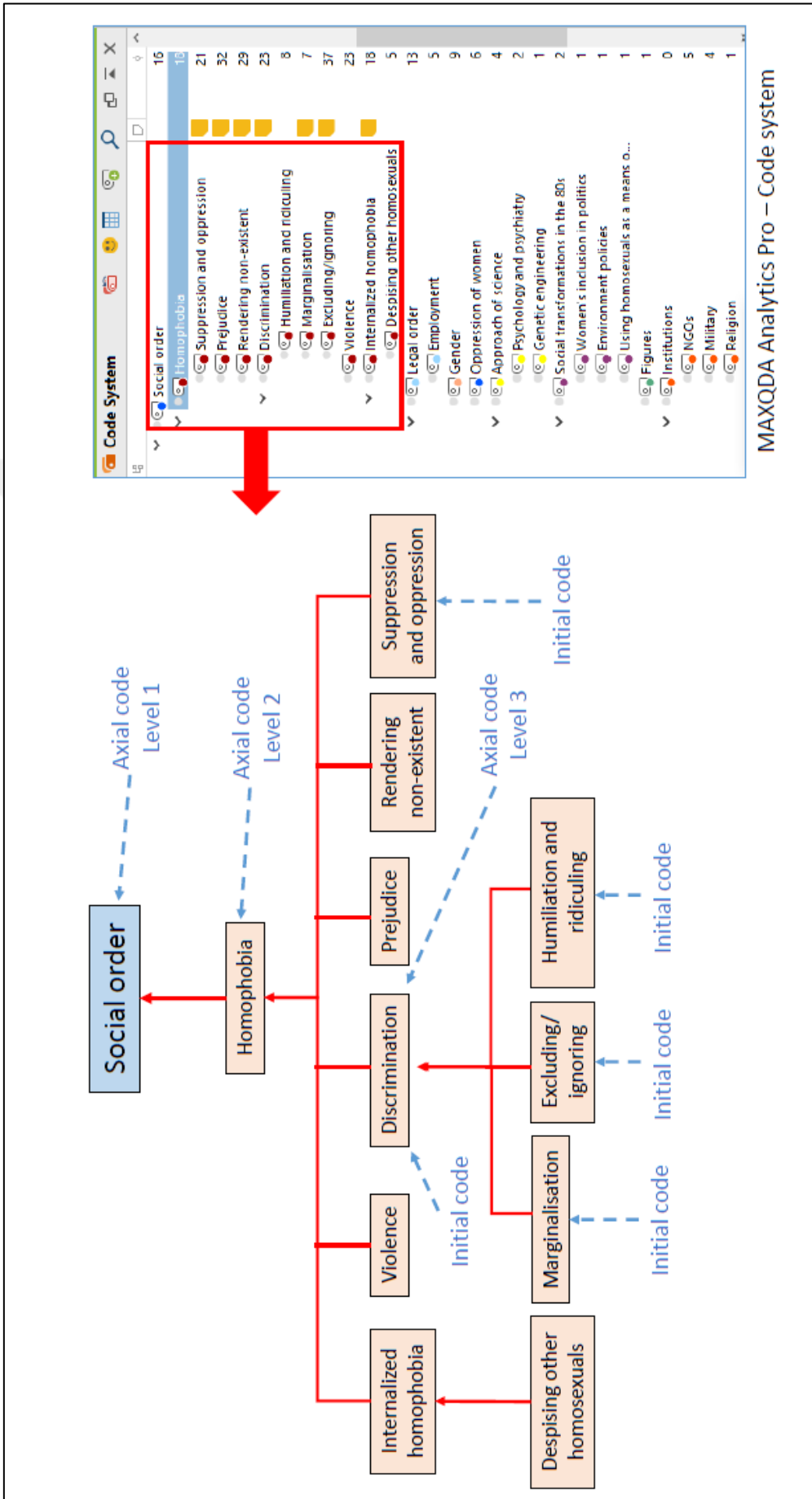
Figure 3. 3. Initial and axial coding exemplified for the category "Homophobia"

According to the textual analysis, the categories are grouped under two major encompassing categories: (1) social order, (2) describing the self. The category titled 'social order' includes: <u>Homophobia:</u> Suppression and oppression, Prejudice, Rendering non-existent, Discrimination, Humiliation and ridiculing, Marginalization, Excluding/ignoring, Violence, Internalized homophobia, Despising other homosexuals; <u>Figures</u>, <u>Legal order</u>: Employment; <u>Oppression of women</u>; <u>Approach of science:</u> Psychology and psychiatry, Genetic engineering; <u>Gender</u>; <u>Social transformations in the 80s:</u> Women's inclusion in politics, Environmental policies, Using homosexuals as a means of political gain; <u>Institutions:</u> NGOs, Military, Religion, Science and medicine, Media, State, Family, School; <u>Ideological apparatuses:</u> Leftism, Anarchism, Sectarianism, Nationalism, Racism, Heterosexism, Patriarchy, Heteronormativity, Capitalism, Feminism, Militarism, Pragmatism, Environmentalism, Sexism, and Bourgeoisie.

The category titled 'describing the self' includes: Space for homosexuals, Living with heterosexuals, Rejection of tolerance/affection, Positive developments, Transforming the institutions, <u>Multiple voices within homosexuals</u>: Tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals; <u>Collective and unifying action</u>: Creating a discussion platform, Reaching out to other homosexuals, Institutionalisation, Political organisation; Discussion of law on homosexuality, Suppression of homosexual feelings, Solitude, Coming-out, Right to choose sex by oneself, Collective memory loss, Struggle for rights, Desire of equality, <u>Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity</u>: Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values; Desire of freedom, Rejection of social latency, <u>Existence of homosexuality:</u> Existence of various homosexual identities; and Desire of democracy.

Although a multiple axial code structure was developed in the analysis, any search for finding a core category by means of focused coding that would lead the analysis to constructing a theory was not intended. Rather, the objective of this GTA was to make a "thick description" of conceptual categories by means of initial and axial coding. The frequencies of categories pertaining to predetermined discourse periods as well as the conceptual maps which indicate thematic distribution per text and co-occurrences of categories provided us with delineated qualities and contexts of discourse (re)constructed by *Kaos GL Magazine*. This also enabled us to make an evaluation on these findings

based on the socio-historical context that has been presented in the second chapter of this study. Considering all of these, above-presented GTA design fitted the aims of the research.

3. 2. 2. 1. 2. Reliability and Credibility Issues in Categorization

Even though reliability is mostly used in quantitative research domain, corresponding concepts of trustworthiness and credibility (Creswell, 2003) are of high importance in qualitative research. One dimension of this goes though multiple and in-depth analyses of texts with a structured approach. For the purposes of this research, the categorization of the inventory and the subsequent analyses on discourse advanced in a cumulative but successive manner. In this study, the researcher ensured credibility of findings through a very detailed reading of each published volume to identify the argumentative texts first. This was done for the inventory analysis part. Then, for the GTA, the texts categorized as argumentative went through successive readings, in which each argumentative segment went through multiple phases and repeated steps of categorization and coding after initial readings. These detailed readings of argumentative texts led to the initial template of themes and codes. Later, these codes and categories were checked against each other, some repetitive codes were unified after several readings to lead to the final and concise list of codes.

Another frequent method to evaluate the reliability of the qualitative analyses is to employ a second coder and check for the agreement of two coders on the same categories or codes. In this process, for the categorization of texts as argumentative or not in the inventory phase, a second coder was employed. After an initial training on characteristics of argumentative texts and the selection criteria for this study, the second coder categorized the texts published in 8.3% (12 out of 143 published volumes of Kaos GL over 4 periods) of all the volumes that were considered for the initial categorization. The second coder examined some example categorizations but was totally blind to the original coding of segments that was allocated for inter-coder check. The agreement of two coders was calculated after the coding process was done. When the total number of texts categorized as argumentative by either of two coders is included, the second coders' agreement was found to be 76%. When the agreement is calculated only on the segments

coded by the second coder, the inter-coder agreement was found to be 81.25% in categorizing the argumentative texts, which in both cases indicates a high degree of agreement and provides a justification for the credibility of categorization.

3. 2. 2. 1. 3. A Qualitative Data Analysis Tool: *MAXQDA Analytics Pro*

MAXQDA is a high-performance and multi-functional program for social-science oriented data analysis ("What is MAXQDA?", 2018). It is used for coding data, whether typed documents or multimedia files, managing and evaluating texts systematically and conducting numerous qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods. This and many programs are convenient for text-driven and interpretive data analysis which is based on a single analyst's conceptions since they can provide that text explorations are more systematic (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 341). The reason for selecting this program as a tool is that inductive GTA design inspired from GT requires the researcher to code data systematically and carry out further analytic processes, particularly frequency analysis and code co-occurrence analysis (Mayring, 2014, p. 79).

There are similar qualitative data analysis programs used in such studies, namely Atlas.ti, QDA Miner, NVIVO, etc. However, selecting MAXQDA for the study among these programs depends on the book *Basics of Qualitative Research* by Corbin and Strauss' (2008) who utilised it for their demonstration project on Vietnam War from the perspective of the soldier. Representing the constructionist tradition of GT, Corbin and Strauss used MAXQDA in their qualitative research conducted over multiple contexts of interviews and showed the qualitative and quantitative capabilities of the program. Other QDA programs can certainly be used in similar projects, yet the compatibility of the methodological framework and the practices presented by the book gave the impression that with this program GTA could be accomplished efficiently.

Figure 3. 4. MAXQDA Analytics Pro screen layout

The interface of the program is composed of four main systems: *document system, document browser, code system,* and *retrieved segments* —see the screen layout in Figure 3. 4. Document system is used for storing the documents and the document sets to be used in the text analysis. Document browser is the section in which the researcher codes text segments. Any level of text, i.e. word, sentence or paragraph, can be easily coded with a name. Each coding in document browser is stored in the code system which is situated in the lower left corner of the screen display. Text segments can also be coded with more than one code, which brings out co-occurrences and intertwined code relations. In Figure 3. 5., overlapping square brackets indicating the boundaries of codes show which categories are coded together for that piece of text.
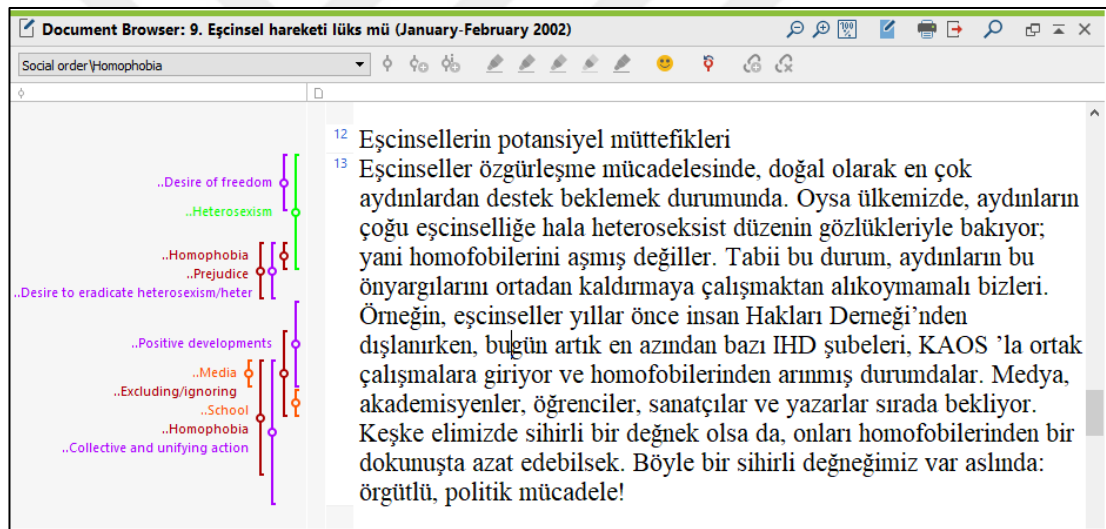
Figure 3. 5. Document browser with co-occurring codes

The researcher can group the codes in sets and relate codes in a hierarchical order —as it is done in axial coding. The numbers next to each code show the frequency of the related concept or category. By activating the documents and codes simultaneously one can retrieve coded textual segment within the section called retrieved segments. MAXQDA automatically assigns referential information for each retrieved segment as it is shown in the left column of the retrieved segments. The researcher is also able to create memos to explain his/her conceptualisation and account for the coding process (Figure 3.6.).
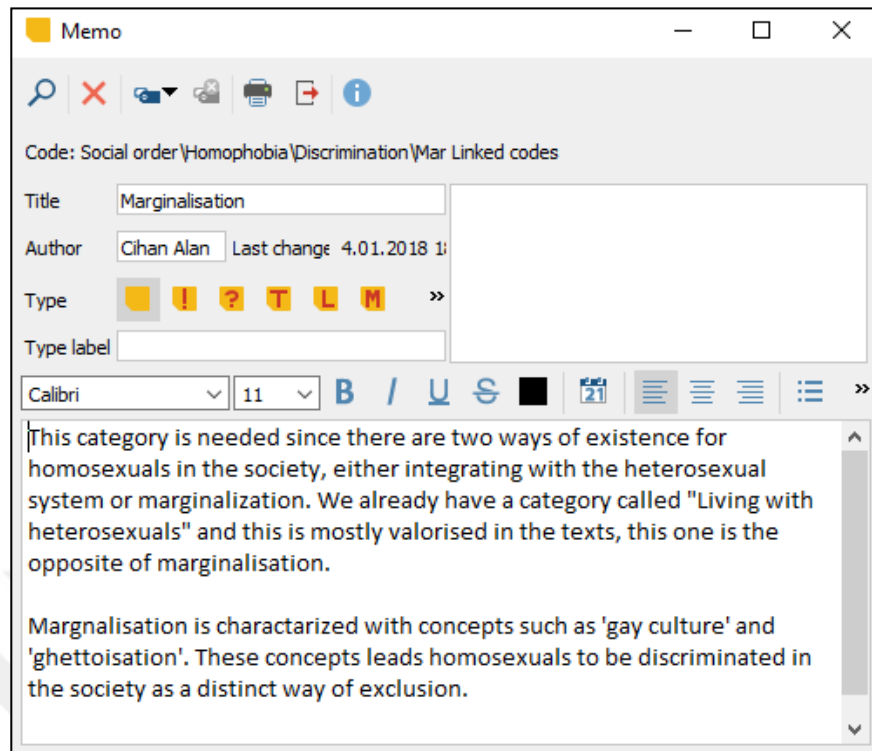
Figure 3. 6. Memo in MAXQDA Analytics Pro

The program is capable of carrying out many other qualitative and quantitative analyses such as code overlapping analysis, analysis of variance, correlation analysis, etc. and it provides the researcher with many display options. Among these analytic features and modules of the program, "Subcode statistics" and "MAXMaps in Visual tools" were used for the purpose of the study. Subcode statistics enabled us to have reliable quantitative results regarding frequencies of categories per periods of discourse and per texts. MAXMaps, on the other hand, provided us with building conceptual maps depending on quantitative results. These conceptual maps played a crucial role in interpreting the distribution and co-occurrences of categories. A sample conceptual map is provided in Figure 3. 7.
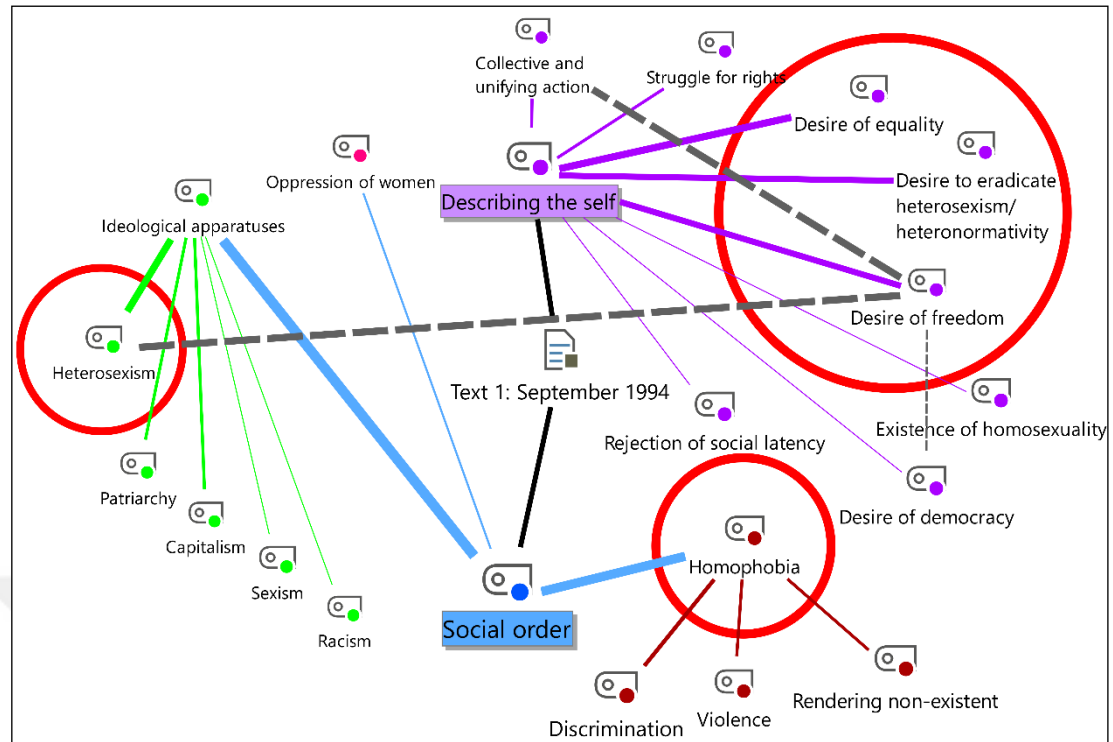
Figure 3. 7. Sample conceptual map with one-case model

Through one-case model in MAXMaps module, among many other models, conceptual maps can be drawn for a single text. The sample conceptual map in MAXQDA nest several features and meanings. The solid lines represent code and sub-code relationships; dashed lines on the other hand represent the overlapping codes. That is, the solid line from 'Social order' to 'Ideological apparatuses' shows that the latter is a sub-category of the former category; and the dashed line from 'Social order' to 'Heterosexism' means that the same text segments is coded by both categories (co-occurrence of codes). One category can have numerous relations with other categories, as does 'Desire of freedom' in a red circle. As dashed lines increase in number, it means that much interpretation is needed for that category. Showing code co-occurrences in a single one-case conceptual map brings about complicated diagrams, though. For this reason, code co-occurrence model provided by MAXQDA (Release 18.0.8) was used in the analysis of each text.

The thickness of lines represents the frequency of code relations. Thus, it can be said that in this text, the categories 'Desire of equality', 'Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' and 'Desire of freedom' are more recurrent categories

than other sub-categories of 'Describing the self'. The more recurrent the codes, the more attention is attached to them.

3. 2. 2. 2. CDA: *DHA*

In the last stage, Stage 3, of the analysis, a typical CDA model is presented. This study is based on investigating overt and covert discursive peculiarities of a magazine that introduces itself as a platform where LGBTI people in Turkey *have their own words*, *make a claim to their own problems*, and *share their thoughts and experiences* ("Kaos GL Dergisi", 2011). Fairclough (2003) describes discourses as "ways of representing aspects of world — the processes, relations and structures of material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world" (p. 124). In accordance with how Fairclough explains discourses, regarding any conceptualisations on homosexuality in a specific culture as aspects of world brings together different representations of the same phenomenon. Having a sound understanding of a specific aspect of world depends on different relations that other people have to the world, and on the social relationships between different people (p. 124). The aforementioned role of the magazine is a presupposition of the multiplicity of discourses, or aspects of world, on homosexuality in Turkey, just like in other cultures.

van Dijk (2001b, p. 249) underlines the importance of discourses in the (re)production and challenge of dominance particularly in contexts of social inequality. On the one side of this challenge of dominance, which is an apparent indication of Foucauldian power/discourse relations, are the circles of social power such as elites, institutions and groups (p. 250). In the case of homosexuality in Turkey, these circles, in more concrete terms, are the state, governments, media institutions, scientific circles, military forces, national education, religion, family, etc. Being at the other side of this clash of power, homosexuals' discourse is a typical resisting discursive construction against the dominant discourse which is prevalent in all layers of the society. In line with the purpose of this study, scrutinising the resistance discourse concerning homosexuality reproduced through texts manifests sociolinguistic as well as social-psychological realities that encompasses the phenomenon.

Such a distinctive discourse embedded in texts is expected to be observed within the context of such preliminary questions: What are the texts about? What strategies are used to reproduce this discourse within texts? What linguistic structures are employed in order to construct such a discourse? Seeking answers to these three questions only is enough for such an investigation to be a critical analysis of a discursive construction. Whichever methodological framework of CDA is selected for a linguistic study, researchers seek, more or less, answers to these questions.

One of the traditions of CDA, on which the analysis of texts in this study was based is the Discourse-Historical Approach of the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis (Wodak, 2001b; Wodak et al., 2000; Wodak and Meyer, 2004). Discourse-historical tradition established by Wodak et al. is composed of a tripartite procedure of analysis: namely (1) contents, (2) strategies, and (3) linguistic means and forms of realisation.

The first step of the framework, i.e. content, deals with the topics of a discursive phenomenon. The *content* determines the areas and contexts in terms of which the corpuses are analysed. In this study, discourse topics were retrieved from the findings of the GTA employed on texts.

Strategy is defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 45) as "more or less accurate or more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim". For the strategy component of the analysis, the framework by Wodak et al. (2000) developed for discursive construction of national identity, and van Leeuwen's (1996) model for representing social actors will be adopted. Despite it was designed for quite a different discourse, the former model was preferred on the grounds that it provides the researcher with a systematic and clear-cut CDA methodology. The connections drawn between socio-historical context and linguistic realisations in the construction of national identity as well as diachronic nature of the model gave inspiration for examination of a different discursive construction, i.e. discursive construction of homosexuality in Turkey by *Kaos GL Magazine.* van Leeuwen's model, on the other hand, was adopted since it specifically deals with the strategies by means of which social actors are represented in specific discourses (e.g. racist discourse). The model provides a systematic framework for tropological

conceptualisations of metonymical, synecdochic and metaphoric construction of social actors. In the present study, discursive construction of homosexuality was investigated in terms of social actors who have part in the discourse. In this respect, van Leeuwen's categorisation proved to be a reliable guide, and it yielded a harmonisation with Wodak *et al.*'s model. For the purpose of this study, representations of social actors were investigated. Referential strategies guiding the researcher to investigate the way social actors are represented were selected from the categorisation of Reisgl and Wodak (2001) and van Leeuwen (1996).

As for the *linguistic means and forms of realisation*, they refer to any linguistic devices used pertaining to the strategies and the contents of a discourse. The categories used by Wodak et al. (2000) to explain the references in the construction of national identity, and categories of Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) were used as a tool in the investigation of linguistic means and forms.

Last but not least, the CDA framework of this study can be said to be formulated as an '*insider*' perspective which holds the process of "identification" in the sense Krżyzanowski and Wodak (2007) adopted. For Wodak (2011), one way of investigating discourses of difference/discrimination is to examine the ways in which the minority groups experience discrimination (p. 54). Krżyzanowski and Wodak (2007) formulated such a perspective based on Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) description of 'identification'. According to this, identification "invites us to specify the agents that do the identifying. And it does not presuppose that such identifying […] will necessarily result in the internal sameness" since self and other identifications vary from context to context (p. 14). In other words, social actors identify themselves with the Other in various contextual situations (Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007, p. 99); thus, in line with this point of view, homosexuals' description of the society through its heteronormative actors is of utmost importance to understand their self-identification as well.

All in all, such an investigation reveals the peculiarities of the discriminated people's discourse as against a dominant discourse that reconstructs the negative attitudes and thoughts towards these people. Similarly, this study aims at examining many facets of homosexual movement in Turkey from the eye of 'inside' actors, authors of *Kaos GL*

Magazine, who describe on the one hand, the social conditions of homosexuals in the country, on the other hand, express the ways homosexuals are situated in the picture drawn.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

4. 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In this chapter of the dissertation, a grounded thematic analysis (hereafter, GTA) and a critical discourse analysis (hereafter, CDA) of 6 texts selected from *Kaos GL Magazine* representing the predetermined period (i.e. 1994-1999) are operationalised. For the period, first, findings from the grounded thematic analysis of the argumentative texts previously classified with the theme titled 'homosexual movement' are presented. The findings include quantitative and qualitative results such as code frequencies, conceptual maps of categories driven from the texts, and predominant code co-occurrences. Second, the representation of social actors based on tropological constructions and related linguistic means and forms of realisation linked to the outscoring thematic/discourse categories (or discourse topics) are displayed. The discussion of findings obtained from the GTA and CDA is to be conducted with respect to the socio-historical conditions and social psychological realities pertaining to homosexual movement in Turkey.

In order to conduct a grounded theoretical investigation of a specific subject, the researcher sets out by asking research questions that would guide him/her to proceed to and the coding process. The answer to the research question no. 1 of this study (See chapters I and III), on the one hand, comprises the *content* pillar of the discourse-historical framework of the study, and on the other hand, presents an intricate and complex relationship of categories both in terms of the social order as described by homosexuals and their self-presentation as against this order. Each theme coded through MAXQDA refers to the topics of discourse that lead to the following steps of the CDA, i.e. *strategies* and *linguistic means and forms of realisation.* The following sub-sections are allocated to the *contents* of the period 1994-1999.

The findings pertaining to the *contents* of the discourse are composed of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the codes assigned to text segments in the total number of 6 articles for the period between the years 1994-1999, and the accounts on the coding process. It is important to remind that the coding process continued until the researcher thinks that there is not any other code that can be created for the specific piece of discourse

(or text), which is the prerequisite of establishing a grounded thematic analysis. The coding process in this GTA includes an active comparison of conceptual units in guidance of several process questions, as adopted from Glaser (1978). The findings pertaining to categories will be presented in this chapter on the basis of answers to these questions:

- What is actually happening here?
- Under what conditions does this happen?
- What is this data a study of?
- What category does this incident indicate?

The second stage of the analysis related to the *strategies* and *linguistic means and forms of realisation*, on the other hand, provides purely discourse-topic-bound findings, which directly benefit from the quantitative and qualitative findings of the grounded theoretical stage. Thus, highest-scoring categories, i.e. topics of discourse, driven with grounded theoretical approach are scrutinized for their discursive strategies and for how they are linguistically realised. The categories of the major content classes (i.e. 'Social order' and 'Describing the self') are shown for each period respectively according to their frequencies.

Some tips about the chapter are presented for the ease of the reader in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1.

Tips for reading the chapter

- The terms *category* and *code* are interchangeably used.
- Categories (themes)/codes are shown between single quotation marks ('…');
- In-text translations are provided between square brackets ([…]);
- The red lines in code co-occurrence maps refer to the code/sub-code relation;
- The width of lines refers to the frequency of codes or code co-occurrences;
- The lines going from the text symbol to the major categories do not represent any frequency;

- The size of code symbols represents the frequency of codes in the maps with one-case model, and frequency of overlapping codes in the maps with code co-occurrence model.

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4. 2. GROUNDED THEMATIC AND CRITICAL DISCURSIVE ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

4. 2. 1. Grounded Thematic Analysis: Contents

The period covering the years 1994-1999 is characterized with the establishment of *Kaos GL* organization and the emergence of the magazine with the same title, and with the very task of organizing a widespread homosexual movement throughout Turkey. The peculiarity of the period stems from the fact that the publishers of the magazine, at the same time the forerunners of the movement, tried to reach out the subjects of the homosexual community, setting them free from their closets, raising an awareness within the target group of people to act together, and letting all spheres of power hear the voices of homosexuals (A. Erol & U. Güner, personal communication, November 23, 2016). Below, the findings of a grounded thematic analysis (or elicitation of discourse topics) of six texts that are thought to be representative of the period of discourse.

4. 2. 1. 1. Text 1

The first text analysed with a grounded thematic analytical approach is titled "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos Comes Out[7]], published in September 1994, which undertook the role of introducing *Kaos GL Magazine* to its audience —primarily to the homosexuals living in Ankara[8] and, expectedly at that time, to every segment of the society. The text, beginning from the cover of the issue no. 1 of the magazine and continuing to the page 1, was placed into an inverted and pink triangle[9] referring to the homosexuals slaughtered in the Nazi

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[7] *Şanlamak* is a popular word in Turkish homosexual slang that have meanings such as *to arise*, *to come out*, *to reveal someone himself/herself* (Erol, 2012, para. 12).

[8] *Kaos GL Magazine* was first published in Ankara in September 1994. Because of the legal, financial and technical restrictions, the journal could only be copied with a limited number and distributed with the individual effort of the publishers.

[9] Those who were seen as racially inferior to Germans, Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, Jehovah's Witnesses as well as homosexuals were persecuted and sent to concentration camps during the Nazi Rule between the years 1933 and 1945. Homosexuality was particularly regarded as a hindrance to the expansion of Germans. Due to the abundance of the groups in the concentration

Germany —though, because of the financial and technical difficulties encountered by the publishers, it appeared as a white triangle (see Fig. 4. 1).

With its topics, rhetorical devices and linguistic forms, which are presented in the sections of *strategies* and *linguistic means and forms of realisation,* it serves as the manifesto of the organization *Kaos GL* as well as the magazine. The text (and Text 2, "Varolan Durum ve Eşcinsellik [The current situation and homosexuality] as well) portray(s) a general view of the social conditions at that time in Turkey in the eye of homosexuals, and handle(s) the notion of homosexuality in a holistic way, comparing it, on the one hand, to the position of women in Turkey and to other minorities such as Jews, Kurds and Indians, on the other hand, it sets forth the desires of homosexual individuals under the socio-political conditions described. With these features, "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos Comes Out] —as well as Text 2— can be seen as the constituent text(s) of the magazine pertaining to the social movement, i.e. homosexual movement, that had been in its very early years by that time in Turkey.
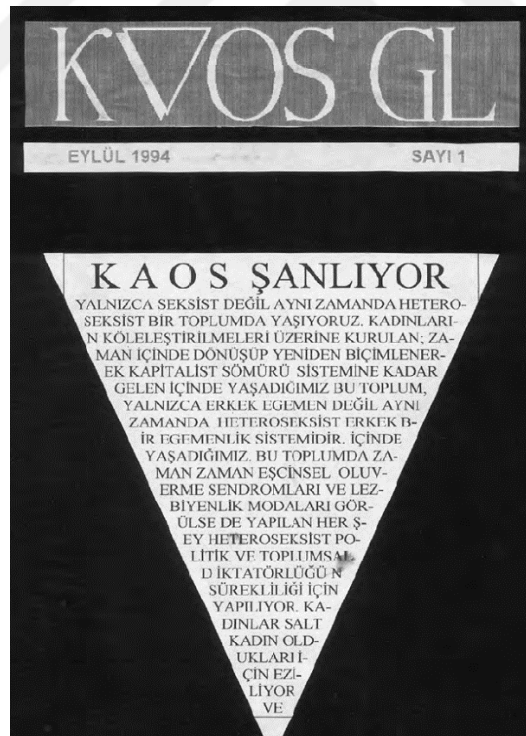
Figure 4. 1. Cover of *Kaos GL*, Issue 1, September 1994

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camps, Nazis developed a classification system. According to this classification, homosexuals were identified with inverted pink triangle badges sewn onto their prison uniforms ("Classification System in Nazi Concentration Camps", n.d.).

4. 2. 1. 1. 1. Categories of Text 1

The projection of the codes in Text 1 can be seen in Figure 4.2. In the conceptual map, created in MAXQDA 18 with one-case mapping model of MaxMaps module, all the codes are presented according to the hierarchies among them. The width of the lines indicates the code frequencies.
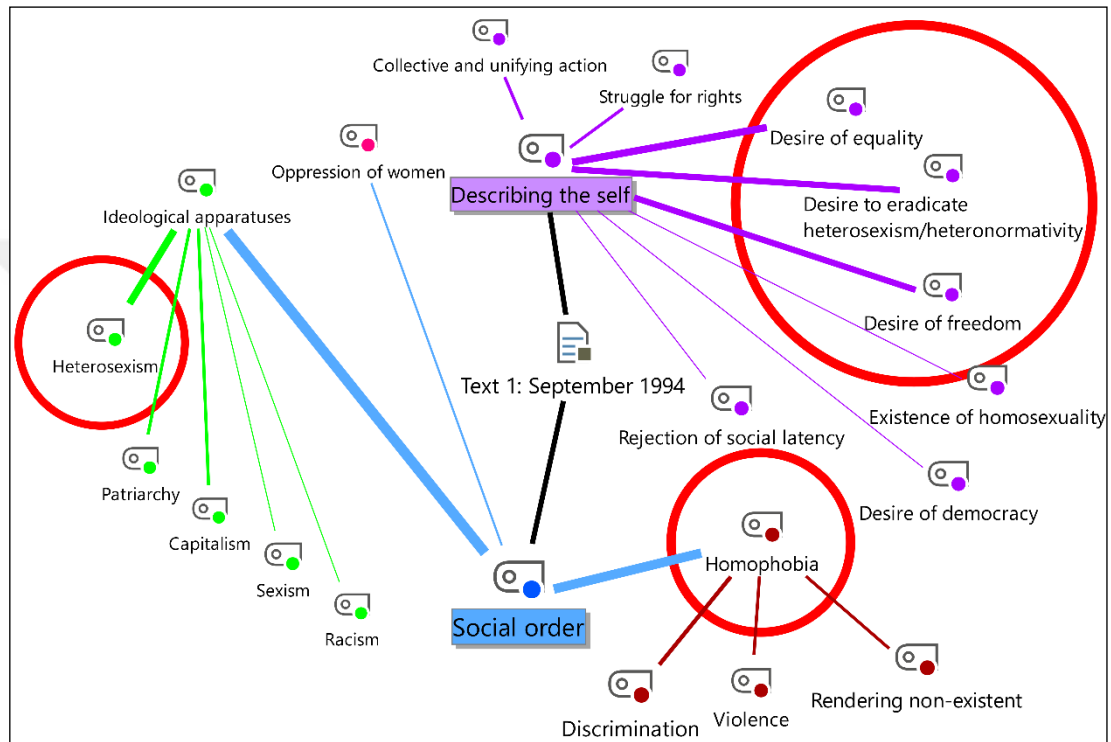
Figure 4.2. "Kaos Şanlıyor" [*Kaos* Comes Out], September 1994, thematic map with one-case model

All the codes assigned to the textual segments were concentrated around two major 1st level-axial codes: 'Social order' and 'Describing the self'. This fashion was followed in all texts sampled from the magazine, which shows that the general tendency of the argumentative texts in the publication is to account for what is prevalent in the society about homosexuality and how the subjects of the discriminated group of people react against and express themselves within this socio-political situation. Two 2nd-level-axial-codes, that is 'ideological apparatuses' (39,4%) and 'homophobia' (21,1%), with an added code of 'oppression of women' (5,3%), determine the conceptual construction of the text as to the description of social order (totally 65,6%). The ideological apparatuses mentioned, and coded as categories, in the text are 'heterosexism', 'capitalism',

'patriarchy', 'sexism', and 'racism'. Homophobia included three sub-codes: 'discrimination', 'violence', and 'rendering non-existent'. Under the 1st-level-axial-code of 'describing the self', which was composed of 34,2% of the total codes, the following categories existed in the text: 'desire of equality', 'desire of freedom', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity', 'struggle for rights', 'existence of homosexuality', 'collective and unifying action', 'rejection of social latency', 'desire of democracy', and 'suppression of homosexual feelings'. The red circles represent the dominant codes in the text with respect to their frequencies. Accordingly, the description of socio-political situation was condensed to the ideological system of heterosexism and homophobia which serves as the social-psychological manifestation of the former. Within the conditions described certain desires are voiced as self-describing utterances which are referring to basic concepts such as equality, freedom and wiping out the heterosexist/heteronormative ideology from the society.

The coding process of the text revealed a total of 38 codes as shown in Table 4.3. The code names referred to on the left of each backward slash in the first column are parent categories that were created as axial codes, while it is the codes appearing on the right of the backward slash that determine the distribution of categories in the text.

Table 4.2

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 1: "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos Comes Out]

Parent Code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Ideological apparatuses\Heterosexism	7	18,4
Homophobia\Discrimination	3	7,9
Ideological apparatuses\Capitalism	3	7,9
Ideological apparatuses\Patriarchy	3	7,9
Describing the self\Desire of equality	3	7,9
Homophobia\Rendering non-existent	2	5,3
Homophobia\Violence	2	5,3
Social order\Oppression of women	2	5,3
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	2	5,3
Describing the self\Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	2	5,3
Describing the self\Struggle for rights	1	2,6
Ideological apparatuses\Sexism	1	2,6
Social order\Homophobia	1	2,6
Describing the self\Existence of homosexuality	1	2,6
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	1	2,6
Describing the self\Rejection of social latency	1	2,6
Ideological apparatuses\Racism	1	2,6
Describing the self\Desire of democracy	1	2,6

Describing the self\Suppression of homosexual feelings	1	2,6
TOTAL	38	100,00

4. 2. 1. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Ideological apparatuses. The frequencies and percentages show that the text is predominantly oriented to describing the socio-political hardships with which homosexuals try to cope. An apparent dominance of codes with ideological significance and those related to homophobic attitudes are observed: among the sub-categories of ideological apparatuses, 'heterosexism' is by far the most recurring category (18,4%) followed by 'patriarchy' (7,9%), 'capitalism' (7,9%), 'sexism' (2,6%), and 'racism' (2,6%). Being the core ideological system of thought which homosexuals challenge, *heterosexism* can broadly be defined as "a belief system that values heterosexuality as superior to and/or more 'natural' than homosexuality" (Krinsky, 2000, p. 693) (please see Chapter 2 for the distinction between *heterosexism* and *heteronormativity*). This ideological view is referred to in "Kaos Şanlıyor" by means of expressions such as "politik ve toplumsal diktatörlük" [political and social dictatorship] (3) and 'erkek egemenlik sistemi' [male hegemony system] (1); also as an inherent quality of the society (1), as a form of mentality (1), and as actors, i.e. 'heteroseksistler' [heterosexists]. 'Patriarchy' (3) was coded with *in-vivo* terms[10] in two cases; it was also assigned to the following segment "[…] ve bu zihniyetin [heteroseksist zihniyet] kurumsal örgütlenişi olan erkek egemen düzen tarafından yok edilmek isteniyor" [[…] aimed to be eradicated too, just only because they are gay, by the heterosexist mind-set and patriarchal order, the institutional organisation of this mind-set]. Capitalism (3) appeared by means of the concepts "sömürü sistemi" [exploitation system] and "burjuvazi" [bourgeoisie]. Lastly, the code 'sexism' (1) was created in relation to women's status in the society while 'racism' (1) appeared, with reference to part crimes against minority groups such as Jews, Native Americans and Kurds, to establish an association with the position of homosexuals in the society.

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[10] In-vivo coding refers to adding highlighted text segments, either a word or an expression, as codes named with the highlighted text ("MAXQDA", 2018).

Homophobia. The second category that recurs the most is the category of 'homophobia' with its sub-categories as follows: 'discrimination' (7,9%), 'rendering non-existent' (7,9%), 'violence' (7,9%), and the parent code 'homophobia' (2,6%) itself. It is presupposed in the text that the society has a tendency to regard homosexuals as lower and higher in status, which lead them to be negatively or rarely positively discriminated. Also, the text mentions the concept of 'being minority in quality' with a rejecting tone, which can be seen as another presupposition with regard to this discrimination. One of the most prominent categories under the axial code of 'social order' is 'rendering non-existent' which is coded within a large context in Text 1. The concepts such as 'the will to eradicate homosexuals from society' and 'forsaking homosexuality not to lose power' led to this code. The code intersects with many other codes as a result of the author(s)' reference, within the same segment, to many social power mechanisms that are coded as other categories. The will to eradicate homosexuality may include many practices most of which can be thought to be forms of violence. This construal made it necessary to create the code 'violence' as a part of the parent code 'homophobia'.

Lastly, the code 'homophobia' holistically renders any attitude that is opposed to homosexuality. Thus, whenever such an attitude is referred to in the text segments, without specifying the form of reaction or attitude against homosexuals, the code 'homophobia' was applied. A large text segment was allocated by the authors to describe such homophobic attitudes and actions; the segment mentions several centuries-old homophobic attitudes towards homosexuals at the social level —though the term *homophobia* had not been coined up until the mid-20th century (see Chapter 2 for detailed definition). The concepts that led to code the segment with the label 'homophobia' are composed of not individual but social and intentional reactions against a group of people, e.g. *the will to destroy/eradicate a group of people because of their sexual orientation*, *hospitalising*, *jailing*, *mass-executing*, and *murdering homosexuals*, even though, without any doubt, homophobia has behavioural or psychological manifestations as well. The codes 'discrimination', 'rendering non-existent' and 'violence', among other categories from the code system, are also nested in this 'homophobia' segment, particularly with reference to the phrases in bold:

(1) […] gay'ler de salt gay oldukları için heteroseksist zihniyet ve bu zihniyetin kurumsal örgütlenişi olan erkek egemen düzen tarafından **yok edilmek** isteniyor.

Yok etme... Bütün kızılderilileri, yahudileri ve kürtleri **yok edebilirsiniz**. Bütün eşcinselleri Hitler'in yaptığı gibi **pembe üçgenlerle işaretleyip toplayabilirsiniz**. **Hastaneler**, **hapishaneler**, **toplu eşcinsel idamları**, **faili meçhul eşcinsel ve travesti cinayetleri**; hepsi tarih boyunca denendi. Tekil olarak **eşcinselleri ortadan kaldırdılar** ama eşcinselliği asla yok edemediler ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2).

[…] gays are aimed **to be eradicated** too, just only because they are gay, by the heterosexist mind-set and patriarchal order, the institutional organisation of this mind-set.

To destroy… You can **destroy** all Native Americans, Jews and Kurds. You can **put all homosexuals into concentration camps marking them with pink triangle badges** just like Hitler did. **Hospitalisation**, **jailing**, **mass executions**, **unsolved homosexual and transvestite murders**, so on… All of these have been attempted throughout the history. They did **eliminate homosexuals** individually, yet they have never been able to eradicate homosexuality (own translation)

Oppression of women. The code 'oppression of women', on the other hand, appearing 2 times throughout the texts (5,3%), deserves a special attention in the analysis since an association was formed by the author(s) between the status of homosexuals and of women in Turkey. Such relations can be observable by means of code co-occurrences (See Fig. 4. 3.).

4. 2. 1. 1. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

The highest value at the side of 'describing the self' was scored by 'desire of equality' (7,9%) which is followed by 'desire of freedom' (5,3%) and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' (5,3%). Also, the codes 'struggle for rights', 'existence of homosexuality', 'collective and unifying action', 'rejection of social latency', 'desire of democracy', and 'suppression of homosexual feelings' appeared once in the text (2,6% per category). The first three codes determine the general context of the text in terms of homosexuals' expression of their desires in the depicted situation. The following paragraph includes all the codes whose percentage values are displayed —bold characters indicate the conceptual focal points.

(2) Bizler yalnızca yatak odasında değil **her yerde ve her zaman gay'iz**. **Toplumsal latentliği reddediyoruz**. Nicel anlamda heteroseksüeller karşısında azınlık olabiliriz ama **nitel anlamda azınlık olmayı reddediyoruz**. Salt heteroseksüellerle bir sorunumuz yok; **asıl düşmanımız bizlere yaşam hakkı tanımayan heteroseksistlerdir**. Aşağı ya da üstün **olmayı reddediyoruz**. Biliyoruz ki iktidar egemenliği dışında her şeyden vazgeçebilir.

İçinde yaşadığımız toplumun egemeni burjuvazi, demokrasi adı altında, aynı şekilde kendi iktidarı dışında her şeyden vazgeçebilir. **Belki 'demokrasi' o kadar gelişir, o kadar gelişir ki (!) gay'ler de özgür olabilirler!** Ama bizler özgürlüğü **bütünsel bir var olma** olarak algıladığımızdan **heteroseksist diktatörlüğün politik ve toplumsal olarak bütünüyle naşlamasını** hedefliyoruz. Bunun için **çıkıyoruz**... ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

We are gay not only in our bedrooms, but **we are so everywhere and at all times**. That is, **we reject social latency**. We may be minority in quantity when compared to heterosexuals, yet **we reject to be minority in quality**. We do not have a problem with heterosexuals, but **our real enemies are heterosexists who violate our right to live**. **We reject to be either superior or inferior to heterosexuals**. We are aware of that power circles can give up on anything but their power. Similarly, bourgeoisie, the sovereign power of the society we live in, can give up on anything but its power with disguise of democracy. **Maybe one day 'democracy' improves so much (!) that gays can be free!** But we regard freedom as a holistic form of existence; that's why, **we strive to get rid of the heterosexist dictatorship politically and socially** as a whole. For this we are **coming out**… (own translation)

Throughout the paragraph, an insistent attention is drawn to the concept of equality by sentences such as "Nicel anlamda heteroseksüeller karşısında azınlık olabiliriz ama nitel anlamda azınlık olmayı reddediyoruz" [We may be minority in quantity when compared to heterosexuals, yet we reject to be minority in quality]; "[…] asıl düşmanımız bizlere yaşam hakkı tanımayan heteroseksistlerdir" [but our real enemies are heterosexists who violate our right to live]; and "Aşağı ya da üstün olmayı reddediyoruz" [We reject to be either superior or inferior to heterosexuals]. 'Desire of freedom', on the other hand, is mentioned in association with the concepts democracy and heterosexism in the following sentences: "Belki 'demokrasi' o kadar gelişir, o kadar gelişir ki (!) gay'ler de özgür olabilirler!" [Maybe one day 'democracy' improves so much (!) that gays can be free] and "Ama bizler özgürlüğü bütünsel bir var olma olarak algıladığımızdan heteroseksist diktatörlüğün politik ve toplumsal olarak bütünüyle naşlamasını hedefliyoruz" [But we regard freedom as a holistic form of existence; that's why, we strive to get rid of the heterosexist dictatorship politically and socially as a whole]. 'Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' and the rest of the codes that appear once in the text provide multiple code relations by means of code co-occurrences.

4. 2. 1. 1. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 1
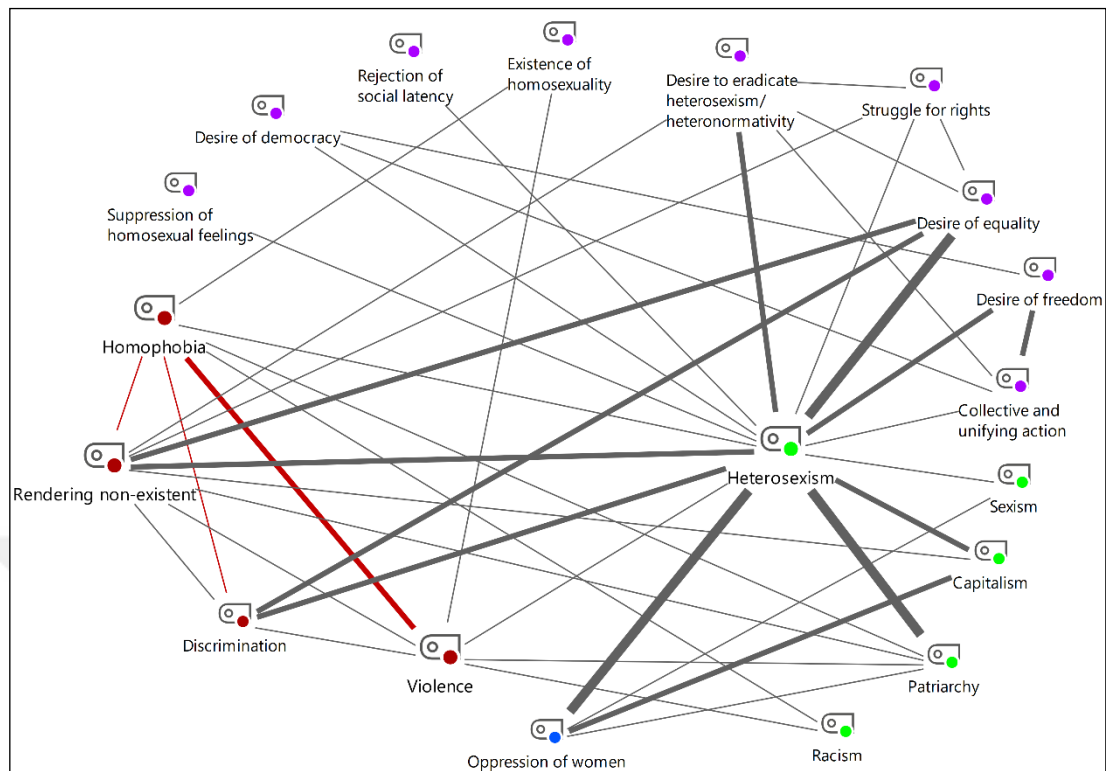
Figure 4.3. "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos comes out], September 1994, code co-occurrence map

'Heterosexism' appears as the core category that is co-coded with other categories; that is, it is the main theme associated with almost all the rest of the categories from the 1st-level-axial-codes (i.e. 'social order' and 'describing the self'). As apparent from the width of lines in Figure 4.3, the most frequent co-occurrence of codes among 'ideological apparatuses' shown with green code symbols is observable between the categories of 'heterosexism' and 'patriarchy'. Three sentences below show that the two categories are interdependent for the description of society in the eye of the editors and thus they are co-coded at the sentence level. It is not only the linear proximity of the codes that makes them interrelated in the discourse, but also, conceptually, the patriarchal ideology based on male-dominance is depicted as the grounds for heterosexist attitude in the society.

(3) "[…] yalnızca **erkek egemen** değil aynı zamanda **heteroseksist erkek bir egemenlik sistemi**" ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 1)

[…] not only a **male-dominated** system but also **a heterosexist male hegemony system** (own translation)

(4) "[…] gay'ler de salt gay oldukları için **heteroseksist zihniyet** ve bu zihniyetin kurumsal örgütlenişi olan **erkek egemen düzen** tarafından **yok edilmek** isteniyor" ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2).

[…] gays, are aimed **to be eradicated** too, just only because they are gay, by the **heterosexist mindset** and **male-dominated order** which is the institutional organisation of this mind set (own translation)

(5) "Trans'ın bacakları arasında bir vajen ya da penis olmuş hiç farketmez. Onun kafası **erkek egemen ideoloji** tarafından esir alındığında **heteroseksist erkek egemen diktatörlük** açısından sorun yaratmaz" ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

It is no matter whether there is a vagina or penis between the legs of a transsexual. He/she does not pose a threat to the **heterosexist and male-dominated dictatorship** as long as his/her mind is captured by the **ideology of male-domination** (own translation)

Another recurrent relationship is drawn between "heterosexism" and "capitalism" under the same parent code. The two categories are associated in sentence (6) with reference to the historical synchronicity of the prevalence of the ideologies as complements, along with 'patriarchy'. Also, the relationship between the two ideologies is maintained by means of the concepts of "exploitation" and "bourgeoisie" as exemplified in the sentences (7) and (8): the heterosexist mind-set is said to influence gay and lesbian people in the same way capitalist mechanisms do women, which also relates heterosexism to sexist ideology as apparent from the line between the two categories in the co-occurrence map; in addition, bourgeois people as the primary actors in the capitalist system are depicted as responsible, too, for the ignorance and restriction of homosexuals' freedom, and thus bourgeoisie is regarded as a source of power for the dominance of the heterosexist ideology throughout the society.

(6) "[…] zaman içinde dönüşüp yeniden biçimlenerek **kapitalist sömürü sistemi**ne kadar gelen içinde yaşadığımız bu toplum […]" ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 1)

This society, we live in, […] was reconstructed in time transforming into a **capitalist exploitation system** […] (own translation)

(7) "Kadınlar salt kadın oldukları için eziliyor ve kadınlık konumundan dolayı **sömürülüyorlarsa** […]" ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 1)

Women are oppressed and exploited just because they are women, and similarly […] (own translation)

(8) "İçinde yaşadığımız toplumun egemeni **burjuvazi**, demokrasi adı altında, aynı şekilde kendi iktidarı dışında her şeyden vazgeçebilir." ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 1)

Similarly, **bourgeoisie**, the sovereign power of the society we are living in, can give up on anything but its power with disguise of democracy. (own translation)

As a result of the comparison between the social status of women and homosexuals, a strong conceptual relationship is revealed between 'oppression of women' and 'heterosexism'. The former category expectedly co-occurs with other codes under 'ideological apparatuses' such as 'capitalism', 'patriarchy' and 'sexism'.

The heterosexist ideology is mostly associated conceptually with the homophobic attitudes in the society, and this can be seen from the code relations between the two. In Text 1, 'heterosexism' and two sub-categories of 'homophobia', namely 'rendering non-existent' and 'discrimination' are coded on the same text segments. The concept of "yok etme" [eradication] in the example (4) provides the reason for coding the same segment with the former category. The phrase has a double meaning in context: it refers both to the physical annihilation of homosexuals (i.e. an act of 'violence') and to the hindrance to the visibility of gay and lesbian people in the society. The segment (9), also, exemplifies the category of 'rendering non-existent': violation of right to live and giving up on homosexuals and their rights for the sake of having dominance indicate that heterosexist people ignore the existence of homosexuals.

(9) […] asıl düşmanımız **bizlere yaşam hakkı tanımayan heteroseksistler**dir. Aşağı ya da üstün olmayı reddediyoruz. Biliyoruz ki **iktidar egemenliği dışında her şeyden vazgeçebilir**. İçinde yaşadığımız toplumun egemeni burjuvazi, demokrasi adı altında, aynı şekilde **kendi iktidarı dışında her şeyden vazgeçebilir**. ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 1)

[…] our real enemies are **heterosexists who violate our right to live**. We reject to be either superior or inferior to heterosexuals. We are aware of that **power circles can give up on anything but their power**. Similarly, bourgeoisie, the sovereign power of the society we live in, **can give up on anything but its power with disguise of democracy**. (own translation)

Moreover, the concept "yok etme" [eradication] produces the most recurrent code co-occurrence among 'homophobia' and its sub-categories: due to its repetition for the emphasis on the murder of homosexuals in the history, 'violence' stands out as a form of homophobic attitudes.

'Heterosexism' is coded with the sub-categories of 'describing the self' as well. The categories 'desire of equality', 'desire of freedom' and 'desire to eradicate

heterosexism/heteronormativity' are the predominant categories that are assigned to the segments in which the heterosexist structure of the society is described. Rejecting to be minority in quality and to be inferior or superior as well as emphasising the violation on the right to life —the fundamental human right regardless of any sexual orientation— are expressions in the segments (10), (11) and (12) that indicate desire of equality. The desire of freedom is mentioned in relation to a condition of democracy in S(13); according to this view, a complete democracy can free gay and lesbian people from heterosexism. S(11), along with S(14), is also referring to the unrest among homosexuals concerning the heterosexist order: in the former one, this view is expressed by the word "enemy", while the latter does it by the gay slang term "naşlamak" [to go away].

(10) Nicel anlamda heteroseksüeller karşısında azınlık olabiliriz ama **nitel anlamda azınlık olmayı reddediyoruz**. ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

[We may be minority in quantity when compared to heterosexuals, yet **we reject to be minority in quality**.] (own translation)

(11) Salt heteroseksüellerle bir sorunumuz yok; **asıl düşmanımız bizlere yaşam hakkı tanımayan heteroseksistler**dir. (p. 2)

[We do not have a problem with heterosexuals, but **our real enemies** are **heterosexists who violate our right to live**.] (own translation)

(12) **Aşağı ya da üstün olmayı reddediyoruz**. (p. 2)

[**We reject to be either superior or inferior to heterosexuals**.] (own translation)

(13) Belki 'demokrasi' o kadar gelişir, o kadar gelişir ki (!) **gay'ler de özgür olabilirler!** (p. 2)

[Maybe one day 'democracy' improves so much (!) that **gays can be free!**] (own translation)

(14) Ama bizler özgürlüğü bütünsel bir var olma olarak algıladığımızdan **heteroseksist diktatörlüğün politik ve toplumsal olarak bütünüyle naşlaması**nı hedefliyoruz. (p. 2)

[But we regard freedom as a holistic form of existence; that's why, we strive **to get rid of the heterosexist dictatorship politically and socially** as a whole.] (own translation)

Desire of equality proves to be a discourse topic as opposed to homophobic attitudes such as 'discrimination' and 'rendering non-existent'. In this respect, the segments (10) and (12) function as presupposition for the concepts "minority" and "inferiority", which homosexuals face as forms of discrimination; on the other hand, the same concepts as well as "violation of right to life" are referred as situations that can be overcome by a challenge for equality.

Last but not least, the text is ends with a stress on the importance of a collective action by means of reference to the publication of the magazine. The category of 'collective and unifying action' is linked with 'desire of freedom', 'desire of democracy' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' within a cause-and-effect relationship. The linear proximity shows that the primary objective of such a collective action is to eradicate heterosexism in the society, yet the relation between the two indirectly renders the former categories as parts of this action as well.

4. 2. 1. 2. Text 2

The second text in Period I is titled "Varolan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality] which was published in September 1994. Being an editor article, the text deals with many aspects of socio-political conditions that, directly or indirectly, influence the lives of homosexual people in Turkey in a holistic manner. The text begins by claiming that power mechanisms in the society led to a collective memory loss on social and historical facts about homosexuality, and homosexual subjects remained unaware of themselves except for the stories told about homosexual experiences in *Turkish baths* and *Ottoman palaces* ("Var olan durum ve eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3). This preliminary evaluation gives the impression that very little is known about homosexuality, even by its subjects, in the society; and considering what is mentioned in the following paragraphs, one can realize that the text serves as a founding document that determines the fields in which the arising homosexual movement should conduct its struggle. The rest of the text makes a summary of the socio-political conditions in the 1980s in terms of homosexuality; and provides a general overview of being homosexual in a heterosexual society.

4. 2. 1. 2. 1. Categories of Text 2

The Figure 4.4. displays the wide range of conceptual categories within the text.
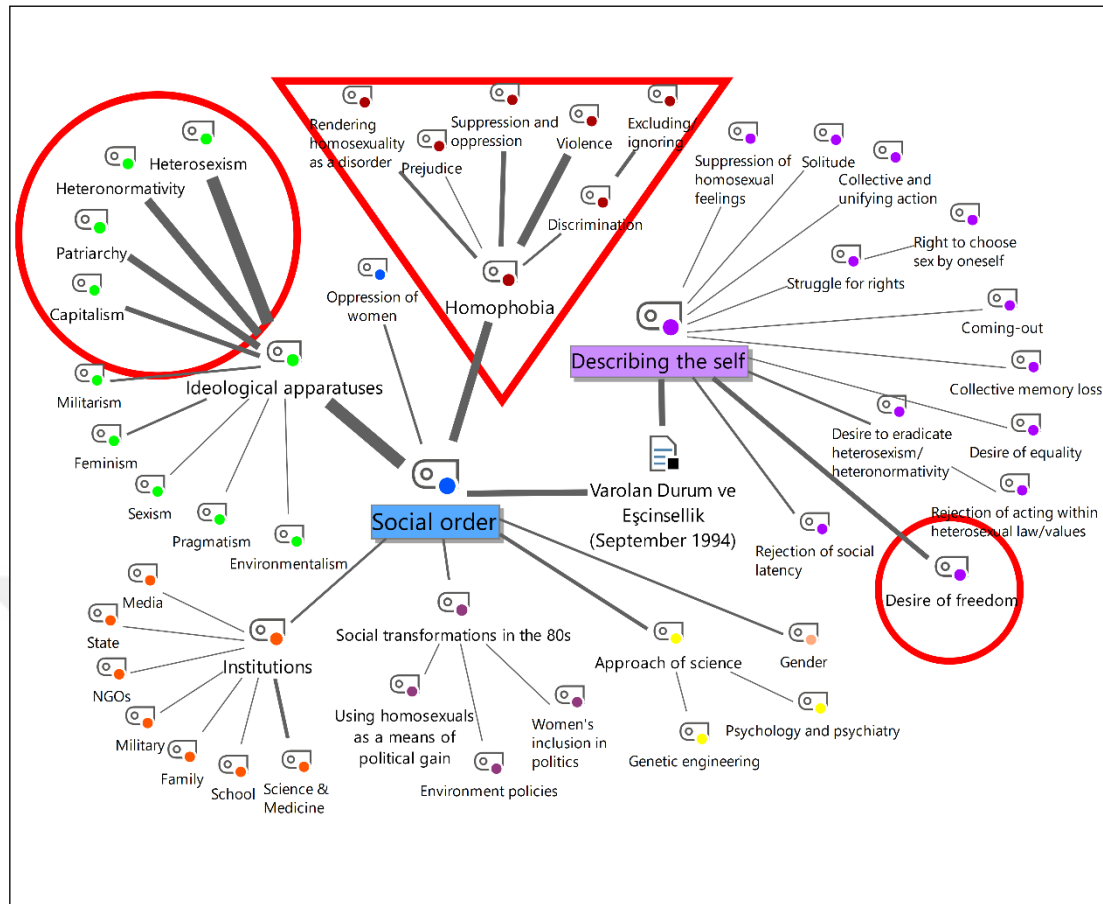
Figure 4.4. "Var olan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality], September 1994, thematic map with one-case model

Similar to the first text, for the part of 'social order' (totally 83,35%), codes shown with wider lines are gathered around the axial codes 'ideological apparatuses' and 'homophobia'. The red circle on the left upper corner of the conceptual map indicates the components of ideological apparatuses (38,53%) with the highest values. 'Heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'patriarchy' and 'capitalism' are the dominant ideological categories in the text. 'Homophobia' and its sub-categories, 'violence', 'discrimination', 'excluding/ignoring', 'suppression and oppression', 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder', and 'prejudice' (totally 17,71%) constitute the second most recurring group of category. Different from the previous text, institutions such as 'science and medicine', 'NGOs', 'state', 'media', 'military' and 'school' that hold an active role as power elements that are portrayed as being responsible for negative attitudes against homosexuals are mentioned (totally 9,37%). As the editors describe the 80s in terms of

political developments in the first three paragraphs, several codes inevitably emerged in the thematic analysis under the axial code 'social transformations in the 80s' (5,2%). A special stress is laid by the editors to the approach of scientific and medical circles on homosexuality in the texts, which led to the creation of the category 'approach of science' (5,21%) with its two sub-codes 'genetic engineering' and 'psychology and psychiatry'. The codes 'oppression of women' (2,08%) and 'gender' (2,08%) were also existent in the description of the social order.

As for 'describing the self' (totally 16,65%), a wide spectrum of social psychological categories are existent even though the general percentage of the category is low compared to the code 'social order'. Among the codes with a more social significance 'desire of freedom' (4,17%) stands out as the most recurrent category. The rest of the categories in the 1st-level-axial-code can be listed as follows: 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' (with its sub-category 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values') (2,08%), 'rejection of social latency' (1,04%), 'desire of equality' (1,04%), 'collective memory loss' (1,04%), 'struggle for rights' (with its sub-category 'right to choose sex by oneself') (1,04%), and 'collective and unifying action' (1,04%) revealed as social codes, while 'coming-out' (1,04%), 'solitude' (1,04%), and 'suppression of homosexual feelings' (1,04%) appeared as codes referring to more psychological reactions of homosexuals. Totally 96 codes have been employed in the texts. A more detailed distribution of all categories can be seen in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 2: "Var olan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality]

Parent Code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Ideological apparatuses\Heterosexism	14	14,58
Homophobia\Violence	7	7,29
Ideological apparatuses\Heteronormativity	7	7,29
Ideological apparatuses\Patriarchy	6	6,25
Homophobia\Suppression and oppression	4	4,17
Ideological apparatuses\Capitalism	4	4,17
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	4	4,17
Discrimination\Excluding/ignoring	3	3,13
Institutions\Science and medicine	3	3,13
Homophobia\Rendering homosexuality as a disorder	3	3,13
Social order\Approach of science	3	3,13
Social order\Social transformations in the 80s	2	2,08
Social order\Gender	2	2,08

Ideological apparatuses\Militarism	2	2,08
Social order\Oppression of women	2	2,08
Ideological apparatuses\Feminism	2	2,08
Homophobia\Discrimination	2	2,08
Describing the self\ Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	2	2,08
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	1	1,04
Struggle for rights\Right to choose sex by oneself	1	1,04
Institutions\School	1	1,04
Describing the self\Coming-out	1	1,04
Institutions\Family	1	1,04
Describing the self\Solitude	1	1,04
Institutions\State	1	1,04
Describing the self\Suppression of homosexual feelings	1	1,04
Institutions\NGOs	1	1,04
Institutions\Media	1	1,04
Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity\ Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values	1	1,04
Describing the self\Collective memory loss	1	1,04
Ideological apparatuses\Environmentalism	1	1,04
Social transformations in the 80s\ Using homosexuals as a means of political gain	1	1,04
Social transformations in the 80s\Environment policies	1	1,04
Ideological apparatuses\Pragmatism	1	1,04
Social transformations in the 80s\ Women's inclusion in politics	1	1,04
Approach of science\Psychology and psychiatry	1	1,04
Describing the self\Desire of equality	1	1,04
Approach of science\Genetic engineering	1	1,04
Describing the self\Rejection of social latency	1	1,04
Homophobia\Prejudice	1	1,04
Institutions\Military	1	1,04
Describing the self\Struggle for rights	1	1,04
TOTAL	96	100,00

4. 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Ideological apparatuses. Among the ideological apparatuses, the code 'heterosexism' occurred 14 times in the texts (14,58%) by the doubling the nearest category of 'heteronormativity' which was seen 7 times (7,29%); they were followed by 'patriarchy' appearing 6 times (6,25%) and 'capitalism' 4 times (4,17%). The text also included the ideological categories such as 'militarism' (2,08%), 'feminism' (2,08%), 'environmentalism' (1,04%), and 'pragmatism' (1,04%).

A considerable number of segments are coded with 'heterosexism' throughout the text either because they directly include the lexeme 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] (9 times) or the ideology is referred to by means of various conceptualisations (5 times). The codes

driven by means of the lexeme include expressions such as "heteroseksist devlet" [heterosexist state], "heteroseksist domuzlar" [heterosexist pigs], "eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler" [homophobic heterosexists], "heteroseksist bir toplum" [an heterosexist society], "açık heteroseksist terör" [open heterosexist terror], "heteroseksist fiziksel şiddet" [heterosexist physical violence] and "heteroseksizmin zindanları" [dungeons of heterosexism]. Besides lexical references, the text attaches a special attention to the heterosexist attitudes of scientists towards homosexuality: they are claimed to be looking at homosexuals through "heterosexual lenses", and also for them parents should by no means desire their children to be gay or lesbian. Parallel to the previous text, Text 2 refers to the prevalence of heterosexist ideology in the socialisation process. It depicts heterosexism as an irresistible ideology that is "injected" into all layers of the society through many institutions such as state, family and school. The text also deals with various typical social psychological reactions of gay and lesbian people while challenging heterosexist attitudes and practices, which reveals complicated code relations throughout the text.

Being the second most recurring ideological category, 'heteronormativity' is referred to first in terms of scientists', particularly of genetic engineers', attitudes on sexual orientation. As it is represented in the text, scientific circles handle homosexuality as a deviation from the 'normal', and conduct studies depending on this construal which is an indication of heteronormativity. The expression "insanlar, heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon sürecinde […] kadınlık ve erkeklik toplumsal kategorilerine göre yetiştiriliyorlar" [people are raised according to man and woman gender categories in the heterosexual socialisation process] is a definition-like sentence for heteronormativity in Text 2. The reference to the social order established upon the strict distinction between heterosexuality and homosexuality, and representation of the former as the favourable one are the reasons for coding the corresponding segments with 'heteronormativity'. Thus, the category manifests itself by reference to various ways of legitimation of heterosexuality by the society: the expressions and sentences such as "heteroseksüel erkek iktidarının sürekliliği için" [for the continuation of heterosexual male power], "kişi, […] heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideoloji tarafından davranışsal ve zihinsel olarak biçimlendirilir" [the individual is formed behaviourally and mentally by the heterosexual male-dominant ideology], "[çocuğa] sosyalizasyon sürecinde […] iki toplumsal kategori

[…] dayatılır" [two social categories are imposed on the child in the socialisation process], and "heteroseksüelliğin dışında bir seçeneğin bırakalım akla gelmesini" [not even any choice other than heterosexuality comes to mind] are all regarded as references to heteronormativity. The document browser in MAXQDA shows that the segments coded with 'heteronormativity' and 'heterosexism' are close in distance, as apparent from the co-occurrences throughout the text (See the next section).

The category 'patriarchy' is observable at the word level throughout the text (6 times): "erkek egemen […] düzen" [male-dominant […] order], "erkek egemen ideoloji" [male-dominant ideology] and "heteroseksüel erkek iktidarı" [heterosexual male power] are the phrases coded with the category. Also, 'capitalism' occurs in three cases at the word level by means of the noun phrases "kapitalist düzen" [capitalist order] and "kapitalist toplum" [capitalist society] as well as the concept of "reproduction" in the sentence as follows: "Böylece kapitalizm düşünsel alanda ve her bireyin bu düşünceyi [erkek egemenliği] pratiğe uygulamasıyla yeniden ve yeniden üretilir" [Accordingly, capitalism is reproduced repeatedly in the ideational sense along with each individual's putting this ideology [male-dominance] into practice] (p. 4).

'Militarism', 'feminism', 'environmentalism' and 'pragmatism' are other categories that occurred in the text with lower frequency rates. The military issues mentioned in the text are confined to the effects of 1980 coup d'état to the social lives of homosexuals in Turkey: "Bizler her şey yolundaymış gibi okullarımıza giderken okullardan askeri otobüsler 'son kalanları' toplardı" [While we were going to our schools, as if everything was in good order, military buses would pick up the 'last remainders']. The segments that are coded with the latter two ideological categories mention the relationship between the state and the attempts of women and environmentalist activists in the period after the military intervention within the context of new social movements in Turkey. The conceptual content of both categories prove that efforts of feminists and environmentalist that time yielded positive results which are used in discourse as an element of comparison to the situation of homosexuals. 'Pragmatism', appearing as an *in-vivo* code, is the last ideological apparatus in Text 2. The category is created on account of the homosexuals' perceptions on the attitudes of those who seek for political gain as well as NGO representatives of the time.

Homophobia. Almost all sub-categories of 'homophobia' are represented throughout the text. The most outstanding sub-category is 'violence': the expressions such as "Daha doğmadan kökümüzü kazıyacaklar" [They will exterminate us before we are born], "bilimsel katiller" [scientific murderers], "açık heteroseksist terör" [open heterosexist terror], "kişi […] yok edilir" [the individual […] is eradicated], "heteroseksist fiziksel şiddet" [heterosexist physical violence]; "[homoseksüellliğin] baskı, ceza ve tedaviyle ortadan kaldırılmak istendiği bilinen bir gerçek" [it is a fact that homosexuality is desired to be wiped out with suppression, punishment and treatment] are exemplifying the discourse on violence. 'Suppression and oppression' is the second most recurring category under the axial code 'homophobia' with conceptual instances such as the sentence "yaşantımızın her anında ve alanında doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak ideolojik bombardımana tutulmaktayız" [we face a direct or indirect ideological bombardment all the time in every sphere of our lives], the *in-vivo* codes "ezme" [oppression] and "baskı" [suppression], the phrase "heteroseksüelliğin dışında bir seçeneğin [olmaması]" [non-existence of any choice other than heterosexuality]. Various conceptualisations led to coding some segments with 'discrimination' and its sub-category 'excluding/ignoring': for the latter code, in the sentence "Heteroseksist devlet bir gün bize de sahip çıkarsa hiç şaşırmayacağız doğrusu!" [We will not be surprised if the heterosexist state takes care of us either!], it is ironically stated that the state discriminates gay and lesbian people specifically by excluding them legally and politically among other groups. Also, in the sentence (15), the ignorance of politicians is stressed out:

(15) Rant peşinde koşan soytarılarla beraber kendilerine vatandaş arayan sivil toplumcular, birilerinin "allı, yeşilli, morlu" geldiklerini söylüyorlardı. **Oysa ne gelen vardı ne giden**. Söz konusu olan, yanılsama ve sözde uzmanlarla sözcülerin pragmatizmleriydi. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

[Those fools who sought to gain credit from politicians as well as the representatives of NGOs told that some were coming with "red, green and purple" to embrace people. **Yet, no one was coming at all**; it was only an illusion and pragmatism of spokespeople and so-called specialists.] (own translation)

The sentence "[Birey, heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideolojiye] karşı gelirse, daha doğrusu karşı gelebilirse toplum dışına itilir […]) [If the individual opposes (or if he/she can oppose) the heterosexual male-dominant ideology, then (s)he is isolated from the society] (p. 4) is another example to the society's deliberate excluding homosexuals from 'normal' people. The grievances of gay and lesbian people articulated in the text on "disrespect to

them as individuals" and "being treated as sick perverts or like pests" are other occurrences coded with the category 'discrimination'.

'Rendering homosexuality as a disorder' is reflected as another typical homophobic attitude within the society, though homosexuality had already been stopped to be classified as a disorder by organisations such as American Psychiatric Association, American Psychology Association and World Health Organisation. Yet, the representations in the text show that the 'discourse of disorder' is still prevailing in Turkey. The concepts such as "attempts to discover the reason for homosexuality", "attempts to treat homosexuality" and "treating homosexuals as if they are sick" are the semantic items to create the category 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder". As the last category within 'homophobia', 'prejudice' is mentioned (for once) to explain, again, the attitudes of scientists towards homosexuality by means of an analogy based on anthropologists' approach to early communities and an equation of heterosexual point of view with prejudices.

Institutions. The text reveals certain societal 'institutions' that have a crucial role in understanding the power relations between homosexuals and the rest of the society. The institutions (namely 'media', 'state', 'NGOs', 'military', 'family', 'school' and 'science & medicine') that are thought to be important in the production of discourse have been coded within the boundaries of their co-textual elements. Moreover, two categories, 'approach of science' (including its two sub-codes 'genetic engineering', 'psychology and psychiatry') and 'social transformations in 80s' (including its sub-codes 'using homosexuals as a means of political gain', 'environment policies' and 'women's inclusion into politics') are preferred to be created since the text draws a special attention to the issues that falls to the concern of the code labels. These categories will be mentioned within the context of their conceptual relations to other codes in the next section.

Oppression of woman and gender. The components in the description of 'social order' in the text are 'oppression of women' and 'gender'. Scientists' research particularly in the field of genetic engineering, for detecting the sexual orientation of a baby is represented as disrespectfulness to the woman who carries the baby in her womb. Also, the concept

"enslavement of women" is taken as a construal for the category 'oppression of women'. Raising children according to the categories of women and men is a reference to the gender norms in the society. The category 'gender' is created for the segments focusing on this social gender distinction. As it is apparent from the conceptual analysis, these two categories are closely related to the ideologies of 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity', and they are accompanying categories accounting for the domination in the society.

4. 2. 1. 2. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

It can be seen from the Table 4.3 and the Figure 4.4 that the categories pertaining to the homosexuals' expression of their self within the social structure described are high in number, in spite of their low frequency rates. The most outstanding categories in the text are 'desire of freedom' (4 times) and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' (2 times, with an added 1 coding for the sub-category 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values').

(16) Lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip **özgür bireyler** ancak bir atılım gerçekleştirebilirler. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

[Only **free individuals** who have a gay and lesbian consciousness can make a breakthrough.] (own translation)

(17) Yanılsamalarla yetinmek istemiyorsak kurtuluş mücadelemizi yalnızca **özgürlüğün egemen olduğu** anti-heteroseksist bir topluma hedeflemeliyiz. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

[If we do not want to confine ourselves to illusions we should aim at establishing an anti-heterosexist society **in which freedom prevails**.] (own translation)

(18) **Kişinin kendi cinsiyetini seçmesi** insanın en temel haklarından olması gerektiğini düşünüyoruz.

[We think that **choosing sexual orientation** must be a fundamental right.] (own translation)

(19) Yıkım ve kaostan korkmayalım. **Ancak kendimiz istersek özgür olabiliriz**.

[Do not fear destruction and chaos. **We can be free only if we want**.] (own translation)

As in the previous text, freedom is represented as a condition for further social achievements. Freedom is represented as a prerequisite for achieving to gain certain social rights in S(16), and to live in an anti-heterosexist society in S(17). Also, "choosing one's

own sexual orientation" in S(18) is only possible in a society free from heteronormativity and thus "choosing it" is a conceptualisation of freedom. In S(19), on the other hand, freedom is presented as a goal to achieve at end of a collective action.

A 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' is inferred from the expression "kendi seçeneklerimizi hayata geçirebiliriz" [we can realise our own choices] rather than surrendering to heteronormative order of the society. In another occasion, it is stated that intervention in the heterosexual socialisation process is only possible by means of a free organisation. In another segment, coming-out is regarded as an individual way of ceasing this socialisation process, i.e. a denial of the social order based on gender duality and all values and practices related to it. For this, the sub-category 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' has been created as a specific way of the desire to eradicate heterosexism and heteronormativity. The rest of the categories appearing once throughout the text will be mentioned with reference to code co-occurrences in the next section.

4. 2. 1. 2. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 2

The projection of code relations is presented in the Figure 4.5. The multiplicity of categories brings about a complicated code relation throughout the text. The first central category of the text is 'heterosexism' from the 'ideological apparatuses' axial code, and it intersects with 16 codes particularly from the axial codes 'homophobia', 'ideological apparatuses', 'approach of science' and 'institutions'. 'Violence', as a member code of 'homophobia', provides the most significant relationship (in 5 segments) with 'heterosexism' as exemplified in the segments (20)-(25).
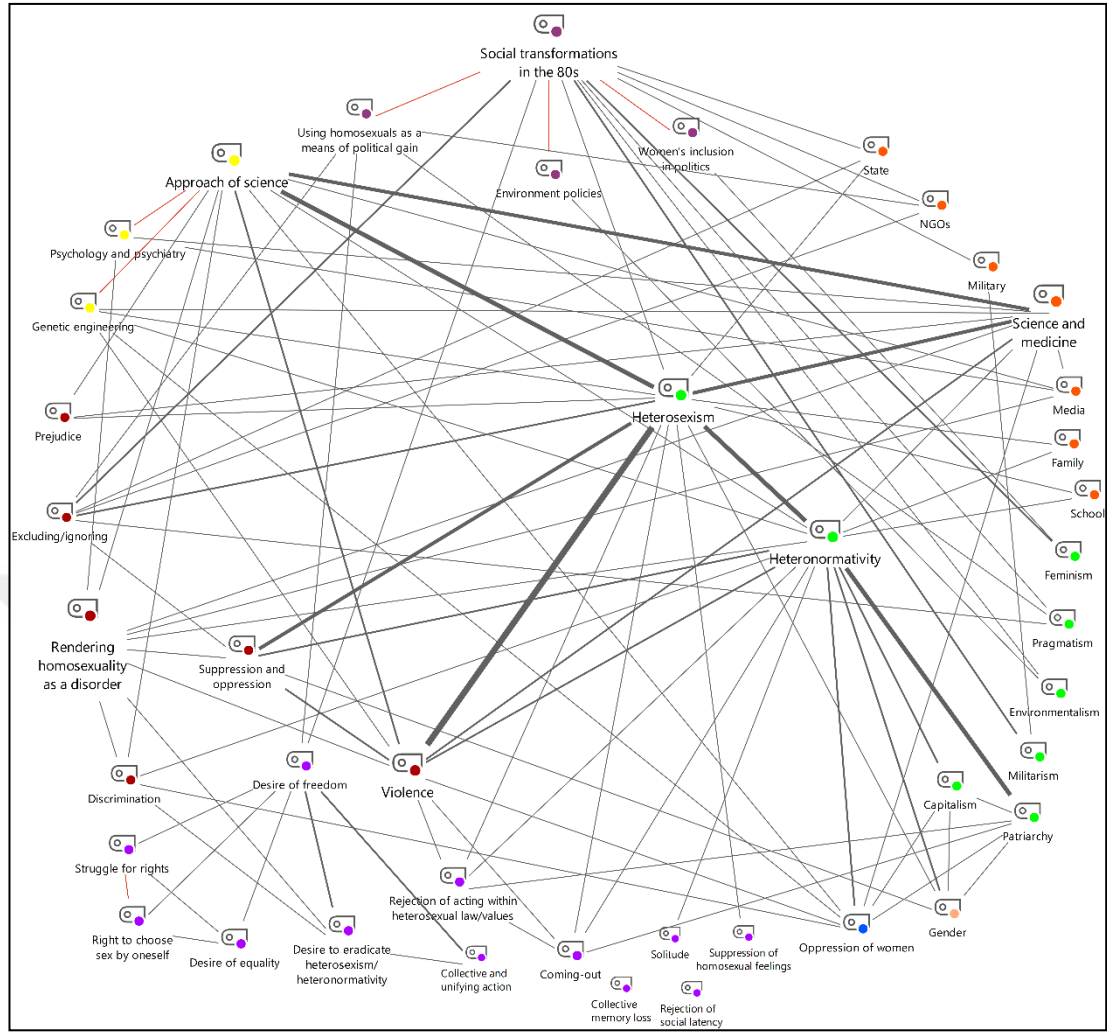
Figure 4.5. "Var olan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality] September 1994, code co-occurrence map

(20) […] 'gen mühendisliği' denen bilim dalı aracılığıyla **heteroseksist domuz**ların asıl hedefinin ne olduğunu öğreniyoruz. Bu **cani ruhlu katliam tellalları**, gen mühendisliğinin ilerlemesiyle daha ana karnındayken çocuğun heteroseksüel mi yoksa eşcinsel mi olduğunu anlamayı planlıyorlar. Yani **daha doğmadan kökümüzü kazıyacaklar**. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

[[…] we understand what heterosexist pigs really plan through the scientific field of 'genetic engineering'. These **criers for brutal murders** try to understand whether a baby is heterosexual or homosexual while it is yet in mother's womb by means of the advanced methods in genetic engineering. That is, **they will eradicate us before we are born**.] (own translation)

(21) **Bilimsel katiller** ve **eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler**, eşcinselliğin nedenleri konusunda bir sonuca varamıyorlar. (p. 3)

[**Scientific murderers** and **homophobic heterosexists** cannot come to a conclusion about the origins of homosexuality.] (own translation)

(22) **Açık heteroseksist teröre** karşı direnme olanağı bulunabilse bile **ideolojik bombardımandan** dolayı genç gay ve lezbiyenler tam bir sosyo-psikolojik bataklığa saplanabiliyorlar. (p. 3-4)

[Young gay and lesbian people can sink into a total social psychological swamp due to the ideological bombardment even if they find an opportunity to resist the **open heterosexist terror**.] (own translation)

(23) Bununla birlikte **heteroseksist terör**den dolayı kopuşun, genel olarak sağlıklı ve başarılı olamadığını söyleyebiliriz. (p. 4)

[Yet, we cannot say that in the general sense abandonment from society due to **heterosexist terror** is a healthy and successful process.] (own translation)

(24) Karşı gelirse, daha doğrusu karşı gelebilirse toplum dışına itilir, **ezilir** ve **yok edilir**. (p. 4)

[If (s)he opposes, or can oppose it, (s)he is excluded from the society, (s)he is oppressed and **eradicated**.] (own translation)

(25) Bir çok durumda **heteroseksist fiziksel şiddet**e rağmen, bir çok insan heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon sürecindeki erkek egemen ideolojinin insanı davranışsal ve zihinsel biçimlendirmesini eşcinselliğinin ayrımına vararak kesintiye uğratabiliyor. (p. 4)

[In spite of **heterosexist physical violence**, in many cases, many people are able to interrupt the behavioural and mental formation of male dominance ideology in the socialisation process by means of realising that he/she is gay or lesbian.] (own translation)

In the segments (20) and (21) the heterosexist ideology is criticised in terms of violent practices of scientists. The noun phrases "cani ruhlu katliam tellalları" [criers for brutal murders] and "bilimsel katiller" [scientific murderers] which are referring to violence are accompanied by the expressions "heteroseksist domuzlar" [heterosexist pigs] and "eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler" [homophobic heterosexists] within the same contextual boundaries. Also, the sentence "Yani daha doğmadan kökümüzü kazıyacaklar" [That is, they will eradicate us before we are born] reinforces the reactive discourse against the homophobic practices and attitudes of scientific circles. The two categories are condensed into a single phrase in the segments (22) and (23): "(açık) heteroseksist terör" [(open) heterosexist terror]. In the phrase, 'terör' [terror] as a concept of violence is modified by the adjective "heteroseksist" [heterosexist] which functions as a lexical code. The same conceptual condensation is also observed in S(25) with the phrase "heteroseksist fiziksel şiddete" [heterosexist physical violence]. Lastly, S(24) includes the concept of 'eradication' which is thought as a typical semantic unit of the category 'violence'; the concept occurs in the discourse as a result of homosexuals' denial of heteronormative social practices.

'Suppression and oppression', another member of 'homophobia' axial code, also co-occurs with 'heterosexism' in the segments (22) and (24). Referring to any behaviours, attitudes or practices to which homosexuals are exposed in the social order based on the heterosexual norms, the expression "ideolojik bombardıman" [ideological bombardment], signifies that gay and lesbian people are always under of heterosexist pressure. The verb phrase "[eşcinseller] ezilir" [[homosexuals are] oppressed] in S(24) refers to a resultant action due to the heterosexist practices, and the lexeme "oppression" in the sentence "Ama bilinen bir gerçek ki her baskı önünde sonunda bir patlamaya yol açar" [But it is known that any oppression leads to an outburst at the end] refers to the self-repression of gay and lesbian people (mostly known as 'latency'), as a typical homosexual attitude, within the heterosexist society.

'Excluding/ignoring' and 'prejudice' are the other sub-categories of 'homophobia' that co-occurred with 'heterosexism': the former category is assigned to the segment where state's ignorance of gay and lesbian people is mentioned and to the expression "toplum dışına itilir" [[…] is isolated from the society] while the latter is coded, with an *in-vivo* term, in relation to the scientists' approach of homosexuality.

'Heterosexism' is also coded frequently with 'heteronormativity' (4 segments), the second most recurring category among the categories of 'ideological apparatuses' in Text 2. As previously mentioned, two categories have conceptual and definitional common grounds, and thus in most cases they co-occur in context; the bias with regard to sexual orientation is related to 'heterosexism' (Jung & Smith, 1993, p. 13) while the segments coded with 'heteronormativity' make references to heterosexuality as the only normal sexual orientation. In the following excerpts traces of the two categories can be observable:

(26) Kişi, **heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon (toplumsallaştırma) süreci**nin içine doğar. Bu süreçte **heteroseksüel** erkek egemen ideoloji tarafından davranışsal ve zihinsel olarak **biçimlendirilir**. Karşı gelirse, daha doğrusu karşı gelebilirse **toplum dışına itilir, ezilir ve yokedilir**. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 4)

[The individual is born into the **heterosexual socialisation process**. (S)he is **formed** behaviourally and mentally by the **heterosexual** male-dominant ideology. If the individual opposes (or if he/she can oppose) the heterosexual male-dominant ideology, then (s)he is **isolated, oppressed and eradicated**.] (own translation)

(27) Onlara göre zaten **hangi ana baba eşcinsel bir oğul ya da kız evlat ister**? Oysa kazın ayağı öyle değil. (p. 3)

[For them, **no parents want their child to be homosexual after all**. However, that is no the case.] (own translation)

(28) Bu temel ideoloji yalnızca belli sınıfların mensuplarına ve onların çocuklarına değil **tüm topluma şırınga edilir**. (p. 4)

[This fundamental ideology is **injected into all spheres of society**, not only into those who are members of certain classes and their children.] (own translation)

(29) **Heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon süreci**nde bir nokta olan **okul** en bildik örnektir, bununla birlikte küçük bir **devlet** olan **aile** kurumu da okuldan geri kalmaz. **Toplumun tüm hücrelerine bu ideoloji girmiştir**. (p. 4)

[**School**, a point in the **heterosexual socialisation process**, is the most well-known example; also, **family**, a small version of the **state**, is no less an institution than school. **This ideology (i.e. heteronormativity) has already permeated all spheres of the society**.] (own translation)

The phrases and expressions marked with bold represent the intersecting character of the terms 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity': In S(26), the phrase "heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon (toplumsallaştırma) süreci" [heterosexual socialisation process] and emphasis on heterosexuality refer to the binary gender norms, or heteronormativity, while the homophobic acts mentioned in the same piece of discourse such as "to be isolated", "to be oppressed" and "to be eradicated" are the products of the heterosexist world view since they stem from sexual orientation bias of heterosexual people and institutions. Another segment coded with both categories is exemplified by S(27): the sentence deals with scientists' attitude towards homosexuality; for them, no parents want their children to be gay or lesbian. The argument representing parents' approach to homosexuality construes, on the one hand, the 'normal' gender binary, on the other hand, the 'desire' itself is an act of bias towards homosexuality —i.e. a manifestation of heterosexism. Similarly, the metaphoric expression "[bu temel ideoloji] tüm topluma şırınga edilir" [[This fundamental ideology] is injected into all spheres of society] presents an intentional act of bias; that is, the ideology of heteronormativity is reproduced by means of heterosexist practices. Lastly, this deliberate practice of ensuring the continuity of normal gender binary is said, in S(29), to be realised by institutions such as 'state', 'school' and 'family'.

The significant relation between 'heterosexism' and 'approach of science' (as well as its sub-category 'genetic engineering' and institutional counterpart 'science and medicine') is not an unexpected finding since the relationship between science and homosexuality is specifically handled in the text. In this sense, the previous sentences given, namely (15), (20), (21) and (27) constitute the segments that bring together these categories.

The categories of 'describing the self' that provide code relations are 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values', 'coming-out' and 'suppression of homosexual feelings'. S(25), which refers to the heterosexist, heteronormative and patriarchal structure of the society, also includes the conceptualisations on coming-out process of gay and lesbian people, and thus the interruption of the socialisation process, i.e. a way of rejecting this heterosexist order. This conceptualisation is provided with the phrase "bir çok insan […] erkek egemen ideolojinin insanı davranışsal ve zihinsel biçimlendirmesini eşcinselliğinin ayrımına vararak kesintiye uğratabiliyor" [many people are able to interrupt the behavioural and mental formation of male dominance ideology […] by means of realising that he/she is gay or lesbian]. On the other hand, the text presents certain choices of homosexuals against the heterosexist social order: one way is gay and lesbian individuals' 'suppression of their homosexual feelings', and it is exemplified through the following sentence: "[…] farklılığını bütünüyle bastırıp yok sayar" [[…] (s)he completely renders his/her distinctiveness non-existent by suppressing feelings].

The second focal category of the text is 'heteronormativity' in terms of code relations (it co-occurred with 16 different codes). Similar to 'heterosexism', it is coded with a range of categories from the axial codes of 'ideological apparatuses', 'institutions', 'homophobia', 'approach of science' and 'describing the self'. The relation of the code to 'heterosexism' and 'patriarchy' is the most significant (respectively over 5 and 4 segments). The relationship between 'heteronormativity' and 'heterosexism' has already been explained a few paragraphs above. 'Heteronormativity' and 'patriarchy', on the other hand, are nested in the following expressions: "heteroseksüel erkek iktidarı" [heterosexual male power.], "(heteroseksüel) erkek egemen ideoloji" [(heterosexual) male-dominant ideology]. Also, a reciprocal relationship is established between 'capitalism' and heterosexual male-dominant ideology, which is represented by the code

'heteronormativity', in the society (2 segments). Each of them is regarded as the means for reproduction of the other, as can be observed in the segments (30) and (31):

(30) Bu duruma yol açan heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideoloji yalnızca kapitalist topluma özgü değildir. Asıl olarak sınıflı toplumun ürünüdür ve böyle toplumlarda giderek pekiştirilmiştir. Kadınların köleleştirilmeleri üzerine biçimlenen ideoloji, **kapitalist toplumda doruğuna çıkar** ve **heteroseksüel erkek iktidarı**nın sürekliliği için yeniden üretilir. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 4)

[Being a cause to this situation, heterosexual male-dominant ideology is not only specific to capitalist society. This ideology is primarily a product of class society and it has been gradually consolidated in such societies. The ideology which is formed for the enslavement of women is **the most influential in capitalist societies** and it is reproduced for the continuity of **heterosexual male power**.] (own translation)

(31) Böylece **kapitalizm** düşünsel alanda ve her bireyin bu **düşünceyi [heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideolojiyi]** pratiğe uygulamasıyla yeniden ve **yeniden üretilir**. (p. 4)

[Accordingly, **capitalism is reproduced** repeatedly in the ideational sense along with each individual's putting this **ideology [heterosexual male-dominance]** into practice] (own translation)

The code relation of 'heteronormativity' to 'homophobia' is exemplified through the sub-categories 'violence', 'suppression and oppression', 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder' and 'discrimination'. The approach of scientists towards homosexuality and their studies, which are aiming at understanding the sexual orientation of baby while (s)he is still in mother's womb, is coded both with 'violence' and 'heteronormativity', as was previously presented to explain the relationship between 'violence' and 'heterosexism' through S(20). Also, S(32) makes references to the heteronormative attitude of power mechanisms, which can be associated with violent practices.

(32) İçinde yaşadığımız sosyalizasyon sürecinde **heteroseksüelliğin dışında bir seçeneğin** bırakalım akla gelmesini, gündeme geldiğinde **baskı, ceza ve tedaviyle ortadan kaldırılmak istendiği** bilinen bir gerçek. (p. 4)

[In the socialisation process we live in, **any choice other than heterosexuality** does not come to the mind; rather, it is a fact that such a choice is **desired to be wiped out with suppression, punishment and treatment** when it is on the agenda.] (own translation)

In S(32), it is referred to 'suppression' via an *in-vivo* code (i.e. *baskı*). Also, the fact that people are raised according to gender categories in the socialisation process is said to be

leading to an 'ideological bombardment', which is an indication of oppression upon people. These two cases brings together the categories 'heteronormativity' and 'suppression and oppression'. The concept of "desire to wipe out through treatment" which is regarded as a discursive pattern of 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder', is associated with the heteronormativity dominating the scientific studies. Similarly, 'disrespect' against gay and lesbian people, a practice of 'discrimination', is presented, again, in the text as a result of heteronormative attitude of scientists.

'Heteronormativity' is specifically related to the independent codes 'oppression of women' and 'gender' within the major 'social order' axial category. Ignorance of scientists in the case of searching for sexual orientation of unborn babies is presented as a way of oppression caused by the male-dominant heteronormative values. As exemplified in S(30), this heterosexual male-dominant ideology is also held responsible for enslavement of women with an added effect of capitalism. 'Gender', on the other hand, is coded separately in the segments which refer to social categories of men and women. Accordingly, raising children according to these gender categories, or even 'imposing these categories upon individuals', is expressed as a requirement of heteronormative society (2 segments).

As for the relationship between 'heteronormativity' and the sub-categories of 'describing the self' axial code, three codes can be seen with low frequency rates: 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values', 'coming-out' and 'solitude' (each code co-occurred with 'heteronormativity' on 1 segment). Former two codes are closely related to the concept of "eşcinselliğinin ayrımına vararak kesintiye uğratabilmek" [to interrupt the […] by means of realising that he/she is gay or lesbian]; coming out of the closet, gay and lesbian people react, in a sense, to the heterosexual values which are imposed upon them. The latter code which is represented by the expression "[…] kişi tam bir yalnızlık ve yalıtılmışlık yaşar" [[…] the individual is drifted into a total loneliness and isolation] (p. 4) mentions another possible result of the clash between homosexuality and ideology of heterosexual male-dominance.

The outstanding code relations involving the sub-categories of 'homophobia' in the text has already been mentioned, e.g. 'violence' and 'heterosexism' (5 segments),

'suppression and oppression' and 'heterosexism' (3 segments), 'excluding and ignoring' and 'heterosexism' (2 segments); 'violence' and 'heteronormativity', 'violence' and 'suppression and oppression' (2 segments), 'suppression and oppression' and 'heteronormativity' (2 segments) provide the most recurrent code relations. Besides these code co-occurrences, since the text draws a special attention to the approach of scientists which is dominated by heterosexism, the sub-categories 'violence', 'discrimination' and 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder' are coded on same segments with the categories 'approach of science' and its sub-categories 'psychology and psychiatry', 'genetic engineering' as well as the category 'science and medicine' which was created as part the 'institutions' axial code, as observable in the Figure 4.5. The most relational code among the sub-categories of 'describing the self' is 'desire of freedom' (co-occurring with 7 categories). All the categories in relation to 'desire of freedom' are exemplified in segments (33) and (34):

(33) Bilimsel katiller ve eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler, eşcinselliğin nedenleri konusunda bir sonuca varamıyorlar. Doğrusu biz bu konuda hiç de meraklı değiliz. **Kişinin kendi cinsiyetini seçmesi** insanın en temel **hak**larından olması gerektiğini düşünüyoruz. Fakat varolan ortamda bunun mümkün olmadığı görülmekte. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

[Scientific murderers and homophobic heterosexists cannot come to a conclusion about the origins of homosexuality. To be honest, we are not curious about this. We think that **choosing sex** must be one of the fundamental **right**s. However, this seems to be unrealisable in the existing situation.] (own translation)

(34) Artık hepimiz biliyoruz: heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon sürecini bireysel pratiklerimizde kesintiye uğratmak yetmiyor. Bu süreci, toplumsal olarak da kesintiye uğratmak için **eşcinsellerin bağımsız organize olmaları** kaçınılmazdır. Yanılsamalarla yetinmek istemiyorsak kurtuluş mücadelemizi yalnızca **özgürlüğün egemen olduğu anti-heteroseksist bir toplum**a hedeflemeliyiz. Yıkım ve kaostan korkmayalım. Ancak kendimiz istersek **özgür olabiliriz**. (p. 4)

[We know that it is not enough to interrupt the heterosexual socialisation process with our individual practices. It is an inevitable fact that **homosexuals must be organised independently** to interrupt the process at social level. If we do not want to confine ourselves to illusions we must aim at **an anti-heterosexist society in which freedom prevails**. Do not fear destruction and chaos! **We can be free** only if we want.] (own translation)

In S(33), 'desire of freedom' is coded with 'right to choose sex by oneself', 'struggle for rights' and 'desire of equality'. The third sentence in the segment is not only an expression of a simple desire for the freedom of choosing a same-sex partner but also it is a demand for equality, i.e. a desire for the way heterosexuals are treated in the case of their love and

sexual relationships, and for a fundamental right in the heterosexual society. The discourse in S(34), on the other hand, is characterised with a call for an organised and collective action, indicating the inefficiency of individual efforts to deviate from the heterosexual values. This call also brings out another category which designates a desire to wipe out the heteronormative social structure. Also, the call for the collective and independent action is associated with the 'desire of freedom' in that the concept of 'freedom' is represented both as a goal and a result of the action to be taken by gay and lesbian people.

Lastly, 'institutions', one of the major axial codes which has been constructed to categorise the organisational actors in the society, appeared throughout the text with respect to the situation of homosexuality in 1980s in Turkey, also to their roles in the manifestation of scientific discourse as well as to their relationships with certain negative ideologies and homophobia. In these contexts, 'state' is associated with codes 'social transformations in the 80s', 'heterosexism' and 'excluding/ignoring'; 'NGOs' with 'using homosexuals as a means of political gain' and 'excluding/ignoring'; 'military' with 'social transformations in the 80s' and its ideological equivalent 'militarism'; 'science and medicine' with 'approach of science' and its sub-categories as well as 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'violence', 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder' and 'prejudice'; 'media' with 'approach of science' and 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder'; 'family' and 'school' with 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity'.

4. 2. 1. 3. Text 3

The third text in the first period is "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışmasına çağrı" [A call for the discussion of "What should the homosexual movement be like?"], by Yeşim T. Başaran, published in May 1996. As the title self-explains, the text initiates a new discussion in the magazine concerning the organisation of the movement which is pioneered by Kaos GL. In this sense, this and the next text (titled "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket" [What should the homosexual movement be like?] to be analysed provide invaluable conceptual traces about the details of a brand new social struggle. The text generally handles the relationship between individual and society within the context of

capitalism, legal situation and state structure. Dealing with the shortcomings of laws with an anarchistic perspective, the author stresses that gay and lesbian movement can only be realised by the members of the community itself, independently, without expecting any benefit from heterosexual institutions such as the state, political parties and media.

4. 2. 1. 3. 1. Categories of Text 3

The categories of the text driven from the GTA are presented by the conceptual map in the Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6. "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışmasına çağrı" [A call for the discussion of "What should the homosexual movement be like?"], May 1999, thematic map with one-case model

The text is predominated by the categories of 'social order' (totally 80,43%) as in the case of previous two texts. Since there is a special attention to legislation in terms of sexual orientations in the text, 'legal order' (10,87%) stands out as the most recurrent category. This category is followed by the categories of 'ideological apparatuses' axial code (totally 21,74%): 'capitalism', 'anarchism' and 'heterosexism' are the most recurrent ideological

codes as shown by the red circle on the left upper corner of the conceptual map; these are followed by 'heteronormativity', 'racism' and 'nationalism'. Pertaining to the group of 'homophobia' (totally 23,91%), the categories 'rendering non-existent', 'violence', 'discrimination' and 'suppression and oppression' have occurred in equal number. The 'institutions' that are mentioned as part of the discourse of the text are 'state', 'media', 'family' and 'school' (totally 17,39%), and among these institutions, 'state' has the highest frequency.

The self-describing categories (totally 19,57%) are constituted more of social-oriented codes: predominantly of the categories in the red circle on the right upper corner of the map, namely 'collective and unifying action' (4,35%), discussion of law on homosexuality' (4,35%), 'rejection of acting within heterosexual values/law' (4,35%) (the sub-category of 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity). The appearance of three categories more frequently is representative of the anarchistic tone of the text, as shall be seen in code co-occurrences. 'Multiple voices within homosexuals' (2,17%), 'desire of freedom' (2,17%) and 'reaching out to other homosexuals' (2,17%) are other categories from 'describing the self' axial code.

The total number of codes in Text 3 is 46. Table 4.4 presents the frequency and percentage values of all categories in the text.

Table 4.4

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 3: "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışmasına çağrı" [A call for the discussion of "What should the homosexual movement be like?"]

Parent Code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Social order\Legal order	5	10,87
Ideological apparatuses\Capitalism	3	6,52
Leftism\Anarchism	3	6,52
Institutions\State	3	6,52
Ideological apparatuses\Heterosexism	3	6,52
Ideological apparatuses\Heteronormativity	2	4,35
Homophobia\Discrimination	2	4,35
Institutions\Family	2	4,35
Homophobia\Rendering non-existent	2	4,35
Homophobia\Suppression and oppression	2	4,35
Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity\Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values	2	4,35
Institutions\Media	2	4,35

Describing the self\Discussion of law on homosexuality	2	4,35
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	2	4,35
Homophobia\Violence	2	4,35
Discrimination\Excluding/ignoring	1	2,17
Homophobia\Prejudice	1	2,17
Institutions\School	1	2,17
Ideological apparatuses\Nationalism	1	2,17
Ideological apparatuses\Racism	1	2,17
Collective and unifying action\Reaching out to other homosexuals	1	2,17
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	1	2,17
Social order\Homophobia	1	2,17
Describing the self\Multiple voices within homosexuals	1	2,17
TOTAL	46	100,00

4. 2. 1. 3. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Legal order. The most recurrent category of the text, 'legal order' is observed in the segments in which the author deals with the non-existence of any legal regulation of sexual orientations and thus homosexuality as well as the role of legal regulations in the daily life of homosexuals as individuals. In two instances, in particular, the former case is expressed by the author in terms of her political stance. The concept of 'non-existence of a law on homosexuality in Turkey' with an added disinterest of the author, due to her anarchistic attitude on legal issues, into a struggle to establish such a law. This is exemplified in the segment (35):

> (35) […] bir ülkedeki insanların yönetilmesi için oluşturulmuş olan **yasalarda eşcinsellerden ve eşcinsellikten bahis yoksa** ne olacak? Yani bizim tek kaygımız, yönetildiğimiz yasaları değiştirmek veya olumlu yönde olacağını düşündüğümüz konularda yasa yapmaları için devlete baskıda bulunmak mı olmalı? (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)
>
> [what if **there is not any mention to homosexuals and homosexuality in the laws** of a country which are laid to govern the people? In other words, is it our only concern to press the government to amend the laws or lay down new laws on issues which would serve us positively?] (own translation)

In two more cases, the 'legal order' is handled in terms of negative concepts: In a large paragraph-segment, the author delineates the concept of 'compulsory dependence to laws' which in turn leads the individual "to completely disregard himself/herself" (p. 16); also, laws are represented as protector of the societal values which are produced for the continuation of capitalist order. The last reference to the legal order is its association with

gay and lesbian people's realisation of and opportunity to question the order governed by laws.

Ideological apparatuses. Three categories occurring the most among 'ideological apparatuses' are 'capitalism' (6,52%), 'heterosexism' (6,52%), and 'anarchism' (6,52%) all of which recurred 3 times. 'Heteronormativity' (4,35%), 'racism' (2,17%) and 'nationalism' (2,17%) are the rest of the categories under the axial code. 3 segments are coded in 'Capitalism' with respect to the conceptualisations such as 'corporate culture as an exploitation mechanism', 'being obliged to sell senses, ideas, energy and time for the continuation of the capitalist system', 'having the lion's share in the production process' and "[…] daha nasıl servetime servet katarım? […]" (Başaran, 1996, p. 15) [how can I earn more and more money?]. These concepts, which directly refer to capitalist functioning of the economy, are regarded as the means for sustaining the protection of socially-constructed values which 'robotise' every individual to act in certain ways in the society.

3 segments are coded in 'heterosexism' with reference to the description of society in general or of the media as a primary institution reproducing the ideology. For the former, the society, where homosexuals are not protected against discrimination by the laws as part of a 'strategy', is portrayed as available to any kind of homophobic practices and attitudes only because heterosexism inures in all spheres of the society. In another case, as can be seen in S(36), gay and lesbian people are compared to Afro-American people in America:

(36) Oysa siyah derili bir insan, bütün bu olanların [ırkçı saldırıların ve ayrımcılığın] anlamsızlığını daha kolay fark edip, kendisine karşı üretilmiş politikaların çözümlemesini daha kolay yapabilir; **tıpkı bir eşcinselin heteroseksist baskıcı bir toplumun karşısındaki konumu gibi**. (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)

[However, people with black skin can easily realise the meaninglessness of what they experience [racist assaults and discrimination], and they can easily analyse the policies that were produced against themselves, **just like the position of homosexuals in front of an oppressive heterosexist society**.] (own translation)

As it will be mentioned in the code co-occurrences of the text, heterosexism and racist are depicted as similar ideological frameworks that lead to discrimination of people in various forms. In this piece of discourse, gay and lesbian people are described as having

the potential to detect their own problems caused by heterosexism as a whole, and to find solutions to their problems. The last 'heterosexism' coding is made in respect to the function of media since the related segment refers to it as "a means for shackling mind" that "reproduces enslaved souls every day" (Başaran, 1996, p. 15). The 'souls', in other words any individual in the society including homosexuals, are captured by the values imposed by power mechanisms. Thus, in this sense, what is reproduced by media within the context of homosexuality is the heterosexist system.

'Anarchism' (recurred 3 times), which is coded as a part of 'leftism', is not existent within the discourse of the text as a negative ideological framework; rather, it accounts for an ideological way of struggle preferred by gay and lesbian people. The segments that are coded with 'anarchism' are constituted of the author's expressions on the danger of confining the homosexual movement to the struggle for a legal regulation on sexual orientation and the unnecessity of organising the movement under the auspices of political parties.

'Heteronormativity' is assigned to the segments where the author criticises gay and lesbian people who seek to integrate themselves into the heterosexual way of life. The phrase "heteroseksüel kurumlar ve ön kabullenimlerle dolu var olan yaşam biçimi" (Başaran, 1996, p. 16) [heterosexual institutions and a life style predominated by prejudices] and the sentence "bir eşcinsel […] heteroseksüel kurumlar içine girerek, heteroseksüel camiada meşruiyet kazanıp(!), eşcinsel kimliğinden duyduğu rahatsızlığı giderecektir" (p. 16) [a homosexual individual can stop to be troubled with his/her homosexual identity by entering into heterosexual institutions and "gaining legitimacy" in the heterosexual community!] provide the conceptual content for the category 'heteronormativity'. As mentioned before, the racist ideology in America is provided in the text as a comparison element to explain heterosexism; therefore, the ideological category 'racism' is situated in the related segment. Lastly, 'nationalism' appeared in one segment in which the author explained the reproduction of certain societal values by the state in the capitalist process by referring the 'national oath' of primary and secondary school children: "Türküm, doğruyum, çalışkanım…" [I am a Turk, honest and hardworking…].

Homophobia. Four categories from 'homophobia' stand out in the texts: 'rendering non-existent' (4,35%), 'violence' (4,35%), 'discrimination' (4,35%) and 'suppression and oppression' all of which appeared 2 times. 'Rendering [homosexuality] non-existent' (exemplified in the segments 35 and 36) is a strong discourse in Turkey in terms of queer politics, and this mostly results from the fact that there is not any legal regulation on sexual orientations and homosexuality by the state. The author of the text, too, referred to this deficiency, in S(36), as a strategy for rendering gay and lesbian people non-existent. Therefore, this self-defining category is mostly related to the missing law on homosexuality. 'Violence' appears conceptually by means of practices such as "hakaret" [insult], "fiziksel şiddet" [physical violence], "sokaktan topladığı eşcinselleri nezarette tutmak" [jailing homosexuals that they (police) collected from the street], "dövmek" [to beat] as well as "öldürmek" [to murder] used by the author to refer to racist practices in America. 'Discrimination' occurred in three segments (with an added code for the sub-category 'excluding/ignoring'): first, it is stressed in terms of the non-existent law on homosexuality through the sentence "Birisine, cinsel yöneliminden dolayı şöyle şöyle şekilde ayrımcılık yapan kişi, böyle böyle cezalandırılacaktır" (Başaran, 1996, p. 15) [Those who discriminate anyone (by doing this and that) due to his/her sexual orientation shall be punished]. Also, it is referred to through the 'racism' analogy, and the concept of 'hierarchical social order' is associated with the discrimination against gay and lesbian people in Turkey. One of the results of the state's 'strategic' attitude is presented as 'exclusion' of homosexuals from all *spaces* in the society such as classroom, workplace, house, café, street, etc. 'Suppression and oppression' revealed itself by means of the lexical element "heteroseksist baskıcı bir toplum" [an heterosexist oppressive society] and the verb phrase "eşcinsel kimliği altında ezilmek" [to be suppressed under the homosexual identity]. Lastly, the category 'homophobia' itself is assigned to the segment in relation to the media employees' practices in the capitalist system.

Institutions. 'State' (6,52%), 'media' (4,35%), 'family' (4,35%) and 'school' (2,17%) constitute the institutional codes in the text. The 'state' occurred the most frequently in the text through representations of it as the authority to which "gay and lesbian people might press for the regulation of law on homosexuality", an institution "adopting the strategy of rendering homosexuals non-existent in the society" and "maintaining the capitalist system to for the protection of societal values". 'Media' is assigned, either, with

reference to its relation to capitalist system in one segment, on the one hand; following its function to contribute to the capitalist system, on the other hand, it is assigned to a segment in which it is portrayed as reproducing the homophobic and heterosexist discourses. 'Family' and 'school' also appear as places where homosexuals are subject to the heterosexist values reproduced every day.

4. 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

The quantitative results show that the categories under 'describing the self' axial code are by far lower than that of 'social order'. Still, several categories deserve special attention in the text: 'collective and unifying action' (4,35%), 'discussion of law on homosexuality' (4,35%) and 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' (4,35%) (i.e. the sub-category of 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity') predominate the discourse of self-presentation throughout the text.

The first of these categories is manifest via the author's call for a discussion regarding the organisation of the homosexual movement in Turkey; also, the author's wish to see the contribution of groups apart from Kaos GL to this discussion is another conceptual element for the related code. The latter case reveals, as well, the category 'multiple voices within homosexuals' (2,17%) and 'reaching out to other homosexuals' (2,17%) as it indicates that there are more than one group in the emerging homosexual community in Turkey, and that the author's call is presented as a way of communicating to other gay and lesbian people from various cities —a typical policy of Kaos GL in the early years of the movement.

The author criticises (in 2 segments) the general tendency of gay and lesbian people in Kaos GL to struggle for the inclusion of the expression of 'sexual orientation' in the law; this yielded the creation of the category 'discussion of law on homosexuality' (4,35%). The category is thought to have a function of determining the boundaries of arguments concerning a possible amendment in law in the feature, and discovering the discrepancies among the thoughts of writers of Kaos GL about the issue.

The segments coded with 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' (4,35%) include the concept of "sistemi sorgulayabilme şansına sahip olma" [to have the chance to question the system] which is related to gay and lesbian people's awareness of socially constructed values in the coming-out process as well as the sentence "heteroseksüel kampta meşruiyet kazanmayı matah bir şey zannetmek çok moda nedense" [it is very popular somehow to suppose that getting legitimised in the heterosexual community] which represents the author's criticism on gay and lesbian people who try to get acceptance by the heterosexual institutions. These conceptual phrases are seen as a discursive representation of a denial of any expectation from heterosexual values, laws and the system as a whole.

Lastly, 'desire of freedom' (2,17%) is coded once in the segment where the author stressed that homosexual movement should be carried out independent of any political organisation such as Özgürlük ve Dayanmışma Partisi, ÖDP [The Freedom and Solidarity Party], despite it is a left-libertarian and socialist political party, without having the permission of authorities to discuss the issues of gay and lesbian people.

4. 2. 1. 3. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 3

The code relations between the categories of Text 3 are presented in Figure 4.7. Although the text aims at calling all gay and lesbian groups for a discussion on the organisation of the movement, it is predominated by the author's preference to make such a call drawing attention to acting independently of legal structures of the state. This aspect has led the code relations to be concentrated on categories such as 'legal order', 'state', 'discussion of law on homosexuality' and 'rejection of acting within the heterosexual law/values'.
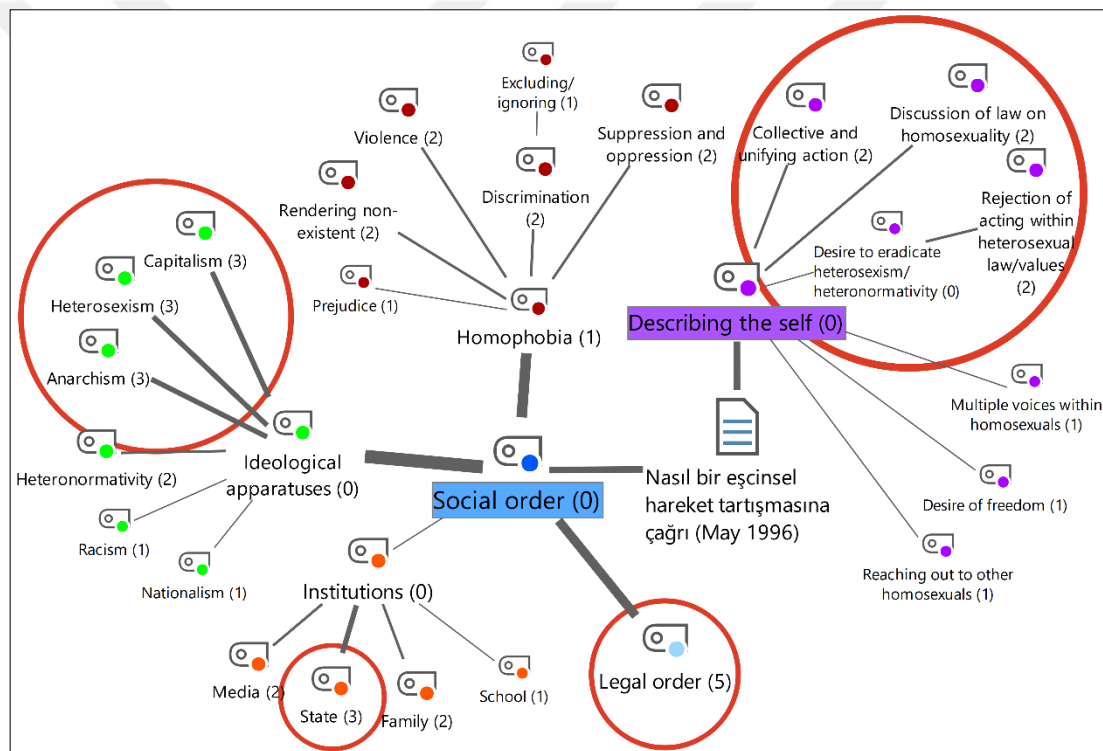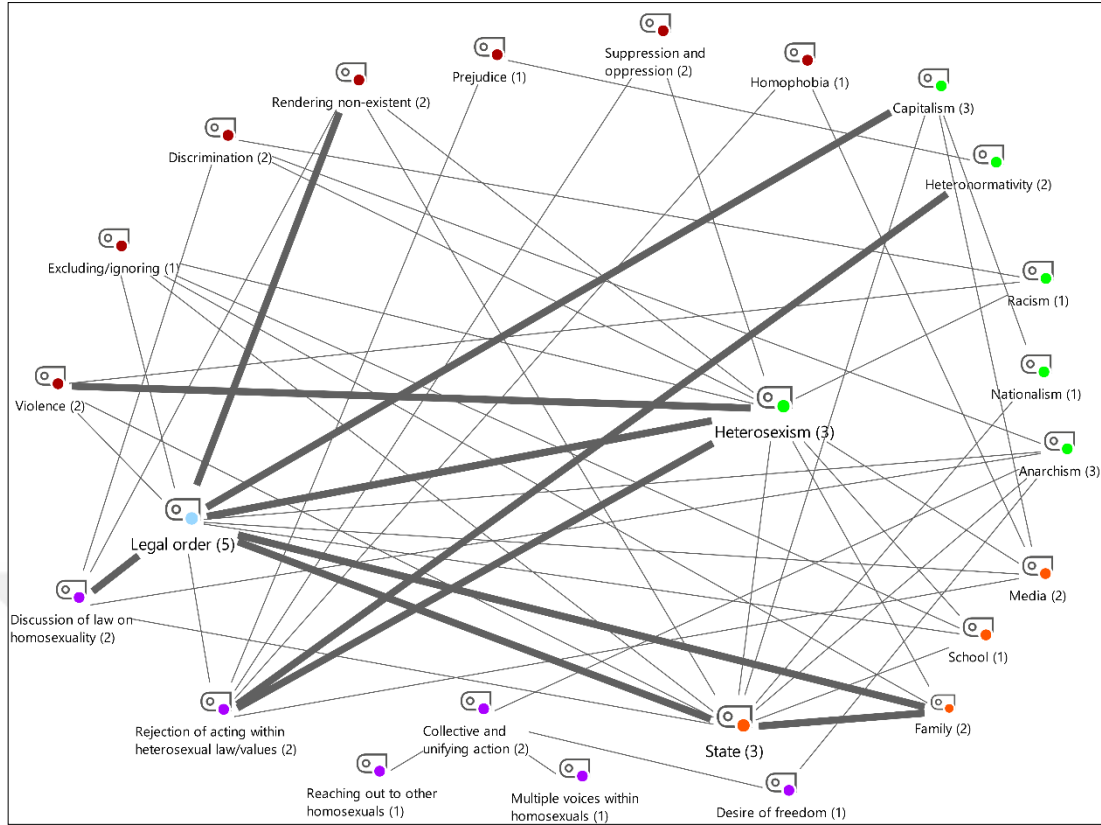
Figure 4.7. "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışmasına çağrı" [A call for the discussion of "What should the homosexual movement be like?"], May 1996, code co-occurrence map

The category of 'legal order', which encompasses conceptual elements related to any references to law system and homosexuals' place in it, provides the most frequent code relations throughout the text (18 code co-occurrence). The category co-occurs most frequently with 'heterosexism', 'capitalism', 'rendering non-existent', 'family', 'state' and 'discussion of law on homosexuality'.

(37) Hatta **heteroseksist bir toplumda**, yasal zeminde ayrımcılık yapan **bir yasanın yokluğu** eşcinselliği yok saymak demektir ki, bu da başka bir tür stratejik yaklaşımdır. (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)

[Moreover, **the non-existence of a law** which discriminates homosexuals on legal grounds **in a heterosexist society** means to render homosexuality non-existent, which is another strategic approach.] (own translation)

(38) **Bütün bu ilişkiler örgüsü**, bireyin yokluğunda ve bireye rağmen gelişir. **Sistemin herhangi bir yeri ile çelişen bireyler** -bu ırkından, etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden vb. dolayı olabilir çelişme noktalarını fark edebilme ve sistemi sorgulayabilme şansına sahiptirler. (p. 16)

[**This pattern of relations** develops in the absence and in spite of the individual. **Those who contradict with the system** in any sense (e.g. due to their race, ethnic origins, sex, sexual orientation, etc.) have the opportunity to be aware of these contradictions and to question the system.] (own translation)

The segments (37) and (38) bring together the ideology of heterosexism and legal order in Turkey. As it is mentioned before, non-existence of a law on homosexuality is said to be a heterosexist strategy of the state, as expressed in S(37). On the other hand, according to the pattern of relations mentioned in S(38) the capitalist system reproduces certain values in the society which require the individuals act in certain ways, including acting according to the gender binary; and, for the author, laws play the most important role in sustaining this capitalist order. It is claimed by the author that non-heterosexual people who discover their different sexual orientation can interrupt this 'enslaving' process.

(39) Sen doğmadan önce bile belli olan bu **zorunlu bağımlılık**, yaşamı kavrama ve kendi yaşam şeklini oluşturma çabalarına ket vurur. Çünkü **vaktinin, enerjinin, duygularının, düşüncelerinin büyük bir bölümünü sisteme satmak zorundasındır**; bütün bunların maddi olarak karşılığı vardır, ve yaptığın işin başkalarına kazandırdığı ve başkalarının sana layık gördüğü ölçüde para kazanırsın. (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)

[This **compulsory dependence** interferes with your cognition of life and building your own way of life, even before you are born, because **you have to sell a large part of your time, energy, feelings, thoughts**; all of this has a material equivalent, and you earn money to the extent what others gain from you do and what you do is worthy of others.] (own translation)

(40) […] bahsi geçen ve benzeri işler yaşamı güçleştirir, karmaşıklaştırır, beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları üretir; **bu üretim de aslan payını alanların işine geldiği ve sistemin sürekliliğini sağladığı için devam eder**, gider. (pp. 15-16)

[[…] the aforementioned and similar works make life more difficult, complicate it, and produce human armies whose minds are shackled; **this production continues since it serves to the purpose of those who get the lion's share and ensures the continuity of the system**.] (own translation)

The core categorical element constructing this pattern of relation is the capitalist system. The 'compulsory dependence to the system' and 'the need to sell intellectual, physical, emotional and temporal sources for the continuity of the system' in the S(39) as well as 'existence of those who get the lion's share' in S(40) are expressed to be maintained by the laws.

'Rendering non-existent' proves to be a typical category for the segments in which the legal order in Turkey is explained in terms of homosexuality. The expressions such as

"no mention to homosexuals and homosexuality in laws" and "non-existence of a law which discriminates homosexuals on legal grounds", as previously exemplified in the segments (35) and (37), are clear indications of this code relation. Behaviours and attitudes which can be categorised under the codes 'excluding/ignoring' and 'violence' are also claimed to be legitimised by law. In this sense, the author's expressions related to the spaces from which homosexuals are excluded and the type of violence homosexuals are exposed to overlap with the code 'legal order'.

In the institutional sense, 'state' and 'family' have equal importance in the application of existing legal order which is embedded into the capitalist and heterosexist system. The former institution holds the primary function in applying the laws that are oriented to preserving the societal values based on capitalist interests; and in regard to issues of sexual identities, the state uses its power to be 'strategic' in protecting the heterosexual values for the continuation of this system. For the same purposes, 'family', which is mostly referred to in the magazine as "microstate" as well as 'school' and 'media' are all said to act in line with the heterosexual legal order.

> (41) Bütün bu sorulardan, eşcinsellik karşıtı yasaların varlığında, elimiz kolumuz bağlı oturalım, gibi bir anlam çıkarılmasın. Yalnızca böyle yasaların yokluğunu, sorunlarımızı çözmediğini dikkat çekmek istiyorum ki, Türkiye'de bu çok rahat gözlemleyebileceğimiz bir şey. (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)
>
> [One should not infer from such questions that we can take no action in case there are anti-homosexual laws. Yet, I would like to draw attention to the fact that non-existence of such laws [discriminating non-heterosexual people] does not solve our problems, and Turkey is a good example to this.] (own translation)

'Discussion of law on homosexuality' and 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' are the categories of 'describing the self' axial code that co-occur with 'legal order'. The former category has a natural relation to 'legal order' since it handles the same issue from the perspective of homosexuals, and 'legal order' does it within the context of existing social situation. S(41) is an example to the relation these two categories: on the one hand, there is an argumentation on the issue; on the other hand, a social background is presented by the author for the related argument. It can also be said that, for the same reason, 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' is organically linked to the more encompassing category of 'legal order'.

'Heterosexism', as providing the second highest value of code co-occurrence (15 segments), is most frequently coded with 'legal order', 'violence' and 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values'. Its relation to the category of 'legal order' has already been handled in the above paragraphs. As mentioned before, the author associates the heterosexist ideology with the racist ideology. Thus, the case indicated in the phrase "insanların siyah oldukları için öldürülmesi" [killing people just because they are black] is given in the text in order to explain what gay and lesbian people are facing because of heterosexism in Turkey. S(42), on the other hand, brings together the two categories with reference to the actions represented as results of the heterosexist ideology:

(42) [Heteroseksist bir toplumda eşcinseller] **hakaret**e ve **fiziksel şiddet**e maruz kalabilir; ve polis hiç bir gerekçe göstermeksizin, **sokaktan ve barlardan topladığı eşcinselleri nezarethanede tutabilir**, **dövebilir**.

[[In a heterosexist society, homosexuals] can be **insult**ed and exposed to **physical violence**. Police can **pick up homosexuals from the street and bars** without any reason, **keep them in jail** and **beat them**.]

The indispensable relation between 'heterosexism' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' is observable, too, in this text by specific reference to heterosexual law and values. Therefore, the sub-code of the latter category, i.e. 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values', is in an opposing relationship with the category 'heterosexism'. This relation is provided through author's reference to the ability of gay and lesbian people to realise and question the shortcomings of the system for homosexuality. The segment including the criticism on gay and lesbian people's being in expectancy of receiving acceptance from the heterosexual institutions, e.g. the press media, is coded with both categories. The other code relations of 'heterosexism' with lower frequency rates are with 'racism' from 'ideological apparatuses' based on the analogy between the two ideologies; 'suppression and oppression', 'rendering non-existent', 'excluding/ignoring' and 'discrimination' from 'homophobia'; and 'media', 'state', 'family' and 'school' from 'institutions'.

The category 'state' provides the most frequent code co-occurrence among the 'institutions' (13 segments). The strongest relation of the code is observable with 'legal order', which has been mentioned so far, and 'family'. According to the author, state's

'strategic' move to render homosexuals and homosexuality non-existent, by not including the expression of 'discrimination against non-heterosexual people' into the scope of legal regulations, leaves homosexuals open to any kind of homophobic attitudes and behaviours of many actors, including their families. Also, family is seen as an actor 'playing the role of state". These two conceptualisations construct the code relations between the institutional categories 'state' and 'family'. Other categories coded with 'state' are as follows: 'heterosexism', 'capitalism', 'nationalism' and 'anarchism' from 'ideological apparatuses'; 'school' from 'institutions'; 'violence', 'excluding/ignoring' and 'rendering non-existent' from 'homophobia'; and 'discussion of law on homosexuality' from 'describing the self'.

The category providing the highest frequency of code co-occurrence among the categories of 'describing the self' is 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' (9 segments). It is most frequently coded with 'heterosexism' (as explained in the paragraphs related to co-occurrences of 'heterosexism' with other categories) and 'heteronormativity'. The relation between the latter and 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' is based on the author's insistence on the clash between the prevalence of heteronormativity in the institutions of the society and some gay and lesbian people's desire to take part in these institutions, integrating themselves to the system to be legitimised by the society. This rejection of living in such a system also manifests itself in connection with author's opposition to the tendency of expecting, as homosexual individuals, anything from 'media'; the conceptual construct is also an opposition to the notion of 'homophobia' along with its sub-categories 'suppression and oppression' and 'prejudice'.

One last stress should be made to the code relations of 'collective and unifying action': such an action is characterised by coming together free from political parties (i.e. a 'desire for freedom' and 'anarchism'), and 'reaching out to other homosexuals' from various groups such as Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum (which is also a reference to the 'multiple voices within homosexuals').

4. 2. 1. 4. Text 4

The title of the fourth text selected for Period I is "Tartışma: Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?" [Discussion: What should the homosexual movement be like?]. The text is a follow-up text of the previous one which was published 3 months later, in May 1996. The previous text was a call for a discussion on how the movement should be organised by the very subjects of gay and lesbian community in Turkey; thus, two texts provide considerable data on the discourse of people, with varied ideological stances, who take role in the homosexual movement actively. The present text is composed of seven parts handled by different authors; only two parts (written by Yasemin Özalp and Barış Evren) which are direct responses to Yeşim T. Başaran's previous arguments have been included into the analysis.

4. 2. 1. 4. 1. Categories of Text 4

The Figure 4.8 displays the salient categories of the texts.
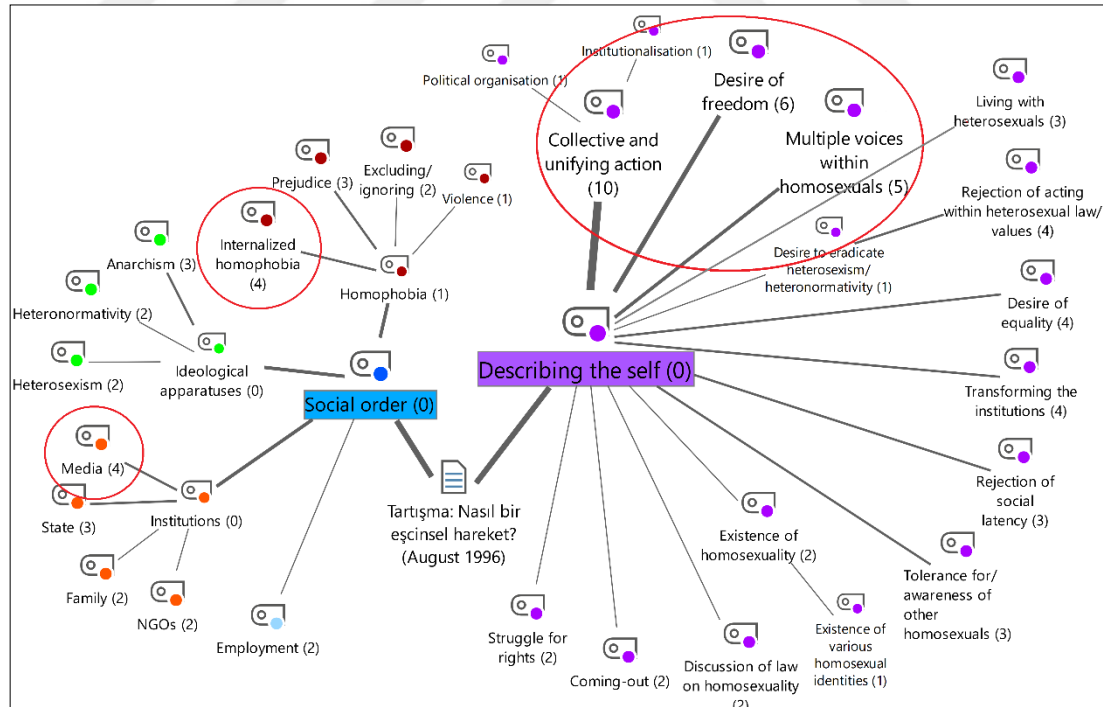
Figure 4.8. "Tartışma: Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?" [Discussion: What should the homosexual movement be like?], August 1996, thematic map with one-case model

Contrary to the previous texts of Period I, categories of 'describing the self' (totally 60%) are considerably higher in frequency than the categories of 'social order' (40%). Indicated by the ellipse and red circles, the categories, namely 'collective and unifying action', 'desire of freedom' and 'multiple voices within homosexuals' as well as 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' stand out as the most recurring categories throughout the text. The labels of these categories are self-explaining in that they are emphasising the importance of the social movement which gay and lesbian people are trying to organise. In spite of having lower frequency rates, the categories such as 'living with heterosexuals', 'transforming the institutions', 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals' and 'existence of various homosexual identities' (sub-code of 'existence of homosexuality') deserve a particular attention in the text.

As for the 'social order', 'media', 'state', 'family', 'NGOs', 'religion' and 'school' are the institutional categories throughout the text (totally 14,44%). Among the categories of 'homophobia' (totally 12,22%), 'internalised homophobia' occurred for the first time in the selected texts of Period I, along with 'prejudice', 'excluding/ignoring' , 'violence' and the parent category 'homophobia'. Similar to the previous text, the 'ideological apparatuses' that are revealed in the text are 'anarchism', 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity' and 'leftism'. Lastly, 'employment' (sub-code of 'legal order') (2,22%) is coded separately as part of the social order.

Table 4.5

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 4: "Tartışma: Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?"
[Discussion: What should the homosexual movement be like?]

Parent Code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	10	11,11
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	6	6,67
Describing the self\Multiple voices within homosexuals	5	5,56
Describing the self\Desire of equality	4	4,44
Describing the self\Transforming the institutions	4	4,44
Homophobia\Internalized homophobia	4	4,44
Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity\ Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values	4	4,44
Institutions\Media	4	4,44
Describing the self\Rejection of social latency	3	3,33
Describing the self\Living with heterosexuals	3	3,33
Homophobia\Prejudice	3	3,33

Multiple voices within homosexuals\Tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals	3	3,33
Institutions\State	3	3,33
Leftism\Anarchism	3	3,33
Describing the self\Existence of homosexuality	2	2,22
Ideological apparatuses\Heterosexism	2	2,22
Legal order\Employment	2	2,22
Ideological apparatuses\Heteronormativity	2	2,22
Discrimination\Excluding/ignoring	2	2,22
Institutions\Family	2	2,22
Describing the self\Coming-out	2	2,22
Describing the self\Discussion of law on homosexuality	2	2,22
Describing the self\Struggle for rights	2	2,22
Institutions\NGOs	2	2,22
Institutions\Religion	1	1,11
Describing the self\Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	1	1,11
Social order\Homophobia	1	1,11
Institutions\School	1	1,11
Social order\Gender	1	1,11
Homophobia\Violence	1	1,11
Collective and unifying action\Institutionalisation	1	1,11
Social order\Legal order	1	1,11
Existence of homosexuality\Existence of various homosexual identities	1	1,11
Ideological apparatuses\Leftism	1	1,11
Collective and unifying action\Political organisation	1	1,11
TOTAL	90	100,00

4. 2. 1. 4. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Institutions. The text makes several references to 'institutions' either lexically or at the sentence level. The lexical codes are employed, for once, in the text for the institutions 'media' (4,44%), 'state' (3,33%), 'family' (2,22%), 'religion' (1,11%) and 'school' (1,11%) using *in-vivo* codes. Nevertheless, the 'media', 'state' and 'family' are handled in further conceptualisations. The references to these institutions in the previous text lead to the continuation of the discussion by the authors of the present text. Besides its shortcomings, 'media' is represented as a "tool for homosexuals, just like for heterosexuals, to access the rest of the society" which is seen as an important step in the early years of the gay and lesbian movement. Also, it is referred to by means of the concepts such as "medyadan kaçmamak" [not to escape from media] and "medyayı kendi lehimize kullanmak" [using media for our advantage". The conceptualisations for 'state', on the other hand, include either a "reluctance to handing over homosexuals' authority to

the state" or "importance of legislation in the struggle of rights", which is representative of the difference of opinion between two authors. 'Family' is assigned to the sentence "Aman ailem bilmesin!" (Evren, 1996, p. 10) [Oh! Don't let my parents know!], which is stated to describe the unrest about the society where laws do not guarantee the rights of gay and lesbian people. 'NGOs' (2,22%) is coded 2 times in the segments where there is a suggestion by one of the authors, Barış Evren, to organise the movement under the auspices of an association[11], a foundation, and the like, and to benefit from any civil society institutions to make gay and lesbian peoples' voice be heard.

Homophobia. The five categories that are revealed in the text for the 'homophobia' axial code are 'internalised homophobia' (4,44%) appearing in 4 segments, 'prejudice' (3,33%) in 3 segments, 'excluding/ignoring' (2,22%) in 2 segments, 'violence' (1,11%) and the higher code 'homophobia' (1,11%) in 1 segment for each. The code 'internalised homophobia'[12] represents the conceptual units in which there is a reference to any kind of discriminatory acts or attitudes towards gay and lesbian people by other gay and lesbian individuals within the same community. An in-group homophobia is mentioned in the following segments:

(43) […] o gruplar bir grupta toplanmış olsa çok şey yapabiliriz. Bunu yapamıyoruz çünkü **aptalca takıntılarımız** var. (Evren, 1996, p. 10)

[[…] if all those groups were integrated into one group we could achieve many things. Yet, we can't do it because we have **stupid obsessions**.] (own translation)

(44) Düşünsenize **bir eşcinsel bile bir eşcinsele iş vermezken** heterolar neden versin? (p. 10)

[Think for a while! **While a homosexual doesn't employ another homosexual**, why should we expect the same from heterosexual people?] (own translation)

(45) Kültürlü olduğunu iddia eden çoğu eşcinsel parklara **takılan yaşlı, efemine, travesti, transseksüelleri … dışlıyorsa** aydınlık bunun neresinde? (p. 10)

[Can we talk of hope while most homosexuals, who see themselves well-educated, **exclude elderly and feminine transvestites, transsexuals, etc.**?] (own translation)

(46) Herkes tek bir grupla bir şey yapmaya çalışsa, her şey çok daha harika olurdu. Ama galiba bir süre daha **bültenlerle, dışlamayla… yüz yüze kalacağız**. (p. 10)

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[11] There was not, yet, any association of gay and lesbian people that time in Turkey.

[12] Lesbian women and gay men, may develop homophobic attitudes, too, as they are socialised within a culture where hostility towards homosexuality had become a norm. "Homophobia among gay people is termed "internalized homophobia" and is understood to involve a rejection of one's own homosexual orientation" (Herek, 1990, p. 552).

[Everything would be great if everyone tried to do something under one group. Yet, it seems that **we will be facing bulletins, exclusion… etc.** for a while.] (own translation)

In the segments (43)-(46), the same types of homophobic attitudes and practices are observable in the sub-category of 'internalised homophobia': gay and lesbian people can discriminate, exclude and humiliate each other in various occasions and for different purposes; also they may have prejudices in their mind toward other homosexuals, or more generally, LGBTI people.

(47) Kanımca insanlar eşcinseller yerine yeterince konuştular ve **bizlere söz hakkı tanımadan** bizleri yeterince **yargıladılar**. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

[In my opinion, people talked sufficiently instead of homosexuals, and **they judged us enough without giving us the right to speak**.] (own translation)

(48) [toplumsal ahlakın] bana yapıştırdığı **yaftaları** reddediyorum. (p. 9)

[I reject the **label**s produced about me in the name of social morality.] (own translation)

(49) Ben bir eşcinsel olarak sokakta, okulda, kafede ya da başka herhangi bir yerde **dışlanıyorsam** bu **toplumun bilinçsizliği**nden kaynaklanıyor. (Evren, 1996, p. 10)

[If I'm **excluded** as a homosexual in the street, at school, in a cafe or in any other place, it is due to the **unawareness of this society**.

(50) İnsanlar eşcinsel denince hemen **aklı fikri seks olan, götünü siktiren bir ibneyi ya da Beyoğlu'nda orospuluk yapan travestiler**i aklına getiriyor. Çünkü insanlar eşcinselleri tanımıyor. (p. 10)

[What people know about homosexuals is the idea that they are but **fags who get fucked in the ass or prostitute transvestites in Beyoğlu**. This is because people don't know homosexuals.] (own translation)

(51) Birbirimizi anlayamazsak, sevemezsek daha çoook sokaklarda **saldırıya uğrar, işten atılırız**. (p. 10)

[If we don't understand and like each other, we're more likely to **be attacked in the streets and get fired**.] (own translation)

Other categories of homophobia are exemplified in the above segments: it is stated in the segments (47) and (49) that homosexuals are "not given the right to speak", they are "excluded due to the unawareness of the society", and "fired from their jobs", which are concepts for the category of 'excluding/ignoring'. The phrases such as "yargılamak" [judging] in S(47), "yaftalamak" [labelling] in S(48) and rendering homosexuals as "fags who get fucked in the ass or prostitute transvestites in Beyoğlu" in S(50) are examples of

'prejudice'. "To be attacked in the streets", mentioned in S(51), is a typical 'violence' example that non-heterosexual people face every day.

Ideological apparatuses. 'Anarchism' (3,33%) occurring in 3 segments, 'heterosexism' (2,22%) and 'heteronormativity' (2,22%) in 2 segments and 'leftism' (1,11%), as the parent code of 'anarchism', appearing in 1 segment, are the ideological categories of the text. The first author of the selected text, Yasemin Özalp, is in line with the ideological stance of the previous text; thus, the phrases in bold characters in S(52) are representations of the anarchist ideology. While the latter segments, which are excerpted from the text written by Barış Evren, are more oriented to calling people to a more collectivist action and criticising the anarchist and leftist views. Rejection of "heterosexual patterns and stereotypes", "false liberties such as marriage, legacy and some social securities" as well as "handing over the power to the political authority", in S(52) is regarded as the main conceptual content of the category 'anarchism'. The category is also observable in the criticism of the anarchist thoughts, as apparent in the segments (53) and (54).

(52) Şu aşamada sorulması gereken "Ne istiyoruz?" Kendi adıma şunu söylemek istiyorum ki, ben **heteroseksüellerin kalıplarına sıkışmak istemiyorum**. Yâni onların hak ya da üstünlük olarak kabul ettikleri **yalancı özgürlükleri istemiyorum**. Örneklendirmek gerekirse; **evlenme, miras, bir takım sosyal güvenceler gibi hakları talep etmiyorum**. Çünkü ben hayatımı düzenlemesi için **siyasal otoriteye bu yetkileri vermek istemiyorum**. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

[At this point, the question that should be asked at the moment is "What do we want?" Speaking for my self, **I do not want to be constricted into the patterns of heterosexuals**. That is, **I do not want their false liberties**, which they regard as rights or superior. To illustrate, **I do not demand rights such as marriage, legacy or some social securities**. Because **I do not want to hand over the power to the political authority** to organize my life.] (own translation)

(53) Yasalar çıkarılması yönünde hareket etmeyip **sokaklara mı döküleceğiz**? Ya da haftada ayda bir toplanıp **devlet mi yıkacağız**? **Yasalar olmadan** yani parlementoya yönelik çalışmalar yapmadan ne elde edeceğiz? Topluma kendimizi anlatmak için ev ev mi gezeceğiz? İnsanlar eşcinsellere iş vermeyince **iş yerlerini mi basacağız**? (Evren, 1996, p. 10)

[Aren't we going to struggle for legislation, and **take to the streets instead**? Or will we meet once a week and **destroy the state**? What will we achieve **without laws** and without conducting studies related to the parliament? Are we going to go from one house to another to tell people ourselves? Are we going to **bust workplaces** when employers do not give jobs to homosexuals? (own translation)

(54) Bence eşcinsel özgürlüğü ve hakları daha ön planda olmalı. Ama **genelde sosyalizm, anarşizm ya da çıkarlar ön planda**. Herkes bir grup, her grup bir lider olma sevdasında. Herkes tek bir grupla bir şey yapmaya çalışsa, her şey çok daha harika olurdu. (p. 10)

[I think freedom and rights of homosexuals should be in the forefront. Yet, **unfortunately, socialism, anarchism or interests are often so**. Everyone acts like a group, each group is in the pursuit of being a leader. If everyone tried to do something within a single group, everthing would be great then!] (own translation)

Concerning the category 'heterosexism', the text makes reference to the concepts of "[eşcinsellere] söz hakkı tanımadan [onları] yargıla[mak]" (Özalp, 1996, p. 9) [judging homosexuals without giving them the right to speak] and "heteroseksist ahlak" [heterosexist morality] as exemplified in the segments (47) and (48). 'Heteronormativity', on the other hand, appears by means of the concepts "heteroseksüellerin kalıplarına sıkışmak" (Özalp, 1996, p. 9) [to be constricted into the patterns of heterosexuals] and "toplumsal kadınlık ve erkeklik rollerinin daha [eşcinseller] ne olduğunu anlamadan [onlara] dayatıldığı bir sistem" (p. 9) [a system in which the roles of women and men are imposed on [homosexuals] without their awareness].

Employment. As part of the parent code 'legal order' and separate from other axial codes, the category 'employment' is referred to in the text in terms of internalised homophobia, as exemplified in S(44), as well as the phrase "to be fired".

4. 2. 1. 4. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

Collective and unifying action. Appearing 10 times, with an added 2 codes from its sub-categories ('political organisation' and 'institutionalisation'), 'collective and unifying action' is the most recurring code throughout the text (13,33%). All the segments (55)-(64) underscore the importance of "coming together to act for a more organised movement". The insistence on a unified action derives from the existence of different groups and various ideologies pertaining to the way they should take action; S(58) particularly attaches importance to this aspect of collective action. Similarly, S(59) refers to *Kaos GL Magazine*, and it is stated that aggregation of small LGBTI groups is crucial for increasing the magazine's sphere of influence and for joint struggle against the system. In S(60), those who adopt the view to act singularly, without coming together with other groups whatsoever, are regarded as deserving any homophobic attitudes they face every day. 'Collective and unifying action' is also handled within the framework of 'political

organisation': in S(61), ÖDP is mentioned, again, as a possible uniting organisation that might host the homosexual movement; the related segment is coded both with 'collective and unifying action' and its sub-code 'political organisation'. The rest of the segments are commonly coded in the parent category on the basis of concepts such as "birlik olmak" [to unite] "bir araya gelmek" [to come together] "el ele olmak" [to be hand in hand].

(55) Bence yapılması gereken ilk şey **bir araya gelmemiz**. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

[I think the first thing we need to do is **get together**.] (own translation)

(56) Bunun için de **eşcinsellerin bir araya gelip** insanlara, "Biz de varız!" demesi gerektiğine inanıyorum. (p. 9)

[For this I believe that homosexuals should come together and say to people, "We exist too!] (own translation)

(57) **Gelin bu hareketi birlikte üreterek hep beraber oluşturalım**. (p. 9)

[**Let's create and develop this movement together**.] (own translation)

(58) Ama birbirimizi anlamaya çalışmalıyız **birbirimizi önemseyip, sevip müthiş bir bağla mutlaka kenetlenmeliyiz**. […] **Neden gruplar ve bireyler bir araya gelip tek bir grupta toplanmıyoruz**? Sonuçta yine o gruplar olsun, insanlar kendi düşüncelerini kendi grubunda uygulasın. Ama 5-10 kişi bir araya gelip 10-20-30… grup kurup ne elde edebiliriz? Hiç bir şey. Ama o **gruplar bir grupta toplanmış olsa çok şey yapabiliriz**. (Evren, 1996, pp. 9-10)

[But we have to try to understand each other, **we should care about and love each other, we should connect to each other with a great bond**. […] **Why not groups and individuals come together and gather in a single group**? After all, people can individually express their thoughts in their own groups. But what can we achieve with groups of 5-10 people, and building up 10-30 groups? Nothing! But **if those groups come together, we can do many things**.] (own translation)

(59) KAOS GL gibi bir dergimiz olduğunu bilmeyen sayısız eşcinsel yok mu? Eşcinseller olarak birbirimizle nasıl iletişim kuracağız? **Madem sistemi beğenmiyoruz o halde bunun için birlik olmalıyız.** (p. 10)

[There are numerous homosexuals who don't know that we have a magazine like KAOS GL, isn't that true? How can we, as homosexuals, communicate with each other? **If we are not content with the system, then we should be united to change it.**] (own translation)

(60) Birbirimizi anlayamazsak, sevemezsek daha çoook sokaklarda saldırıya uğrar, işten atılırız. **Birlik olmazsak buna neden olanlara bu müstahaktır**. (p. 10)

[If we don't understand and like each other, we're more likely to **be attacked in the streets and get fired**. Unless we are not a union, those who cause to this deserve all of these.] (own translation)

(61) **ÖDP çatısı altında toplanmak** ne derece doğru bilemiyorum. Ama önemli bir adım. (p. 10)

[I don't know to what extent it is right **to gather under the auspices of ÖDP**. Still, it is an important step.] (own translation)

(62) Sonuçta bence eşcinsel hareket için tekrar tekrar belirtiyorum **birlik olmak**, birbirimizi anlamak, sevmek, hoş görebilmek, medyadan kaçmamak, **birbirimize her zaman destek olmak** çok önemli. (p. 10)

[After all, I think it is very important **to be together**, to understand, to love, to tolerate each other; it is also important not to avoid media, and **to support each other at all times**.] (own translation)

(63) **Herkes tek bir grupla bir şey yapmaya çalışsa**, her şey çok daha harika olurdu. (p. 10)
[Everything would be great **if everyone tried to do something under one group**.] (own translation)

(64) […] **el ele olmaya çağırıyorum**. (p. 10)

[[…] **I call [all homosexuals] to be hand in hand**.] (own translation)

Multiple voices within homosexuals. A total of 8 segments are coded in the category, including its sub-category "tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals" (8,89%). This category is mostly related to the existence of numerous groups and ideas within the context of "collective action" —in this sense, it can be distinguished from 'existence of various homosexual identities', another category of 'describing the self'. 'Tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals', on the other hand, is assigned to segments where there is an insistence on mutual respect of homosexuals against the inner or outer homophobic attitudes, and the need for such tolerance derives from the fact that homosexuals have multiple voices within the community. The parent code 'multiple voices within homosexuals' appears in the present text with reference to concepts "having different perspectives in handling problems" and "existence of numerous small LGBTI groups"; its sub-category 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals', on the other hand, is coded by means of the concept of "mutual understanding" and "tolerance" as exemplified in the segments (62), (65) and (66).

(65) […] **aptalca takıntılarımız** var. Bunu aşmamız şart. (Evren, 1996, p. 10)

[[…] we have **stupid obsessions** [on other groups]; we have to overcome this.] (own translation)

(66) […] ben bir erkek eşcinsel daha doğrusu homoseksüel olarak onun biseksüelliğini anlıyorsam onun phallus'a yaklaşımını anlayabiliyorsam **o da beni ya da Mustafa gibi birçok eşcinseli anlamalı**. (p. 10)

[If I can understand and her approach to phallus bisexuality, as a male homosexual (*eşcinsel*) or more correctly a homosexual (*homoseksüel*)[13], then **she must understand homosexuals like me and Mustafa**.] (own translation)

Desire of freedom. 6 segments are coded with 'desire of freedom' (6,67%) based on the concepts such as "rejection of handing over the power regulating homosexuals' life to a political authority", as mentioned in S(52); "objection to limitation of ourselves by any authority in the name of demanding rights", an anarchistic view on the necessity of legislation on homosexuality which is stated by Özalp as "[bu] "sensiz yapamıyorum" demenin başka bir yolu" (1996, p. 9) [[this] is a different way of saying "I can't do without you!"]; as well as "homosexual freedom and rights" and "struggle for freedom within heterosexuals" which exist in the text at lexical level. The conceptualisations provide multiple code relations, as it will be mentioned in the following section.

The rest of the categories with lower frequency rates under 'describing the self' axial code are as follows:

Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values. This category, which is assigned to 5 segments along with its parent code 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' (totally 5,56%), can be observed conceptually through the following sentences: "[…] ben heteroseksüellerin kalıplarına sıkışmak istemiyorum" (Özalp, 1996, p. 9) [I do not want to be constricted into the patterns of heterosexuals] which can be seen in S(52); "[…] artık heteroseksüellere bile illallah dedirten modern toplumsal ahlâkın kültür değerleriyle yaşamak istemiyorum" (p. 9) [[…] I do not want to live with cultural values of modern social morality, of which even heterosexuals are sicken and tired]; "Toplumsal kadınlık ve erkeklik rollerinin daha biz ne olduğunu anlamadan bize dayatıldığı bir sistemde yaşamak istemiyorum" [I do not want to live in a system in which gender roles of women and men are imposed on us without our awareness]. The sentence presented by S(67) shows Özalp's unrest on the heterosexist values; she criticises gay and lesbian people who hypocritically try to take part in the heterosexual social values:

(67) Hem heteroseksist ahlâkın dışında yaşayıp hem de heteroseksüelleri bile boğan kalıpları matah bir şey olarak algılayıp bunları talep etmeye kalkmak; insanı kendi kazdığı kuyuya düşürür. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

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[13] The author prefers to distinguish terminologically between *eşcinsel* and *homoseksüel* both of which are the equivalent terms for the English word *homosexual.*

[Homosexuals who are living out of heterosexist morality, on the one hand, and fancying the social patterns, choking even heterosexuals themselves, on the other hand, are hoisted by their own petard.] (own translation)

The parent code 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity is assigned to a single segment, S(68), in which there is a clear and rigid resistance against the heterosexist and discriminatory system by the phrase "heteroseksüellerin bunu yapmalarına izin vermeyeceğiz" [We will no longer allow heterosexuals to do this].

(68) Kanımca insanlar eşcinseller yerine yeterince konuştular ve bizlere söz hakkı tanımadan bizleri yeterince yargıladılar. **Artık heteroseksüellerin bunu yapmalarına izin vermeyeceğiz**, ve **başka eşcinseller de artık buna izin vermemeliler**. Çünkü bir insan kendi mutluluğu için ne istediğini doğal olarak diğer insanlardan daha iyi bilebilir. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

[In my opinion, people talked sufficiently instead of homosexuals, and they judged us enough without giving us the right to speak. **We will no longer allow heterosexuals to do this**, and **other homosexuals should not allow this anymore**, too. Because, needless to say, a person knows what (s)he wants for her/his own happiness better than other people.] (own translation)

Desire of equality. The concept of equality is mentioned in four segments (4,44%) mostly in association with a close concept 'liberties'. The category appears in two cases on account of recursion of the phrase "özgürlükler ve haklar" [liberties and rights]. The concept of 'rights' is presented in the text as an element that should be ensured to homosexuals and heterosexuals equally. The 'right to speak' mentioned in the segment (47) and (68) is also a reference to the inequality between homosexuals and heterosexuals, and thus to the homosexuals' desire of equal rights. Lastly, in the sentence "Farklılıkların hiyerarşiye dönüşmediği bir yaşam tarzı istiyorum" (Özalp, 1996, p. 9) [I want a lifestyle where differences do not transform into hierarchies] it is referred to equality by means of resistance to the concept of 'hierarchy'.

Transforming the institutions. The category, which is assigned to 4 segments in the present text (4,44%), either reveals itself in opposition to the anarchistic views, or represents a general strategy of homosexual movement. For the former, the central argument that leads to the coding of segments with the category is "not escaping from institutions, rather struggling for changing their viewpoints on homosexuality and homosexuals". In this sense, the category can be said to have something in common with the category 'living with heterosexuals'. The phrases "medyadan kaçmamak" [not

escaping from media] and "sistemi yontmak" [sculpting the system] are conceptual units that lead to coding, as exemplified in S(69).

> (69) Madem sistemi beğenmiyoruz o halde bunun için birlik olmalıyız. Sistem nasıl bizi yontuyorsa **biz de sistemi yontabiliriz**. Medya nasıl travestileri lanse edip rating alıyorsa **biz de medyayı istersek kendi lehimize kullanabiliriz**. Ama konuşmazsak **medyadan, heteroseksüellerden… kaçarsak biz, biz olamayız**. (Evren, 1996, p. 10)
>
> [Now that we do not like the system then we must be united. **We can sculpt the system** in the way the system does the same to us. **We can use the media for our advantage** just like media gets rating from the way it portrays transvestites. But if we don't discuss, **if we run away from the media and heterosexuals then we cannot be ourselves**.]

The category is also observable in terms of the concept "yeni bir toplum biçimi öngörmek" [to foresee a new form of society] which is considered as a strategy to change heterosexual institutions such as state, media, family, school, religion, etc.

Living with heterosexuals. This category is characterised with concepts such as "not isolating ourselves from heterosexuals", "to live together with heterosexuals", "not excluding media from the homosexual movement", etc., and thus 3 segments are coded in the category (3,33%).

Rejection of social latency. Latency is referred to in the text 3 times (3,33%) through the following sentences: "Gündüz farklı gece farklı bir hayat yaşamamak […] istiyorum." (Özalp, 1996, p. 9) [I do not want to live differently in the day time and at nights.]; "[…] aman sokaktaki bilmesin" diyerek mi çözüm bulacağız?" (Evren, 1996, p. 10) [[…] will we find a solution by saying "oh, do not let those in the street know about my homosexuality"?]; and "yüzde seksenimiz, bence, eşcinselliğini gizliyor" (p. 10) [in my opinion, 80% of us are hiding their homosexuality].

Existence of homosexuality. As opposed to the concept of 'latency', it is expressed in the text that people do not know homosexuality, or at least they have misconceptions about homosexuals, as illustrated in S(50); also, it is stated that to say "We exist!" is an important step in making people know about homosexuality and homosexuals. These conceptualisations brings us to the code 'existence of homosexuality' (3,33% together with the sub-code 'existence of various homosexual identities'). Furthermore, it is stated that these existences are varied: as indicated in the context of mutual understanding in

S(66), gay and lesbian people have different sexual and social identities, which leads us to code the related segment with 'existence of various homosexual identities'.

Struggle for rights. This category is assigned to the segments where it is expressed that homosexual movement should be aimed at the notion condensed as "eşcinsel özgürlüğü ve hakları" [homosexual liberties and rights] (2,22%). This goal is specifically indicated by Barış Evren as part of the opposing discourse against individual interests or ideologies such as anarchism and socialism.

Discussion of law on homosexuality is thematically one of the most important codes throughout the text, and it appeared in both sections written by two authors, though it occurred only 2 times (2,22%). The reason for such a low frequency rate is that the discussion is restricted to single paragraphs in both sections. Therefore, code co-occurrence frequency rates of the category provide more significant results.

Coming-out. Lastly, this category appeared with reference to the sentences "Neden "ben eşcinselim" diyemiyoruz?" [Why can't we say "I'm homosexual"?] and "Eşcinseller olarak "ben buyum" bile diyemiyoruz." [We can't even say "I'm homosexual"] (2,22%). These codes function as references to 'act of coming-out' as a failed action due to the social conditions of the time, rather than referring to the concept as an achieved or achievable action.

4. 2. 1. 4. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 4

As presented in the Figure 4.9, Text 4 provides a complex network of categories. The text provides a code relation patterning which can be considered to be typical of a text titled "What should the homosexual movement be like?". Accordingly, the most frequent code co-occurrence rates are observable on 'collective and unifying action' (23 code co-occurrences); it is followed by 'discussion of law on homosexuality' (18), 'desire of freedom' (16), 'multiple voices within homosexuals' (13), 'rejection acting within heterosexual law/values' and 'anarchism' (10). Dwelling on these code relations which are high in frequency also reveals other code relations with lower frequency rates.
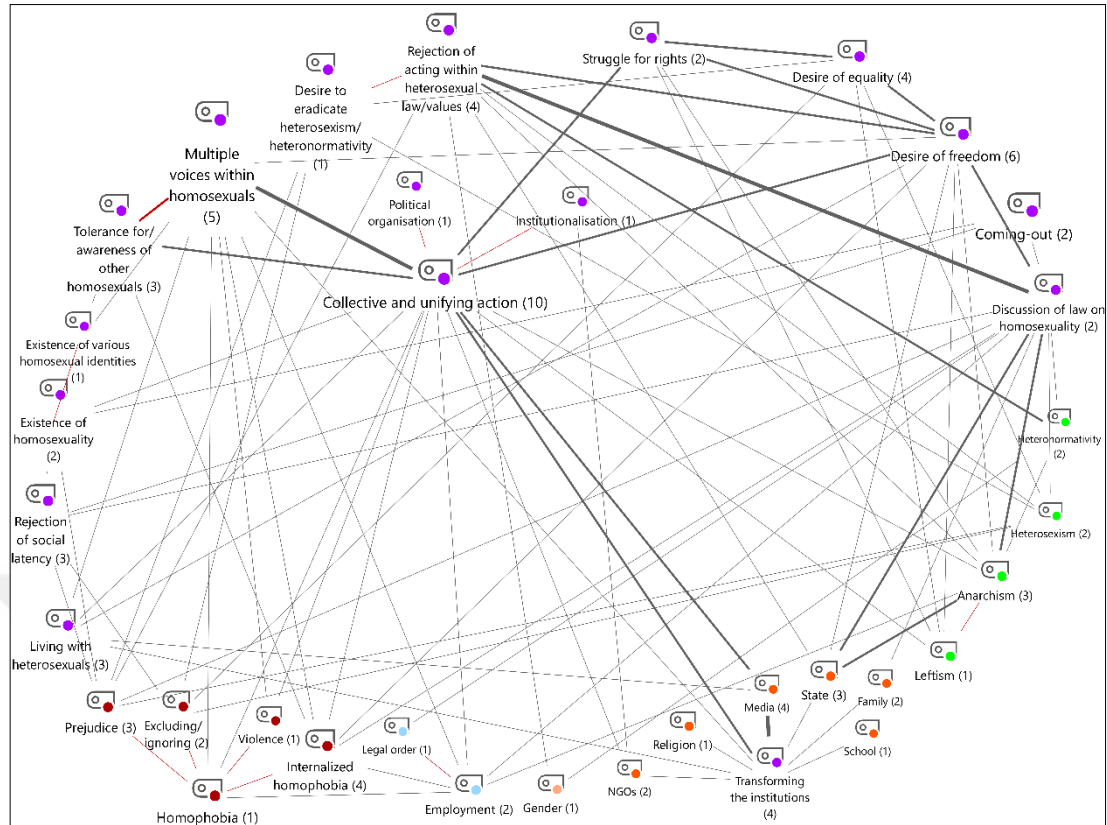
Figure 4.9. "Tartışma: Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?" [Discussion: What should the homosexual movement be like?], August 1996, code co-occurrence map

Code co-occurrences of 'collective and unifying action'. The categories co-occurred with 'collective and unifying action' are as follows: *Describing the self.* 'Multiple voices within homosexuals', 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals', 'desire for freedom', 'struggle for rights', 'transforming the institutions', 'existence of homosexuality' and 'living with heterosexuals'; *Social order.* 'Media', 'NGOs', 'homophobia' (and several sub-categories), 'anarchism', 'leftism' and 'employment'. The strongest correlation of the category is observed with 'multiple voices within homosexuals' as well as its sub-category 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals'. As indicated in the segments (58), (62) and (63), non-heterosexual groups having different ideologies are called for coming together and acting for freedom and rights on the basis of mutual understanding. Multiple voices within the homosexual community in Turkey is seen as valuable for the development of the movement both by the editors and contributors of *Kaos GL Magazine*; in the same direction, they complain about separation of groups since it hampers the practicability of many efforts within the framework of the

movement, as strongly expressed in the segments (43) and (60). With these in mind, S(70) reflects the code relation among these three categories the best.

(70) Sonuçta **hepimizin düşüncelerinin aynı olmasını beklemek bir yanılgı**. Ama sonuçta **farklı düşünsek de bir grup altında toplanmayı başarmalıyız**. Eleştiriler ve tartışmalar eminim bizi yönlendirmekte çok önemli. (Evren, 1996, p. 9)

[After all, **it is an error to expect that we all have the same thoughts**. Yet, finally, **we should succeed in gathering under a group whether we think differently or not**. It is for sure that criticisms and discussions are crucial in guiding us.] (own translation)

The categories 'collective and unifying action' and 'desire of freedom' are correlated by means of the conceptual units such as 'activities carried out for homosexual freedom', 'unifying the groups', 'to be opposed to splitting up' and 'to be hand in hand' as exemplified in the segments (71) and (72).

(71) Ben gerçekten **eşcinsel özgürlüğü için ne yapılıyor** bilemiyorum. KAOS grubu, dergi çıkarıyor paneller düzenliyor. Ama yeterli mi, değil, olamaz da. **Benim anlayamadığım neden kendi aramızda bölündüğümüz. Neden gruplar ve bireyler bir araya gelip tek bir grupta toplanmıyoruz?** (Evren, 1996, p. 9)

[I really don't know what is being done for homosexual freedom. The KAOS group is publishing a magazine and organizing panels. But is it really enough), No, it's not and it can't be! **What I can't understand is that we are splitting up into pieces. Why not groups and individuals come together and gather in a single group?**] (own translation)

(72) […] tüm eşcinselleri ve diğerlerini **özgürlüğümüz** ve **haklarımız için el ele olmaya çağırıyorum**. (Evren, 1996, p. 10)

[[…] I call all gay and lesbian people and others **to be hand in hand for our freedom** and **rights**.] (own translation)

S(72) also represents the relation between 'collective and unifying action' and 'struggle for rights' by means of the lexical code "haklarımız" [our rights] and aforementioned conceptual units used to refer to unification of groups. The conceptualisations shown with bold characters in S(73) also depict the relation between two categories.

(73) […] **birbirimize** her zaman **destek olmak** çok önemli. Bence eşcinsel özgürlüğü ve **hakları** daha ön planda olmalı. (p. 10)

[[…] it is important […] to **support each other** at all times. I think freedom and **rights of homosexuals** should be in the forefront.] (own translation)

As for the relation of the category to 'transforming the institutions', the phrases "medyadan kaçmamak" [not to avoid media], "birlik olmak" [to be together] and

"birbirimize her zaman destek olmak" [to support each other at all times] which appeared together in S(62), as well as co-occurrence of the phrases "sistemi yontmak" [to sculpt the system], "medyayı kendi lehimize kullanmak" [to use the media for our advantage] and "birlik olmak" [to be united] in S(69) are regarded as associative thematic elements.

The last two categories coded together with 'collective and unifying action' on fewer segments are 'existence of homosexuality' and 'living within heterosexuals'. The former category is clearly expressed within the context of a collectivist discourse in S(56) by means of the sentence "Biz de varız!" [We exist, too!] and the phrase 'coming together'. The latter category, on the other hand, co-occurred with 'collective and unifying action' in relation the criticism on the approach of homosexuals to media as exemplified in S(74). Communication among gay and lesbian people is seen as an indispensable part of the bringing groups together and of making other gay and lesbian individuals know about what homosexual groups in different parts of the country do; and for Barış Kuyucu (p. 10), this communication can only be achieved by using media, the most widespread communication tool. It is claimed in the text that this requires the groups to keep in contact with media institutions, in other words, to live with heterosexuals and their institutions.

(74) Eğer biz eşcinseller bilinçli olursak medya bizi kullanabilir mi? Peki **medyayı dışlıyoruz o zaman Türkiye'nin diğer köşelerindeki eşcinseller böyle bir oluşumdan nasıl haberdar olacak**? KAOS'u, Lambda'yı, IPOTH-COC'u, LIKYA'yı ya da BET'i nereden öğrenecekler? KAOS GL gibi bir dergimiz olduğunun bilmeyen sayısız eşcinsel yok mu? **Eşcinseller olarak birbirimizle nasıl iletişim kuracağız**? (p. 10)

[If we, homosexuals, act consciously, how come the media can take advantage of us? **Now that we exclude the media, is it possible for homosexuals in other corners of Turkey to be informed about a homosexual group like this [like Kaos GL]**? Where will they learn KAOS, Lambda, IPOTH-COC, LIKYA or BET from? There are numerous homosexuals who don't know that we have a magazine like KAOS GL, isn't that true? **How can we, as homosexuals, communicate with each other**?]

As it is clear from the explanations on S(74), a close relation is also existent between the 'media' and 'collective and unifying action' particularly on the basis of concepts 'not to run away from media' and 'not letting media to take advantage of homosexuals by being conscious'. Contrary to anarchistic views on organising the movement, Barış Evren's (p. 10) insistence on integrating the movement into larger civil society organisations brings out a code relation between 'NGOs' and 'collective and unifying action'.

The relation of 'collective and unifying action' to 'homophobia' and its sub-code 'violence' is based on the sentence in S(60), "Birbirimizi anlayamazsak, sevemezsek daha çoook sokaklarda saldırıya uğrar, işten atılırız." (p. 10) [If we don't understand and like each other, we're more likely to be attacked in the streets and get fired.]. Without a collectivist approach and mutual understanding in the homosexual movement, gay and lesbian people are claimed to be always open to homophobic attitudes and behaviours. This segment also includes the concept of 'to be fired', thus revealing the relation with the category 'employment'. The other type of homophobia, 'internalised homophobia', on the other hand, is based on the criticism on other gay and lesbian groups who are reluctant "to come together", as expressed through the sentence "Bunu yapamıyoruz çünkü aptalca takıntılarımız var" (Evren, 1996, p. 10) [Yet, we can't do it because we have stupid obsessions].

Lastly, 'anarchism' and 'leftism' are the categories that are related to 'collective and unifying action' in terms of the representation of the former two categories as conflicting and hampering ideological stances towards a collectivist homosexual movement.

Code co-occurrences of 'discussion of law on homosexuality'. Since the legal order of the society and the idea of living with heterosexual values are criticised with an anarchistic perspective by the author Yasemin Özalp, the strongest code relation of the category 'discussion of law on homosexuality' is observed with 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values'. The conceptualisations leading to the relation between two codes include phrases such as "heteroseksüellerin kalıplarına sıkışmak istememek" [not wanting to be constricted into the patterns of heterosexuals], "hak ya da üstünlük olarak kabul ettikleri yalancı özgürlükler" [false liberties, which they regard as rights or superior], "modern toplumsal ahlâkın kültür değerleriyle yaşamak istememek" [not wanting to live with cultural values of modern social morality], and "hypocrisy of gay and lesbian people on heterosexual morality". While discussing legal status of homosexuals with a discourse of rejection of heterosexual law and values, the text automatically reveals code relations with 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity'. The relation of 'discussion of law on homosexuality' to the two ideological categories is observable through co-occurrence of the concepts "heteroseksist ahlak" [heterosexist

morality], "heteroseksüellerin kalıpları" [patterns of heterosexuals] and "demand for heterosexual law" in the same segment.

'State' is indispensably coded together with 'discussion of law on homosexuality' since the legislative authority responsible for amending laws is the state; the institution is referred to in relation to the discussion of law either within a discourse of rejection (i.e. an anarchistic approach) or within a discourse supporting the mediation between the state and homosexuals. The two conflicting concepts that lead to this co-occurrence of codes are "not wanting to hand over the power to political authorities to organize homosexuals' lives" and "conducting studies related to the parliament". The same conceptualisations reveal the relation of the category to 'anarchism' as well.

The stress on the notion of freedom within the context of laws is more apparent in the anarchistic discourse. In this sense, the aforementioned concept of "not wanting to hand over the power to political authorities to organize homosexuals' lives" is a way of desiring to be free from heterosexual legal order. This relation between 'discussion of law on homosexuality' and 'desire of freedom' is also observable in the expression of "[bu] "sensiz yapamıyorum" demenin başka bir yolu" (1996, p. 9) [[this] is a different way of saying "I can't do without you!"] —"you" here stands for the heterosexual social morality.

'Rejection of social latency' and 'coming-out' are related to 'discussion of law on homosexuality' within the context of criticism on anarchistic views. This is best exemplified in S(75): it is stressed by Barış Evren (1996, p. 10) that without existence of homosexual reality on legal grounds, gay and lesbian are invisible individuals who conceal their sexual identities from their family, friends and other individuals as well as all heterosexual institutions in society, that is leaving their identities be latent all the time.

(75) Eşcinseller olarak **"ben buyum" bile diyemiyoruz**. "**Aman ailem bilmesin**", "**aman sokaktaki bilmesin**" diyerek mi çözüm bulacağız?

Lastly, 'prejudice' and 'internalised homophobia' are related to the discussion of law on homosexuality. Yasemin Özalp (1996, p. 9) reacts against modern social morality which is legally protected by laws laid by heterosexuals; she claims that these unwritten set of

rules legitimise the 'labels (or prejudices) on homosexuals'. As a specific type of homophobia, internalised homophobia is also said to be reproduced in the non-existence of legal regulations protecting homosexuals against discrimination. These conceptualisations in the text associate two codes with 'discussion of law on homosexuality'.

Code co-occurrences of 'desire of freedom. Besides its relations to 'collective and unifying action' and 'discussion of law on homosexuality', which have been mentioned in the above paragraphs, the category 'desire of freedom' co-occurs with several other codes most of which are from 'describing the self' axial code. 'Desire of equality' as well as 'struggle for rights' are related to the notion of freedom in reference to the concept of 'homosexual freedom and rights'. As mentioned before, for most gay and lesbian people, rights should be granted to all citizens equally, without any consideration of sexual orientation. This demand for 'equal rights' goes hand in hand with the theme of 'desire for freedom' in the text.

The phrasal concepts "not wanting to hand over the power to the political authority" and "objection to limitation of ourselves by any authority in the name of demanding rights", as previously mentioned in relation to 'anarchism', are regarded both as a way of expressing the rejection of acting within heterosexual laws or values and a way of desiring freedom. The former concept, on the other hand, provides the co-occurrence with the institutional code 'state'. Also, 'desire of freedom' co-occurs with 'multiple voices within homosexual', one of the major codes in the text; for Barış Evren (1996, p. 9), in order to struggle for freedom, the multiplicity of gay and lesbian groups should come together and integrate into a single representative group.

One final code relation is observable between 'desire of freedom' and 'living with heterosexuals' in the following sentence: "Heteroseksüellerle aynı dünyada aynı ortamda özgür olmak için mücadele etmeliyiz." [We have to fight for freedom in the world and in the environment where heterosexuals live.

Code co-occurrences of 'multiple voices within homosexuals'. Excluding its relation to 'collective and unifying action' and 'desire of freedom', 'multiple voices within homosexuals' has a close code relation to its sub-category 'tolerance for/awareness of

other homosexuals' with reference to conceptualisations such as 'the need to overcome obsessions about other homosexuals' and 'to be respectful and sensitive to other LGBTI identities'. These conceptualisations also provide a second code relation between 'multiple voices within homosexuals' and 'existence of various homosexual identities' (sub-category of 'existence of homosexuality').

As it can be seen in the last sentence of S(69), "Ama konuşmazsak medyadan, heteroseksüellerden … kaçarsak biz, biz olamayız." (Evren, 1996, p. 10) [But if we don't discuss, if we run away from the media and heterosexuals then we cannot be ourselves], there are references both to the idea of being in contact with heterosexual institutions, namely media, and to multiplicity of groups with different policies and ideologies; and this brings together the categories 'living with heterosexuals' and 'multiple voices within homosexuals'. Lastly, the codes of 'homophobia', 'violence' and 'internalized homophobia' which are coded together with 'collective and unifying action' are also co-occurred with 'multiple voices within homosexuals' based on the same conceptualisations.

Code co-occurrences of 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values. Besides its code relations that have already been handled in terms of other codes with higher frequencies, this category provides co-occurrences with 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'gender' and 'prejudice'. Regarding the former two categories, the so-called hypocrisy of some gay and lesbian people, i.e. isolating themselves from social morality while demanding heterosexual laws, is an argument involving the rejection of acting within heterosexual laws. Moreover, the concepts such as "not wanting to be constricted into heterosexual patterns" and "not wanting to live in a system where men and women gender roles are imposed on homosexuals without their awareness" directly relate 'heteronormativity' as well as 'gender' to the category. The concept of "rejecting the labels on homosexuals", on the other hand, situates the relation of the category to 'prejudice'.

Code co-occurrences of 'transforming the institutions'. The institutional codes employed in the text, namely 'media', 'state', 'NGOs', 'school', 'religion' and 'family' are assigned to the text in relation to the category 'transforming the institutions' since, particularly in

the section written by Barış Evren, the discourse of the text is based on interrupting and changing the predominant heterosexual values by means of a collective and unified homosexual movement. The most frequent code co-occurrence is observable between the category and 'media' on the grounds that a special importance is attached to the institution for the purposes of the homosexual movement.

The code co-occurrences of 'anarchism' has already been referred to in relation to other major codes.

4. 2. 1. 5. Text 5

The fifth text of the analysis is titled "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" [The other face of homophobia]. The article, by Yeşim T. Başaran, was published in the magazine in March 1998. The article deals with the homosexual movement in terms of its short-term achievements (in the early 90s) which are claimed to have revealed themselves as a change in the conceptualisations of homosexuality and homosexuals in the society. Nevertheless, the author handles the 'new way of homophobia' —in her words— and describes being a homosexual in a heterosexual society, as in Text 1 & Text 2, and depicts the shortcomings of the system for gay and lesbian people.

4. 2. 1. 5. 1. Categories of Text 5

All categories coded throughout the text are shown in the Figure 4.10 with their frequency values. Considering the whole set of categories the two axial codes encompass, 58,33% of the codes in the text belong to the categories under 'describing the self' while 41,67% of the codes are associated with description of the 'social order'. Although the categories of the former axial code dominate the discourse of the text, the most recurrent category is 'prejudice' from the parent code 'homophobia' (totally 31,25%) as part of describing the social order. The negative social order of the time (i.e. the late 90s) is described through the concepts of homophobia (as well as several codes from the 'describing the self' axial code) rather than ideological categories in the text. The only ideological category (2,08%) revealed is 'heteronormativity'. The 'institutions' (totally 6,25%) mentioned by the author are 'media' and 'family'. The last category from the 'social order' axial code is 'figures' (2,08%) which has been employed for the first time.
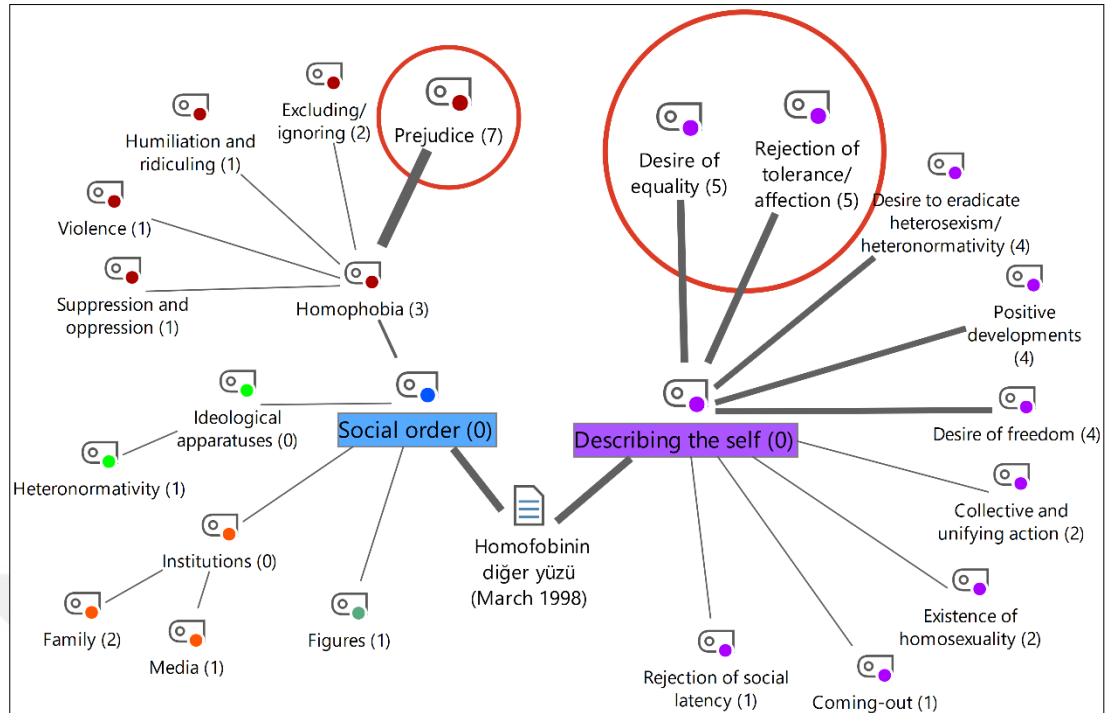
Figure 4.10. "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" [The other face of homophobia], March 1998, thematic map with one-case model

Five categories from 'describing the self' axial code stand out among others according to the frequency rates, respectively 'desire of equality' (10,42%), 'rejection of tolerance/ affection' (10,42%), 'positive developments' (8,33%), 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' (8,33%) and 'desire of freedom' (8,33%) all of which refer to the homosexuals' description of their self from a sociological perspective. The distribution of 48 codes employed in the text is displayed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6.

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 5: "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" [The other face of homophobia]

Parent Code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Homophobia\Prejudice	7	14,58
Describing the self\Desire of equality	5	10,42
Describing the self\Rejection of tolerance/affection	5	10,42
Describing the self\Positive developments	4	8,33
Describing the self\Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	4	8,33
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	4	8,33
Social order\Homophobia	3	6,25
Describing the self\Existence of homosexuality	2	4,17
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	2	4,17
Discrimination\Excluding/ignoring	2	4,17

Institutions\Family	2	4,17
Institutions\Media	1	2,08
Describing the self\Rejection of social latency	1	2,08
Homophobia\Suppression and oppression	1	2,08
Social order\Figures	1	2,08
Homophobia\Violence	1	2,08
Discrimination\Humiliation and ridiculing	1	2,08
Describing the self\Coming-out	1	2,08
Ideological apparatuses\Heteronormativity	1	2,08
TOTAL	48	100,00

4. 2. 1. 5. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Homophobia. Five categories as well as the parent code itself constitute all the codes for the category: 7 segments is coded with 'prejudice' (14,58%) which is followed by the parent code 'homophobia' with 3 segments (6,25%), and the remaining 'suppression and oppression' (2,08%), 'violence' (2,08%), 'humiliation and ridiculing' (2,08%) have appeared in 1 segment. 'Prejudice' is the most significant category among the types of homophobia referred to throughout the text both quantitatively and contextually. The author makes an overall evaluation of the situation of gay and lesbian people on the basis of the concept of homophobia in comparison to the past, i.e. before homosexual groups in Turkey began to emerge. In this context, the codes belonging to 'homophobia' axial code can give clues on the new, if any, conceptualisations of homosexuality in peoples' mind in the eye of homosexuals. In two cases, the category is assigned to the segments where the author presents examples to typical conversations characterised with prejudices on homosexuality or reactions against such prejudices, as exemplified in the segments (76) and (77):

(76) […] insanların karşısına geçip "sen ne diyorsun yahu, **binlerce önyargı sıralıyorsun** ama ben varım işte, tek başıma bile olsam -ki değilim- bu benim, bu benim kendi gerçekliğim; **senin kafandaki şu şu ve de bu önyargı tamamen asılsız**, **yıllarca kandırılmışsın**" demek henüz atılan ilk adımlar. (Başaran, 1998, p. 17)

[telling people "What are you talking about?! **You are listing thousands of prejudices**, but I am here and I exist! Even if I am on my own —I'm not, though— this is my own reality. **The lots of prejudices in your mind are totally unfounded**, **you have been deceived for years**" is the first step.] (own translation)

(77) İnsanların konuştukları cümleler değişiyor konu eşcinsellik olunca, "canım bu da onların özgürlüğü... ne diyorsun sen, neler de söylüyorsun, benim eşcinsel bir arkadaşım var ve de hiç de senin tarif ettiğin gibi insanlar değiller, benim arkadaşım üniversitede okuyor ve iki senedir sevgilisiyle birlikte oturuyor, ay ne tatlı kızlar bir görsen, aaa geçen gün başlarına ne gelmiş biliyor musun... (p. 17)

[Peoples' talk about homosexuality is changing: "my dear, this is their freedom after all…"; "What are you talking about? I have a homosexual friend, and they are not like the people you describe at all. My friend is studying at university, and he has been living with his lover for two years. How sweet girls they are! You know what happened to them the other day?] (own translation)

(78) İnsanlar da aptal değiller sonuçta, hakkında hiçbir şey bilmedikleri bir konuda gerçekliği ta kaynağından dinleyince o kadar da mızmızlık yapmıyorlar... ama mızmızlanmamaları acaba doğru noktada olduklarını gösteriyor mu? […] Göstermiyor, çünkü **kişisel ve toplumsal tarihler boyunca birikmiş önyargılar, öyle semer gibi çıkarılıp atılamıyor sırttan**. (p. 17)

[The people are no stupid after all, they are not querulous when they hear, from the source, the truth about the thing that they had never known anything... but does it really maen that they are on the right track? […] No, it doesn't. Because **individual and societal prejudices that have accumulated for years cannot be dismissed that easy**.] (own translation)

In S(76), the category of prejudice referred in the author's expression that homosexuals are no longer silent to the prejudices about themselves. The related segment mentions the typical homophobic attitude as a "prevailing fact" of the society that had existed in a continuum. In S(77), which is only a part of a large segment, a new way of prejudice is mentioned with reference to conversations between people. This type of prejudice is said to include peoples' unnecessarily positive attitudes towards gay and lesbian people. In S(78), on the other hand, for the author, "mızmızlanmak" [to be querulous], when homosexuality is in question, is a typical behaviour of prejudiced people; however, "not to be querulous" is represented as a path to this new type of 'prejudice'.

Also, several segments are coded in 'prejudice' in relation to the concepts such as "allegation on homosexuals for them being aggressive in their struggle", "the vain effort to prove that homosexuals are 'good' enough to deserve freedom" as well as the phrase, which sums up the main idea of the text, "ta derinlerden gelen önyargıların şekil değiştirip insanca haller alması" (p. 18) [transformation of deep-seated prejudices into more humane ones].

The second most recurring category is the parent code 'homophobia' itself. The segments coded with the category include the phrase "yaşadığımız acılar" [what we have suffered] which refers to anything experienced by gay and lesbian people as a result of any kind of homophobic treatment. Also, "tedirginlik duymak" [to feel apprehension] and the sentence "[…] insanlar seni kabul etmek için o kadar da çok "siz"li "biz"li olmak istemiyorlar" (Başaran, 1998, p. 18) [[…] people refrain from being sincere to you

because they do not want to accept you that much] mention a general fear from gay and lesbian people. S(79) is also coded with 'homophobia' since it includes the author's personal definition of the term.

(79) Bu yazının başlığının "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" olması uydurma değil. Homofobi sadece "eşcinsel insanlara ve eşcinselliğe duyulan tedirginlik" diye açıklanamaz. **Homofobi, eşcinselliği olduğundan farklı anlama yönelimidir**, çünkü bu yönelimden kaynaklanan algılanış nasıl olursa olsun yanlıştır. **Birileri bizim "iyi" olduğumuzu düşünüp**, kendini bizim hakkımızda bununla ikna ediyorsa bu yanlıştır. (p. 18)

[The title of this article, "The Other Face of Homophobia" is not a fabrication. Homophobia cannot simply be explained as "an uneasiness about homosexuals and homosexuality". **Homophobia is the tendency to perceive homosexuality differently anyhow**, because it is wrong no matter what the perception is as long as it is stemming from sexual orientation. **If people think that we're "good"** and convince themselves with this, then it's wrong.] (own translation)

In sum, the new way of homophobia mentioned by the author is based on perceiving homosexuals as "good" people, in spite of their sexual abnormality, and feeling affection for them, which lead the researcher to code the related sentences with the category 'homophobia'.

Further codes under 'homophobia' include 'excluding/ignoring', as a way of 'discrimination', seen through the concepts "to not appreciate homosexual movement as a struggle for freedom" and "to not understand problems of homosexuals and what they struggle for", which are examples to a continuing ignorance about homosexuality; 'humiliation and ridiculing', another type of 'discrimination, with reference to the attitude of media as exemplified by the author with the sentence from *Aktüel* magazine, "gündüz gay, gece bey" [gay in the daylight, gentlemen at night]; 'suppression and oppression' that is coded with *in-vivo* term "baskı" [oppression]; and 'violence' by means of a reference to the past attitudes, as indicated in the sentence "I do not come across people who think that homosexuals must be killed, or more moderately, they should be treated" (p. 17).

Institutions. 'Family' (4,17%) and 'media' (2,08%) are the institutional codes employed in the text. As the author makes a comparison between the early and late 90s in terms of the attitudes of people towards gay and lesbian people and homosexuality, she preferred to mention family and media as important social actors. Since homosexuals began to

come out of their closets, as a result of flourishing gay and lesbian groups and raise of awareness, new problems emerged as well, e.g. struggle with family members. This fact is mentioned in the text by means of the sentence "[…] bir kere kendilerini tanıdıktan sonra [cinselliklerini özgürce yaşamaktan] pek de vazgeçemediler. Kimi ailesiyle boğuştu […]" (p. 16) [once they discovered themselves, they could not give up [living their sexuality freely]. Some of them grappled with their families […]]. In another segment coded with the category, the author mentions her conversations with her mother in the past concerning 'sticking to the so-called truths of the time blindly'. 'Media', on the other hand, is mentioned as an institution in relation to the homophobic columns published by *Aktüel* magazine.

Ideological apparatuses. The only ideological code occurring in the text is 'heteronormativity' which is revealed in the phrase "yüceltilen kadın-erkek aşkının benim yaşantımda yarattığı baskı" [oppression of the glorified man-woman love on my life]. Glorifying the love between heterosexual man and women is considered to be a reference to the heteronormative social values.

Figures. The category appears for the first time in the code system of the analysis (2,08%). Non-heterosexual figures have always played a distinctive role in the history of homosexuality in Turkey. Thus, any references to these figures are coded with a separate category. In the present text, the category is assigned to the sentence "Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy ya da Huysuz Virjin dendiğinde insanların kafasında sadece beceriksiz bir karikatür canlanıyor" (p. 17) [When you think of Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy and Huysuz Virgin, only an unskilled cartoon appears in people's minds].

4. 2. 1. 5. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

Desire of equality. Being one of the two most recurring categories under 'describing the self' axial code, 'desire of equality' is assigned to 5 segments (10,42%) where the author draws attention to the importance of being aware of the fact that homosexuals have similar life practices with heterosexuals in the same society (10,42%). This point of view is expressed through the following segments:

(80) **Eşcinselliğin heteroseksüellikten hiç farkı olmadığını ve de aynı zamanda çok farkı olduğunu anlamalarını istiyorum ben**. Bu nasıl bir şey biliyor musunuz, bir insana Kürt olduğunu unutarak yaklaşmak ve ardından onun Kürt'lüğünü (tarihini ve şimdisini) hiç unutmamak. (p. 18)

[**I want them to understand that homosexuality is no different from heterosexuality and that it is very different at the same time**. Do you know what this is like? To approach a person forgetting that person is a Kurdish, and then never forgetting his/her Kurdishness (i.e. history and present).]

(81) Eşcinseller hakkında önyargısız olmak onların asla partnerlerini aldatmadıklarına inanmaktan, kızlarının harbi, erkeklerinin de duyarlı olduğunu düşünmekten geçmiyor. **Onları kabul etmek ve anlamak için hayatta yaşanan ne varsa lezbiyenlerin ve gaylerin de bunları yaşayabileceğini farketmek gerekiyor**. (p. 18)

[Having no prejudice about homosexuals does not go from believing that they never cheat on their partners, that their girls are tough and their males are sensitive. **To accept and understand them, it is necessary to realize that what is happening in the life also happens to lesbian and gay people**.]

(82) […] ben her tür medyada **yüceltilen kadın-erkek aşkının benim yaşantımda yarattığı baskının anlaşılmasını istiyorum**. Bir filme sırf lezbiyen filmi diye gittiğim zamanki coşkum "ne abartı" diye karşılanmadan önce bir miktar düşünülsün istiyorum. (p. 18)

[**I want them to understand the oppression of the love of man and woman**, elevated in all kinds of media, **on my life**. I want them to think for a while when I go to a movie just because it is about lesbian people, before they react to my enthusiasm as "what an exaggeration".] (own translation)

(83) **Eşcinsellerin sizden istediği onların eşcinsel olduklarını hiç hatırlamamanız ve onların eşcinsel olduklarını asla unutmamanız**. Kimdi söyleyen, nasıl biriydi hatırlamıyorum ama biri "**insana dair hiçbir şey bana yabancı değil**" demişti. Belki de bizim isteğimiz, bu cümlenin laflıktan çıkması. (p. 18)

[**What homosexuals want from you is that you never remember that they are homosexuals and never forget that they are gay**. I don't remember whoever it was but someone said once, "**Nothing about human being is foreign to me**". Maybe it's our desire that this argument is put into practice.] (own translation)

(84) Bir ev ödevi: **siz nasıl heteroseksüelliğinizi farkında olmadan 24 saat yaşıyorsanız, eşcinsellerin de neden 24 saat eşcinselliklerini taşımak istediklerini anlayın**. (p. 18)

[Here is an assignment: **try to understand why gay and lesbian people want to carry their homosexuality for 24 hours while you live 24 hours a day without realising your heterosexuality**.] (own translation)

The idea of equality for homosexuals is conveyed in S(80), S(81) and S(83) through the argument that "homosexuality is no different from heterosexuality in terms of life practices of individuals", and this argument is supported by an analogy, in S(80), with regard to Kurdish citizens in Turkey in that gay and lesbian people, just like Kurdish people, are said to be discriminated on account of their marginal (sexual and racial) identities. It can be deduced from the author's statement that social equality between

heterosexuals and homosexuals can only be achieved by not even remembering homosexuals' sexual orientation. This view is maintained, in S(84), with the concept of "living as a heterosexual without realisation of being so" which is used as an element of comparison in discourse. The "oppression of man and woman love", mentioned in S(82), on the other hand, is represented as hampering the expected equality between heterosexuals and homosexuals.

Rejection of tolerance and affection. As the most recurring category with 5 coded segments (10,42%), like 'desire of equality', 'rejection of tolerance and affection' is based on the conceptualisation of *tolerance* as a new way of prejudice on homosexuals which is simply evaluated by the author with a single sentence as "İyi mi, eskisinden iyi tabi; doğru mu, şüphesiz hayır" [Is it good? Well, better than the old one; is it true? Definitely not!]. The author compares the dimensions and severity of prejudices on homosexuals in the years before an awareness was developed in the country about homosexuality and the situation by the year 1998, and maintains that to be tolerated is better than to be exposed to conversations in which people say that "homosexuals must be killed". Further segments coded with the category are as follows:

(85) Ama **eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemlerinin boyutlarını anlamak "onların ne de duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar olduklarını" konuşmaktan geçmiyor**. Bunlar artık eskisinden daha çok midemi bulandırıyor, çünkü bunları konuşanlar eşcinselleri, sorunlarını, mücadelelerini ve de bilmem neleri anladıklarını sanıyorlar, iddia ediyorlar. (p. 18)

[**Telling that "homosexuals are sensitive, kind and decent people" does not mean that you understand the dimensions of their desire for freedom.** These things make me much more nauseous today than in the past because those saying these words claim that they understand homosexuals, their problems, their struggles, and the like.] (own translation)

(86) Eşcinsellere insanlar hakkında dedikodu yapma çerçevesinde yaklaşıyorlar, o nedenle ya benim durup durup "ama benim eşcinsel bir arkadaşım var, ve de.." nımnımlarını tekrarlamam. Ah **gözü batasıca hoşgörü**.... (p. 18)

[They're approaching homosexuals in the frame of gossiping about people, so I don't want to repeat sentences such as "but I have a homosexual friend, and she is bla bla" **Oh, goddamn tolerance!**] (own translation)

(87) Çünkü insanlar seni kabul etmek için o kadar da çok "siz"li "biz"li olmak istemiyorlar. Onlar sana gayet iyi niyetli yaklaşıyorlar ya. Daha ne istiyorsun da, şımarıklık yapıyorsun... **Aslında ben verilenden fazlasını istiyor değilim, verileni sevmiyorum zaten, hoşgörüyü.** Ve de verilen, bu kadar benimle ilgili iken, bu konuda **edilgen olmayı sevmiyorum, hiçbirimiz sevmiyoruz**. Biz sizlerin hayatında bir değişiklik değiliz, biz kendi hayatımızız. **Ben kimsenin bana hoşgörü göstermesini istemiyorum.** (p. 18)

[Because people refrain from being sincere to you because they do not want to accept you that much. They're getting on very well with you. What more do you want, you're spoiled

... **Actually, I don't want more than what I'm given, I don't like what's given, the tolerance. I do not like being in the passive side** while what is given concerns me that much; **none of us like it**. We are not some kind of difference in you lives, we are our own lives. **I don't want anyone to show me tolerance**.] (own translation)

(88) Ta derinlerden gelen **önyargıların şekil değiştirip insanca haller alması değil eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemi**. (p. 18)

[**Homosexuals' desire of freedom does not denote transformation of** deep-seated **prejudices into more humane ones**.] (own translation)

As can be seen from S(85), the rejection of tolerance and affection stems from peoples' tendency to approach the struggle of homosexuals for freedom with sympathy and approve this struggle by believing that gay and lesbian people deserve that enough. The same concern about peoples' misconceptions about homosexual freedom is also indicated in S(88) which was previously mention in relation to the code 'prejudice'. Transformation of prejudices into milder and more humane ones is said have no use in removing the marginalisation of homosexuals either in a negative or positive way. Another reason for rejecting tolerance is that gay and lesbian people are in the passive position because it is always them put in a position of 'receiving' anything from heterosexuals as a 'blessing', as expressed with the sentence "[…] verilen, bu kadar benimle ilgili iken, bu konuda edilgen olmayı sevmiyorum, hiçbirimiz sevmiyoruz" (p. 18) [I do not like being in the passive side while what is given concerns me that much; none of us like it] in S(87). Lastly, this rejection is reiterated by means of the exclamation "Ah gözü batasıca hoşgörü" (p. 18) [Oh, goddamn tolerance!] in S(86).

Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity. The stance against 'prejudice' and 'tolerance' as well as the stress on the fact that there should not be any difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals in terms of daily life practices lead to the present category in 4 segments (8,33%). The heterosexist ideology is mentioned in the text from a lesbian perspective as part of a self-description, which results in a discourse made up of the concepts referring to the ideology and a form of expression resisting to the heterosexist and heteronormative values. The arguments in the segments (76) and (80) are examples to this category: The author, in the former segment, in which she exemplifies one of the possible conversations with heterosexuals on their prejudices, reacts against their ways of thinking with the sentence "[…] senin kafandaki şu şu ve de bu önyargı tamamen

asılsız, yıllarca kandırılmışsın" [[…] The lots of prejudices in your mind are totally unfounded, you have been deceived for years]. The grounds for existence of such prejudices people have about homosexuals is the heterosexist system and the heteronormative values of the society; thus the author's desire from people to get rid of their prejudices is a criticism on the system as well. The sentence "eşcinselliğin heteroseksüellikten hiç farkı olmadığını ve de aynı zamanda çok farkı olduğunu anlamalarını istiyorum ben" (p. 18) [I want them to understand that homosexuality is no different from heterosexuality], in S(80), can be evaluated as an expression of the desire to shake the foundations of heterosexual normativity. This discourse is reinforced by the argument in S(81) which refers to the sameness of the life practices, as follows: "Onları kabul etmek ve anlamak için hayatta yaşanan ne varsa lezbiyenlerin ve gaylerin de bunları yaşayabileceğini farketmek gerekiyor" (p. 18) [To accept and understand them, it is necessary to realize that what is happening in the life also happens to lesbian and gay people]. Also, mentioned in S(82), the desire for development of an awareness on the oppression of gay and lesbian people due to the glorified man and woman love is regarded as an another example to the resistance against heteronormativity.

Positive developments. This category, which constitutes 8,33% of the total codes in the text, was on account of the author's salient references to a change in the conceptualisations on homosexuality in the society. It is stated in S(89) that significant improvements regarding the visibility of homosexual identities were observed in Turkey while there was a considerable deterioration in many issues about living in the country.

(89) Türkiye'de yaşantı -kimi komik insanların söyledikleri gibi Kaos'a doğru (!)- sürüklenirken, değişen şeylerin arasında eşcinselliğe bakış da vardı. Hatta ne yalan söyleyeyim **birçok şey kötüye doğru giderken, eşcinsellik daha farklı bir yol izledi** […] (p. 16)

[While social life was dragged -into Kaos (chaos) like some funny people say- approach to homosexuality was one of the things that were changing. To be honest, **homosexuality took a different track while many things were deteriorating**.] (own translation)

(90) Ama üç yıl önce açıldığım insanların hayatlarında ilk gördükleri eşcinsel benken, geçen sene taşradan büyükşehre okumaya yeni gelmiş **kuzenime söylediğimde bana "Lambda İstanbul'u biliyor musun peki?" diye sorması**, sadece küçük bir örnek olmaktan çok öte. (p. 16)

[I was the first homosexual that people saw in their entire lives three years ago. But when I came out to my cousin who moved to metropolis for education, **he asked me if I know of Lambda İstanbul**, which is but an insignificant example.] (own translation)

The paradoxical situation, which is referred to in S(89), is attributed to the development of the culture of metropolitan city and university; according to this explanation, young individuals who moved to bigger cities for university education had the opportunity to discover their sexuality away from their families, to come out from their closet and to come together with other gay and lesbian people. It is also underscored in the text through S(90) that even heterosexuals came to a realisation of homosexual groups like Lambda-İstanbul as a result of the emerging identities in the very early years of the homosexual movement.

(91) Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy ya da Huysuz Virjin dendiğinde insanların kafasında sadece beceriksiz bir karikatür canlanıyor, **hayatta "bir kendi, bir de Zeki Müren" var sanan erkek eşcinsellerin sayısı eskiden az artık** (valla ahkam kesmiyorum). (p. 17)

[When you think of Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy and Huysuz Virgin, only an unskilled cartoon appears in people's minds; **the males who think that it is only Zeki Müren and them who are gay on earth are less in number today** (I mean it).] (own translation)

(92) […] **artık insanlar erkek eşcinsellerin penislerinin kalkıp kalkmadığını ya da kadın eşcinsellerin nasıl olup da penissiz sevişebildiklerini değil, bunları konuşuyorlar**. İyi mi, eskisinden iyi tabi; doğru mu, şüphesiz hayır. (p. 17)

[[…] **now people do not wonder if gay males get erection or how homosexual females make love without a penis, they are rather talking about such things.** Is it good? Well, better than the old one; is it true? Definitely not!] (own translation)

(93) Artık sohbetlerimde üç yıl öncesinde olduğu gibi **eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini, ya da daha ılımlı olup da iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlarla karşılaşmıyorum pek** […] Buna da şükür (!), en azından birileri bir şeyleri anlıyorlar ha!... (p. 17)

[**No more do I come across people, in my conversations, who defend that homosexuals must be killed, or more moderately, they must be treated**, like the case three years ago […] Thanks God! At least some people understand something!] (own translation)

Another positive development is that this coming-out process made homosexual individuals realise that they are not alone; most gay and lesbian people who lived in their closet for a long time had only access to figures such as Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy and Huysuz Virjin as the only examples to their sexualities—as uttered in S(91). The segments (92) and (93), on the other hand, make reference to the change of people's thoughts about homosexuals: the former presents the resultant sentence of a large segment in which the author exemplifies typical conversations of people that exemplify new prejudices on homosexuals (mentioned in S(77)); referred with the pronoun "bunları" [these], these situations are compared to older misconceptions such as "whether gay male can get erection" and "if lesbian females can make love without a penis" (p. 17). In

addition, the fact that people no more talk about "killing or treating homosexuals", as stated in S(93), is regarded by the author as "better than none". Thus, based on this point of view in the text, the related segments have been coded with the category 'positive developments'.

The remaining categories of 'describing the self' axial code with lower frequency rates, namely 'desire of freedom', 'collective and unifying action', 'coming-out', and 'rejection of social latency' are to be handled with reference to their code relations in the following section.

4. 2. 1. 5. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 5

The code relation map (in Figure 4.11) shows that primary code co-occurrences are concentrated around 'positive developments' (16 code co-occurrences), 'rejection of tolerance/ affection' (9), 'prejudice' (9), 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' (8) and 'desire of freedom' (8).
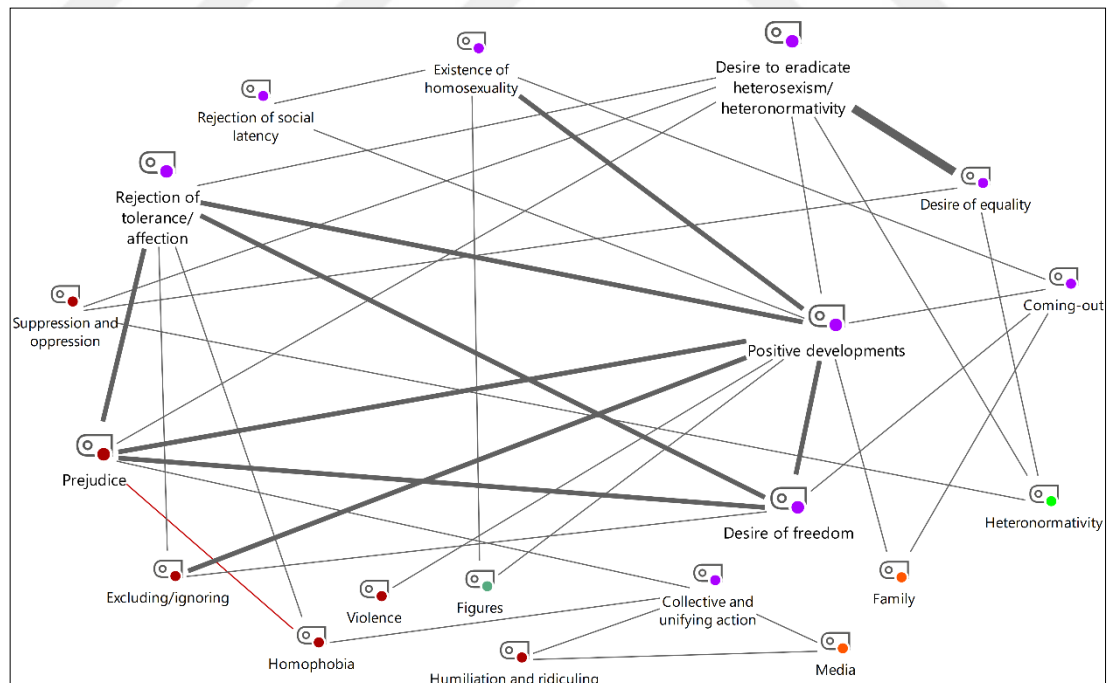
Figure 4. 11. "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" [The other face of homophobia], March 1998, code co-occurrence map

Code co-occurrences of 'positive developments'. The codes that co-occur with the category are 'existence of homosexuality', 'rejection of tolerance/affection', 'desire of freedom', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism and heteronormativity', 'coming-out' and 'rejection of social latency' (from 'describing the self' axial code); and 'prejudice', 'excluding/ignoring', 'violence', 'family' and 'figures' (from 'social order' axial code). Besides being a category of the code system in this analysis, 'existence of homosexuality', which stands for the idea that homosexuality is a phenomenon that cannot be rendered non-existent in spite of all heterosexist and homophobic practices, also reveals itself as one of the fundamental political stances of the homosexual movement in Turkey. The segments (90) and (91) are exemplifying the co-occurrence of 'positive developments' and 'existence of homosexuality' in the sense that, on the one hand, the number of gay and lesbian people coming out of their closets increase in number day by day; on the other hand, even heterosexuals know and began to accept that there are people with different sexual orientations, and these people have organisations like Lambda-İstanbul, Kaos GL, etc.

Although the concept of 'tolerance and affection for homosexuals' can be evaluated as a positive attitude, the author's opposition to the concept claiming that it is but a new form of prejudice brings about a relation between the categories 'positive developments' and 'rejection of tolerance/affection'. Co-occurrence of the categories are exemplified by the sentences "İyi mi, eskisinden iyi tabi; doğru mu, şüphesiz hayır" (p. 17) [Is it good? Well, better than the old one; is it true? Definitely not!] in S(92) and "Ama eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemlerinin boyutlarını anlamak "onların ne de duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar olduklarını" konuşmaktan geçmiyor" (p. 18) [Telling that "homosexuals are sensitive, kind and decent people" does not mean that you understand the dimensions of their desire for freedom] in S(85). The latter segment also puts the co-occurrence of 'desire of freedom' and 'positive developments' within a contrastive relationship. A similar contrastive conceptual association between the two is established through the concept of "to be deprived of living sexuality freely while having the opportunity to discover it".

'Positive developments' is coded with three categories of the parent code 'homophobia'. As mentioned before, S(76) exemplifies one of the possible conversations in which homosexuals react against heterosexuals on prejudices after the positive change in

conceptualisation on homosexuality described by the author; also the example regarding the change of prejudices in S(92) establish the code relation between 'prejudice' and 'positive developments'. 'Excluding and ignoring' occurred within the context of positive developments based on the concepts "not to be able to associate problems of homosexuals with their struggle for freedom" and "ignorance of people on homosexuals' freedom". 'Violence' is mentioned in relation to the positive developments as an element of comparison between two periods, i.e. early and late 90s, by means of the verb "öldürmek" [to kill] which is used to refer to the homophobic practices in the past.

Code co-occurrences of 'rejection of tolerance/affection'. Besides its relation to 'positive developments', the category is closely related to 'desire of freedom' by means of the concept 'claim for freedom' which is referred to within the context of a reaction against the so-called new way of prejudices on gay and lesbian people. Accordingly, as previously mentioned, it is contended in the text that freedom of homosexuals cannot be equated with peoples' tolerance or sympathy to them. Among the same group of categories, 'desire to eradicate heterosexism and heteronormativity' is conceptually close to 'rejection of tolerance/affection', and this is observable in their relation exemplified by S(87). The expressions "this is the life of our own" and "I do not claim any tolerance" occurring in successive sentences of the segment bring together two categories.

Considering the general argument of the text, the category undoubtedly co-occurs with certain forms of homophobia, particularly 'prejudice'. In this respect, showing reaction to the new way heterosexuals approach to homosexuals by calling it "not true", as given in S(92), and criticising it on account of its irrelevance to gay and lesbian peoples' claim for freedom, as mentioned in S(88), relate the two categories to each other. Feeling sympathy and showing tolerance to gay and lesbian people, heterosexuals are also criticised for being ignorant about their problems and reasons for struggle, as expressed in S(85), which leads to the co-occurrence of the categories 'excluding/ignoring' and 'rejection of tolerance/affection'. Lastly, in S(85), the parent code 'homophobia' is coded within the context of the rejection of tolerance with regard to the hypocrite attitudes of people, that is seemingly behaving tolerantly to homosexuals while refraining from being sincere to them.

Code co-occurrences of 'prejudice'. The remaining code relations of 'prejudice', apart from 'positive developments' and 'rejection of tolerance/affection', are with the categories 'desire of freedom', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity', 'homophobia' and 'collective and unifying action'. The code co-occurrence of 'prejudice' and 'desire of freedom' is based on the reference to the concept of 'freedom claim of homosexuals' within the context of the changing attitudes of people on gay and lesbian people, as previously mentioned several times. The conversation example in S(76), representing the prejudice of people, is also coded with 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' for its implicit reference to the encompassing ideology of heterosexism. The relation of 'prejudice' with its parent code 'homophobia' is observable in S(79) in which the latter notion is defined by the author. In this respect, the concept of "perceiving homosexuality differently anyhow", which is uttered by the author to describe what actually homophobia is, is associated with the concept "regarding homosexuals as "good" and convincing oneself with this", as an expression of the new way of prejudice mentioned throughout the text. Lastly, the sentence "[…] bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler kadar mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuzu söyleyenler de var..." (p. 18) [there are people who say we are aggressive in our struggle as well as those who say we are sensitive] includes concepts both referring to prejudice of heterosexuals and the collective action of homosexuals. In this sense, calling the homosexual struggle (as a reference to collective action) as aggressive is another prejudice of heterosexuals against gay and lesbian people.

Code co-occurrences of 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity'. The first top rank of code co-occurrence of the category as well as of the whole text is pertaining to the category 'desire of equality'. The arguments "eşcinselliğin heteroseksüellikten hiç farkı olmadığı" (p. 18) [that homosexuality is no different from heterosexuality], "hayatta yaşanan ne varsa lezbiyenlerin ve gaylerin de bunları yaşayabileceği" (p. 18) [that what is happening in the life also happens to lesbian and gay people] as well as the sentence "[…] ben her tür medyada yüceltilen kadın-erkek aşkının benim yaşantımda yarattığı baskının anlaşılmasını istiyorum" (p. 18) [I want them to understand the oppression of the love of man and woman, elevated in all kinds of media, on my life], as exemplified in the segments (80)-(82), are the segments that bring together the two categories. These conceptual units which clearly refer to the equal treatment to homosexuals and

heterosexuals in the society are presented with verbs "anlamalarını istemek" [to want them to understand] and "farketmek" [to realise] which express a desire to eradicate the reason for this inequality (i.e. the heterosexist and heteronormative ideology). Thus, the combination of nominal groups and verbal groups used in the textual segments provide the relation between two categories. Needless to say, the last sentence also represents the relation of 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' to 'heteronormativity' and 'suppression and oppression' by means of the phrase "kadın-erkek aşkı" [love of man and woman] and the lexeme "baskı" [oppression].

The most significant code co-occurrences of the category 'desire of freedom' has already been mention by means of its relation to other categories.

4. 2. 1. 6. Text 6

The last text of Period I "Kitleselleşelim mi, kurumsallaşalım mı? [Should we aggregate or institutionalise?] was published in April 1999. The author of the text is called Şakir[14]. As it is apparent from the title, the text is related to the discussion on whether gay and lesbian people should only aggregate to form a collective action or even further institutionalise the gay and lesbian movement in order to enhance the legal status of the individuals and to be more visible in the public space. The text begins with delineating the concept of aggregation in regard to marginalised and discriminated groups of people such as Afro-American people, workers, and finally homosexuals; then, it discusses whether aggregation of gay and lesbian groups is sufficient for the homosexual movement in Turkey in achieving its goals. Considering the categories it includes, the text can be regarded as providing a typical discussion on 'how to act and organise the movement'.

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[14] Some authors in *Kaos GL Magazine* do not use their surnames, and some of them use pseudo names or nicknames (e.g. Gay'e Efendisiz, Gözüm Abla, etc.).

4. 2. 1. 6. 1. Categories of Text 6

The distribution of codes is shown in Figure 4.12. The last text of Period I is dominated by the categories of 'describing the self' (totally 74,14%) while the categories of 'social order' constituted the 25,86 % of the codes. As indicated by the red circle the most significant code throughout the text is dominated by the category 'collective and unifying action' along with its sub-category 'institutionalisation' (totally 31,03%) which are followed by 'solitude', 'struggle for rights', 'existence of homosexuality', etc. As it is also apparent from the code co-occurrences, which will be mentioned in the following pages, the code 'collective and unifying action' is strongly correlated with nearly all codes that appear in the text.
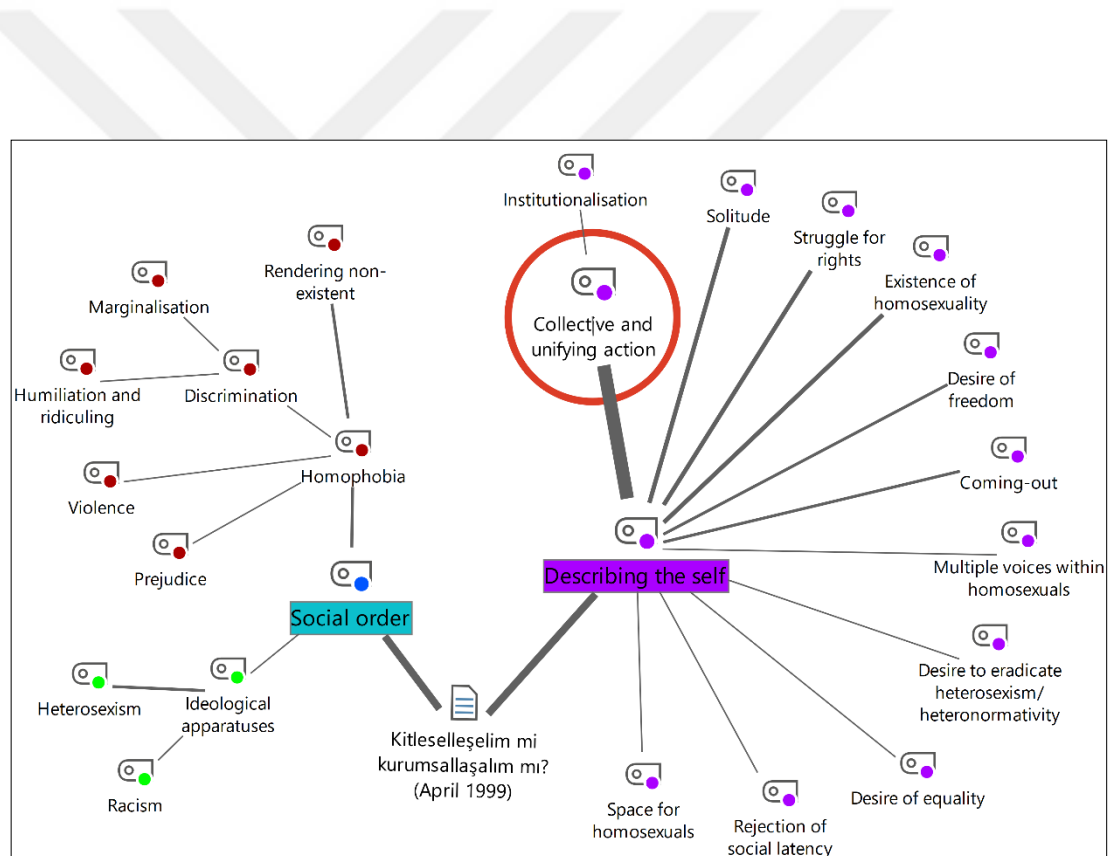
Figure 4.12. "Kitleselleşelim mi, kurumsallaşalım mı?" [Should we aggregate or institutionalise?], April 1999, thematic map with one-case model

As for the categories of 'social order', the parent code 'homophobia' with its sub-categories ('rendering non-existent', discrimination', 'marginalisation', 'humiliation and ridiculing', 'violence' and 'prejudice') constitute most of the assigned codes to describe

the society (totally 18,97%); 'heterosexism' (5,17%) is also observable as the sole category to refer to the societal conditions within an ideological framework. Totally 58 codes are revealed in Text 6. Frequency and percentage values of all categories in the text are shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Code frequencies and percentages of Text 6: "Kitleselleşelim mi, kurumsallaşalım mı?"[Should we aggregate or institutionalise?]

Parent code \ Code	Frequency	Percentage
Describing the self\Collective and unifying action	16	27,59
Describing the self\Solitude	5	8,62
Describing the self\Existence of homosexuality	4	6,90
Describing the self\Struggle for rights	4	6,90
Describing the self\Desire of freedom	3	5,17
Social order\Homophobia	3	5,17
Ideological apparatuses\Heterosexism	3	5,17
Homophobia\Rendering non-existent	3	5,17
Describing the self\Coming-out	3	5,17
Describing the self\Multiple voices within homosexuals	2	3,45
Collective and unifying action\Institutionalisation	2	3,45
Discrimination\Humiliation and ridiculing	1	1,72
Describing the self\Desire of equality	1	1,72
Ideological apparatuses\Racism	1	1,72
Describing the self\Rejection of social latency	1	1,72
Describing the self\Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	1	1,72
Describing the self\Space for homosexuals	1	1,72
Homophobia\Violence	1	1,72
Homophobia\Prejudice	1	1,72
Homophobia\Discrimination	1	1,72
Discrimination\Marginalisation	1	1,72
TOTAL (valid)	58	100,00

4. 2. 1. 6. 1. 1. Categories of 'Social Order'

Homophobia. 3 segments are coded in the parent code itself (5,17%). The categories under the parent code, on the other hand, can be listed as follows: 'rendering non-existent' (5,17%) in 3 segments, 'discrimination' together with its sub-codes 'marginalisation' and 'humiliation and ridiculing' (5,17 %) in 3 segments, and, lastly, 'prejudice' and 'violence' (each 1,72 %) each appearing once. The segments coded with 'homophobia' holistically

mention the position of minority groups, such as Afro-Americans, workers and homosexuals, under the influence of domination. In this sense, the phrases such as "egemen dilin her tür alt gruba, her tür azınlığa karşı geliştirdiği pek çok geçici çözüm formülü" (Şakir, 1999, p. 8) [every temporary formula developed by dominant discourses against any sub-groups and minorities], "egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti" (p. 8) [hypocritical and dominating mind-set of the discourse] and "doğanın karşısındaki acizlik duygusunu varlığımızı, bizi yok sayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek adına yol al[mak]" (p. 9) [to set out to make people, who render us non-existent, accept the feeling of helplessness before the nature and the fact that we exist] are expressions dealing with the marginalising effect of dominant discourse which makes use of homophobia and heterosexism as primary tools.

The last phrase segment as well as two others handling the issue in terms of the concept of 'domination' and aggregation of groups against homophobia include the sub-category 'rendering non-existent' by means of the *in-vivo* code "yok say[mak]" [rendering non-existent]. The sentence "[…] egemen dil kendi iktidarına bir ortak gözüyle baktığı her farklı olguy[a] […] haklarını gerekli ortamlar yaratılmadıkça teslim etmez" [unless the suitable environment is maintained, the dominant discourse does not let any group have their rights on the grounds that they might become capable to share the power] is coded in 'discrimination' due to the verb "haklarını teslim etmemek" [not letting to have their rights] which is considered to be a discriminatory action. Also, the sub-codes 'humiliation and ridiculing' and 'marginalisation' are given respectively to the phrases "[eşcinselleri] alaya alan insanlar" [people who ridicule of homosexuals] and "marjinal diye tanımlanan tüm yaşam şekilleri" [all life styles that are called as marginal]. Last but not least, the verb "[eşcinsellere] saldırmak" [to assault homosexuals] is coded in 'violence' while 'prejudice' appeared as an *in-vivo* code.

Ideological apparatuses. Two ideological categories are observable in the text. First, 'heterosexism' appears in the segments, which are coded in 'homophobia', where the author described the influence of 'dominant discourse' on homosexuals. Also, the above-mentioned phrases referring to homophobic attitudes and practices employed for the sustainability of power such as "yok saymak" [rendering non-existent], "haklarını teslim etmemek" [not letting to have the rights] and "sonuna kadar ezmek için çabalamak"

[striving to oppress all the way] are coded in 'heterosexism' since it is the primary ideology when domination of power is in question. The concept of 'dominant discourse' which is referred to by the author to account for what minority groups experience in various societies, leads to coding the segment in 'racism' (just like the case of 'heterosexism') due to the specific reference to the experiences of Afro-American people.

4. 2. 1. 6. 1. 2. Categories of 'Describing the Self'

Collective and unifying action. A total of 16 segments coded in the category are based on similar sets of concepts. The phrases such as "benzerlerimizle bir arada, beraber hareket edebilme" [to be able to act together with those like us], "ortak hareket etmek" [to act jointly], "birlikte yaşamak" [to live together], "bizim gibiymiş gibi duran ilk bireye sıkıca sarılmak" [to hug tightly someone who looks like us at first sight] as well as the sentence "[…] aynı şeyleri konuşuyor buluruz kendimizi. Aynı yerlere gideriz, aynı şekilde giyinmeye çaba gösteririz" [we talk about the same things; we go to the same places, and we try to dress in the same way] stand for the conceptualisations of being part of a group as a typical behaviour of those who are discriminated.

The idea of collective action is also handled in a holistic sense referring to various minorities' fight for existence by means of the phrases and sentences such as "toplumu bir yerden alıp bir yere götüren her kitle hareketi" [a mass movement that transforms the society], "kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaştılar" (p. 8) [they fought to prove their identities and to become visible]; "egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti ile karşılaşan her oluşum benzerlerin bir arada hareket edebilmesi becerisine göre yol aldı" (p. 8) [any group of people that had to face the hypocritical and dominating mind-set of the powerful discourse could proceed to the extent that they could act together with people of their kind].

The segments referring to aggregation of gay and lesbian people within the context of homosexual movement in Turkey are also coded in 'collective and unifying action', as exemplified by the phrases such as "büyük şehirlerde düzenlenen hafta sonu toplantılarına katılmak" [to attend the weekend meetings in the metropoles], "örgütler içerisinde

çalışmaya fikir ve proje üretmeye başlamak" [to begin to work for organisations and produce ideas and projects], "bir kitle olabilmek adına, beraber hareket edebilmek adına" [in the name of aggregating and moving together], "kitleselleşmek/kitle olmak" [to aggregate] and "ortak bir amaç uğruna hareket etmek" [to act for a common purpose]. A particular attention is drawn to the importance of institutionalisation in S(94) by referring to the concepts of 'representability' and 'visibility' of all gay and lesbian groups in Turkey.

(94) Tüm şehirlerdeki kitle oluşumlarını **temsil eden** söz sahibi bir kitle oluşabilir mi? […] kanunlar çerçevesinde **görünür olmak için** kitleselleşebilmenin dışında **kurumsallaşma**nın da en az kitle olabilmek kadar önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. (Şakir, 1999, p. 9)

[Can there be a mass of people who **represent** the mass formations in all cities? […] I think **institutionalization** is just as important as being a mass **to become visible** within the framework of laws.] (own translation)

The author's call for discussing the institutionalisation of gay and lesbian movement in Turkey within the scope of the law as a topic in the event titled "Baharankara", the second bi-annual meeting of homosexual movement in Turkey, provides another segment to be coded both in the parent category and the sub-category 'institutionalisation'.

Since the category 'collective and unifying action' provides code co-occurrences with nearly all categories observed in the text, the text segments will be illustrated in the next section.

Remaining categories. The second most recurring category of 'describing the self' is 'solitude' which occurred in 5 cases (8,62%). The category includes concepts pertaining the isolation of gay and lesbian people from the society due to the practices of power. Besides its devastating effect on the individual, isolation or solitude is represented by the author as being incentive for gay and lesbian people to search for and act together with other people of their kind. In this sense, the concepts "ileri derecede nevrotizmin bize sunduğu yalnızlık" [solitude that is presented to us by advanced neuroticism], "yalnız olmanın getirdiği acizlik ve tekillik duygusu" [the sense of helplessness and singularity caused by being alone], "yalnız olmanın getirdiği korkular" [fears caused by being alone] and two *in-vivo* codes lead to the category 'solitude'.

The segments coded in 'struggle for rights' (6,90%) include the phrases "kendi gibi olmayan ve düşünmeyen kitleyle […] eşit haklara sahip olabilmek" [to have equal rights with the people who are not like them (homosexuals) and who do not think like them], "hak arama değilse de hak alabilme savaşı" [not claiming rights but fighting for them], "hareketin yasalar çerçevesinde kurum kimliği kazanması için neler yapılması gerektiği" [what should be done in order to bring organisational identity to the homosexual movement within the framework of legislation] and the slogan "haklar verilmez alınır" [rights are not given, they are taken].

The segments coded in 'existence of homosexuality' (6,90%) handle the notion of existence through the concepts of 'fight' or 'challenge': e.g. "var olma savaşı" [fight for existence], "kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaş" [fight for proving their identities and to become visible], "varlığımızı, bizi yok sayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek" [to make people, who render us non-existent, accept the fact that we exist] and "[eşcinselleri] yok sayan insanlara karşı atılacak adımlar" [the steps to be taken against people who render homosexuals non-existent].

The phrase "sınırsız bir özgürlük ve özgür olabilme yetisi" [an unrestricted freedom and the ability to be free] includes lexical concepts that lead it to be directly coded in the category 'desire of freedom' (5,17%). In the conceptual unit "hürriyet telaşına kapılmadan yol alabilmek" [to be able to continue without worrying about freedom] 'freedom' is presented as a phenomenon that should be taken-for-granted for gay and lesbian people to proceed to their struggle for rights. Another segment, in which the category appears, mentions the 'instinctive desires' that gay and lesbian people live freely after they come out.

'Coming-out' (5,17%) is handled in terms of both individual and institutional senses. The phrases "kendi içinde olumlayamadığı yaşam şeklini dünyaya, […] özel çevresine duyurmak" [declaring their lifestyle, which they could not accept themselves, to the world and to their closest associates], "başta bin bir güçlükle adlandırabildikleri [genele yabancı vücut dilleri]" [[their body language (which is unfamiliar to the general public)] they could hardly name in the beginning] are coded in the category on account of individual references to the hardships of coming-out of the closet. The critical concept "kanunlar

çerçevesinde görünür olmak" [to be visible within the framework of laws] also refers to the coming-out of gay and lesbian people not as an individual action but as a group. In this sense, institutionalisation is conceptually regarded as a way of 'coming-out'.

'Multiple voices within homosexuals' (3,45%) is assigned to the segments mentioning the isolate groups of gay and lesbian people, which could not accomplish the process of aggregation, by means of the words "gruplaşma" [grouping] and "grupçuklar". In another case, the multiple voices are presupposed to be existent in Turkey by referring to three major homosexual groups of the time, as it is exemplified in the question: "bu üçlü Türkiye'deki ya da Türk eşcinsellerinin ne kadarını temsil ediyor" (Şakir, 1999, p. 9) [To what extent these three represent the homosexuals in Turkey or the Turkish homosexuals?].

Among other less frequent categories, 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' (1,72%) is observable in the sentence "varlığımızı, bizi yok sayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek adına yol alıyoruz" (p. 9) [we are setting out to make people, who render us non-existent, accept the fact that we exist], as previously mentioned within the context of the category 'heterosexism'; the phrase "eşit haklara sahip olabilmek" [to be able to have equal rights] is coded in 'desire of equality' (1,72%). The last two codes, namely 'rejection of social latency' and 'space for homosexuals', are assigned to S(95) with reference to the concepts respectively, 'not being able to live sexual identities' and 'a space for living'.

(95) [kitle olma] malum sebeplerden dolayı **cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan** insanlara ve kendinize **nefes almak için daha elverişli bir yaşama mekanı** oluşturma çabası olabilir mi? (p. 9)

[Is [forming a mass] an attempt **to create a more comfortable living space** for you and people **who cannot live their sexual identities** for certain reasons?] (own translation)

4. 2. 1. 6. 2. Code Co-occurrences of Text 6
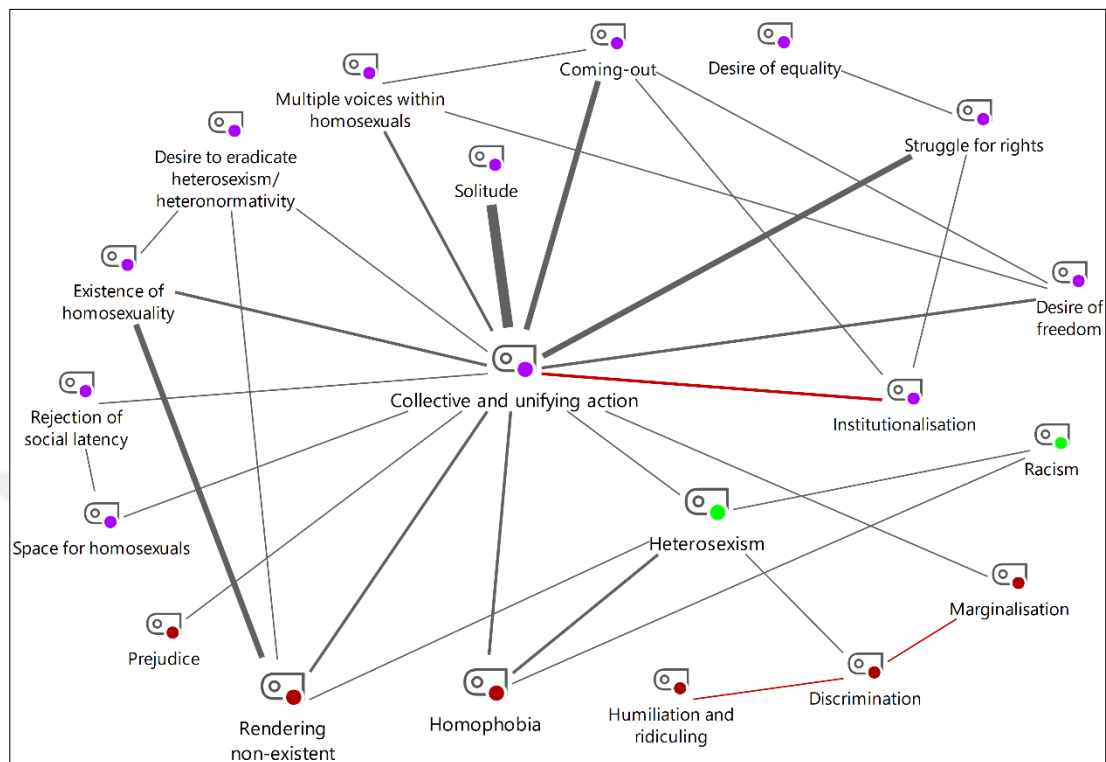
Figure 4.13. "Kitleselleşelim mi, kurumsallaşalım mı?" [Should we aggregate or institutionalise?], April 1999, code co-occurrence map

As it is shown above in Figure 4.13, the central category having the most frequent code co-occurrences is 'collective and unifying action' (29 code co-occurrences); it is followed by, 'rendering non-existent' (8), 'existence of homosexuality' (7), 'heterosexism' (6), 'homophobia' (6) etc. As clear both visually and quantitatively, dealing with the importance of the concepts 'aggregation' and 'institutionalisation' for the homosexual movement brings the category 'collective and unifying action' into the forefront, nearly relating to all conceptual units throughout the text.

Code co-occurrences of 'collective and unifying action'. The categories overlapping with 'collective and unifying action' can be listed as follows: *Describing the self.* 'Solitude', 'coming-out', 'struggle for rights', 'desire of freedom', 'existence of homosexuality', 'institutionalisation', 'multiple voices within homosexuals', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity', 'rejection of social latency' and 'space for

homosexuals'; *Social order.* 'Homophobia', 'rendering non-existent', 'prejudice', 'marginalisation' and 'heterosexism'.

The correlation of the category with 'solitude' is the strongest. As apparent from the line representing the salience of the relation in the map, 'solitude' only appears in the segments in which there is a reference to 'collective and unifying action'. Therefore, all the conceptual units previously mentioned under the code label 'solitude' co-occurs with 'collective and unifying action', as exemplified in the segments (96)-(100).

(96) [**yalnızlık**] bizi **benzerlerimizle bir arada, beraber hareket edebilme** güdüsüyle karşı karşıya bırakır. (p. 8)

[[**loneliness**] make us face the motive **to be able to act together with those alike us**] (own translation)

(97) Yukarıda sözü geçen **yalnızlık** içerisinde karşılaştığımız **benzerimizle ortak hareket eder**, kendi aramızda farkında olmadan gelişen beden dilini kullanmaya başlarız. (p. 8)

[**We act together with those who are like us** that we encounter in the above-mentioned **loneliness**, and we begin to use the body language that develops without awareness.] (own translation)

(98) [bireyin] başka bireyler karşısında taşıdığı **yalnız olma**nın getirdiği acizlik ve tekillik duygusunun **kişiyi benzerlerini aramaya yönelteceğini** söylemiştik. (p. 8)

[we already said that the sense of helplessness and singularity caused by **being alone leads the individual to seek for others alike**] (own translation)

(99) **Bir kitle olabilmek adına, beraber hareket edebilmek adına** olabilir mi dersiniz? **Yalnızlık duygusu**ndan kurtulabilmek adına olabilir mi sizce... (p. 9)

(100) [Is it do you think **in the name of aggregating and moving together**? Is it do you think to get rid of **loneliness**?] (own translation)

(101) Bu bize **ortak düşünebilme**, **birlikte nefes alabilme**, hedef belirleyip o hedefe doğru hareket edebilmeyi sunuyor. Yazının başında bahsedilen **yalnız olma**nın getirdiği korkulardan arınıyoruz. (p. 9)

[This allows us to **think together, breathe together,** set goals and move towards those goals. We are getting rid of the fear of **being alone** mentioned in the beginning of the article.] (own translation)

As previously mentioned and clear from the segments (in Remaining categories under the section Text 6/Categories of 'Describing the Self'), the solitude is represented as an 'urge' for gay and lesbian people to meet with people of the same kind, and in turn the collective action of homosexuals and unifying for common goals save these individuals from solitude and isolation. A similar case is true for the relation of the category to the code

'coming-out'. Considering the codes mentioned within the context of coming-out (please see the related concepts in "Remaining categories under the section Text 6"/Categories of 'Describing the Self') it can be inferred that the idea of gay and lesbian people's collective action is a means for them to discover and affirm their own sexuality; such an action, if carried out within the scope of institutionalisation, also enables legal visibility of homosexual groups.

'Struggle for rights' and 'collective and unifying action' are among categories that can easily be relatable to each other. Accordingly, it is stated, in S(101), that there are examples in the history to groups who fought for their rights collectively against power mechanisms reproducing dominant discourses. S(102), on the other hand, brings two codes together within the context of homosexual movement in Turkey; it is stressed that groups must be gathered under an umbrella organisation in order for the homosexual movement to be entitle to have an institutional identity.

(102) Yok sayılan birey kesintisizmiş gibi görünen haklı bir hak savaşının içerisinde bulur kendini. Çünkü aylar önce Almanya'dan Enver arkadaşın da bizlere hatırlattığı gibi **haklar verilmez alınır**. Bugüne kadar yukarıdaki evrelerden geçen, egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti ile karşılaşan **her oluşum** benzerlerin **bir arada hareket edebilme becerisine göre yol aldı, hak arama değilse de hak alabilme savaşında**. (p. 8)

[The individual who is rendered non-existent finds himself in a just war of rights which appears to be uninterrupted. As, our friend, Enver reminded us months before from Germany, **rights are not given, they are taken**. To date, **any formation** that experienced each of the above-mentioned phases and faced the hypocritical mentality of the dominant discourse **took the lead, in the fight for rights, rather than fighting to claim them, with the ability to act together**.] (own translation)

(103) Önümüzde "Baharankara" adıyla yapılacak tanımlanmış ikinci Türkiye eşcinsel hareket toplantısı var. Burada ana amaç kitle olabilmenin gereç şartlarını belirleyip, **ortak adlandırılmış bir çatıda eşcinsel kitleyi dolayısı ile eşcinsel hareketi toplayıp**, bu **hareketin yasalar çerçevesinde kurum kimliği kazanması** için neler yapılması gerektiğinin tartışılmasıdır. (p. 9)

[Ahead is "Baharankara", the second homosexual movement meeting of Turkey. The main purpose here is to determine the material conditions of being an aggregate, **to gather the homosexual mass of people, that is homosexual movement, under a joint-named roof**, and to discuss what needs to be done **in order to gain the institution identity within the framework of the laws**.] (own translation)

'Desire of freedom' correlates with 'collective and unifying action' in S(103) with reference to the advantages of living in groups. Thus, coming-out, discovering and living 'instinctive desires' are represented as products of living collectively. This correlation is

reiterated in S(104) by means of the concepts 'an unrestricted freedom', the ability to be free' and 'acting together'.

(104) Birlikte yaşadığımız kişilerin sayısı zaman içerisinde artış ve azalış gösteren seyirler izleyebilir. Henüz kitle tanımlamasını almayan bu **gruplaşmalar, grupçuklar**, başta bin bir güçlükle adlandırabildikleri genele yabancı **vücut dillerinin çok dışında içgüdüsel isteklerle karşılaşabilir**. (p. 8)

[The number of people we live with can increase or decrease in the course of time. These **groups or small groups**, which cannot be defined as an aggregate yet, **may face instinctive desires different from their body language**, alien to the common sense, which they could name with a thousand difficulties.] (own translation)

(105) **Birlikte hareket ediyor olmak**, -doğru ve yanlışlığını hiç tartışmıyorum- **sınırsız bir özgürlük ve özgür olabilme yetisi** sunar bizlere. (p. 8)

[Moving together, -I do not even have a word on if it is right or wrong- offer us an unlimited freedom and the ability to be free.] (own translation)

The discourse on the problem of existence is generalised in the text to encompass all discriminated groups, and what homosexuals experience today is compared to that of Afro-American people in America and workers in post-industrial Europe. In this sense, the expression "individuals fought to prove their identities and to become visible" in S(105) makes reference to the minority groups' struggle, including homosexuals' fight, for existence in a generalised way. In S(106), on the other hand, 'aggregation' or 'togetherness' is regarded as a method for making people accept the fact that gay and lesbian people exist.

(106) Nicel bir büyüklük ama sayıca fazla olmak azınlığa böylesi sınırları önceden çizilmiş hayatları sunarken diğer **bireyler şüphesiz kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaştılar**. […] Yok sayılan birey kesintisizmiş gibi görünen **haklı bir hak savaşının içerisinde bulur kendini**. (p. 8)

[While being crowded in quantity offers minorities lives with predetermined boundaries, other **individuals undoubtedly fought to prove their identities and to become visible**. […] The individual, who is rendered non-existent, **finds himself in a just war of rights which appears to be uninterrupted**.] (own translation)

(107) Doğanın karşısındaki acizlik duygusunu **varlığımızı**, **bizi yok sayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek adına yol alıyoruz**. **Kitle oluyoruz**. Köyünde buluşabilmiş iki eşcinsel, parkta bir araya gelmiş dört arkadaş, ya da hafta sonu toplantılarındaki bireyler birey olmaktan çıkıp da **ortak bir amaç uğruna hareket** ediyorlarsa **bir grup** haline getirebiliyorsa **bir kitle** oluşturuyorlar. (p. 9)

[We **set out to make people, who render us non-existent, accept** the feeling of helplessness before the nature and **the fact that we exist. We aggregate.** If two homosexuals who meet in their villages, four friends who come together in the park, or individuals attending the weekend meetings can form **a group** and **act for a common purpose**, then they are called **an aggragate**.] (own translation)

(108) Tanınmak için kamusal alan içerisinde yer almak, kanunlar çerçevesinde görünür olmak için kitleselleşebilmenin dışında **kurumsallaşmanın da en az kitle olabilmek kadar önemli olduğu**nu düşünüyorum. (p. 9)

[I think **institutionalization is just as important as being a mass** to become visible within the framework of laws and to take part in the public sphere to be recognised.] (own translation)

The organic relation of 'collective and unifying action' to its sub-code 'institutionalisation' is provided by a comparison between the concepts of aggregation and institution in S(107). As mentioned in S(102), the idea of gathering under an umbrella organisation such as Kaos GL or Lambda-İstanbul would ease the way for achieving an institutional identity. While this argument brings the parent category and its sub-category together, the text also questions the representability of major homosexual groups in Turkey. Within this context, the author stresses on the fact that a collective action should be based on individuals' awareness about existence of multiplicity of groups, which relates the categories 'collective and unifying action' and 'multiple voices within homosexuals' to each other.

Several other relations are also observable with less frequent code co-occurrences. In S(106), 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity' is revealed in relation to collective action through the phrases "yol alıyoruz" [we are setting out], as an indication of collective action, and "varlığımızı, bizi yok sayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek" [making people, who render us non-existent, accept the fact that we exist] with which the author aims at the very source of the homophobic attitude, i.e. the heterosexist ideological stance. The code co-occurrences of two categories 'rejection of social latency' and 'space for homosexuals' with 'collective and unifying action' has already been mentioned in S(95).

As for the code relations of the category with the categories of 'social order', the expressions "egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti" [hypocritical and dominating mind-set of the discourse] and "varlığımızı, bizi yok sayan insanlar[…]" [people who render us non-existent], through which the author makes reference to the dominant discourse in the society, are modified with verb or noun clauses such as "[…] adına yol

alıyoruz" [we set out in order to] and "oluşum" [group]. This leads the segments to be coded in 'homophobia' and 'collective and unifying action' both. Along with the second expression mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph, the category 'rendering non-existent' is observable within the context of collective action of gay and lesbian people in S(108):

> (109) Nicel bir büyüklük ama sayıca fazla olmak azınlığa böylesi sınırları önceden çizilmiş hayatları sunarken diğer bireyler şüphesiz **kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaştılar**. Çünkü üstün olduğunu düşünen egemen dil kendi iktidarına bir ortak gözüyle baktığı her farklı olguyu önce yok sayar, […] haklarını gerekli ortamlar yaratılmadıkça teslim etmez. Yok sayılan birey kesintisizmiş gibi görünen haklı bir **hak savaşı**nın içerisinde bulur kendini. (p. 8)
>
> [While being crowded in quantity offers minorities lives with predetermined boundaries, other **individuals undoubtedly fought to prove their identities and to become visible**. […] Because the dominant discourse, which thinks it is superior, renders every different phenomenon, that it considers a party to its power, non-existent, […] it by no means gives credit to them unless the necessary conditions are sustained. The individual who is rendered non-existent finds himself in a just **war of rights** which appears to be uninterrupted.] (own translation)

The expression "kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaştılar" [they fought to prove their identities and to become visible] presupposes that gay and lesbian people are rendered non-existent, and the verbal group "savaştılar" [they fought for […]] reveals that the struggle is carried out as a collective action. The segment also exemplifies the code relation between 'collective and unifying action' and 'heterosexism' through the concepts 'power', 'dominant discourse' and the verb 'to find themselves in a fight for rights'.

The segment coded in 'marginalisation' mentions the marginalised identities in the history within the context of their social struggle to change conceptualisations about themselves. 'Prejudice', on the other hand, is assigned to the segment where the author justifies the aggregation of gay and lesbian people.

Co-occurrences of 'rendering non-existent'. The contrastive relation between 'rendering non-existent', which refers to a typical homophobic attitude, and the discourse of homosexuals on 'existence of homosexuality' are conceptually observable through the following co-occurrences of expressions in the same segments: "yok saymak" [to render non-existent] and "fighting for proving their (homosexuals') identities and to become

visible"; "bizi yok sayan insanlar" [people rendering us non-existent] and "[varlığını] kabul ettirebilmek adına yol almak" [to set out to make people accept the fact that we exist]. The co-occurrence of the last two expressions also represents the code relation of 'rendering non-existent' to the categories 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' as well as to 'heterosexism'.

Code co-occurrences of 'homophobia'. As previously mentioned, 'homophobia' and 'heterosexism' have co-occurred in the same segments due to their indispensable conceptual relations as frequently observed nearly in all texts of Period I. The segments (109) and (110) are coded in both categories. The 'dominant discourse' and its 'temporary solutions' to the problematic minority groups, mentioned in S(109), refer to heterosexism and homophobic practices when the argument is thought within the context of homosexuality. The phrase "egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti" [hypocritical and dominating mind-set of the discourse] in S(110) benefits from the same conceptual pattern to be coded in both categories.

(110) **Egemen dil**in her tür alt gruba, **her tür azınlığa karşı geliştirdiği pek çok geçici çözüm** formülü tarihin sayfalarında yerini aldı. (p. 8)

[**Every temporary formula developed by dominant discourses against any sub-groups and minorities** has taken its place in the pages of history.] (own translation)

(111) Bugüne kadar yukarıdaki evrelerden geçen, **egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti** ile karşılaşan her oluşum benzerlerin bir arada hareket edebilme becerisine göre yol aldı, hak arama değilse de hak alabilme savaşında. (p. 8)

[To date, any formation that experienced each of the above-mentioned phases and faced **the hypocritical mentality of the dominant discourse** took the lead, in the fight for rights, rather than fighting to claim them, with the ability to act together.] (own translation)

S(109) continues with the accounts about the discriminatory treatment that Afro-American people faced in the past, and contextually this example is associated with the homophobic treatments against gay and lesbian people in the rest of the text. Therefore, a code relation between the categories 'homophobia' and 'racism' has been revealed in the analysis. Since the same segment is coded in 'heterosexism', the racist ideology automatically co-occurs with the heterosexist ideology. Similar relationship between the two categories was mentioned in the analysis of Text 1.

4. 2. 1. 7. Summary of GTA Findings

In this secton, a summary of the findings from the GTA will be provided. First, the most outstanding codes and code relations will be presented. Later, the categories which will be included in the CDA as discourse topics will be given in relation to their code relations. Code matrices for all the codes (grouped as 'social order' and 'describing the self') exemplified in the GTA are provided at the end of the section by Figures 4.14 and 4.15.

4. 2. 1. 7. 1. Codes and Code Co-occurrences

Text 1 & Text 2. In Text 1, 'heterosexism' is the primary code, i.e. core ideological framework, in the description of the social order in the first text of the magazine. 'Homophobia', as a code of complementing the former ideological category, is the second most prominent category in the description of social order. As opposed to these two categories, homosexuals mostly describe themselves within the context of categories such as 'desire of freedom', 'desire of equality' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' as mechanisms of resistance. Code relations in Text 1 confirm this opposing relationship between gay and lesbian individuals and the society. Accordingly, the category of 'heterosexism' frequently co-occurred with 'desire of freedom', 'desire of equality' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' in the same segments. Also, there is a close code relation between the heterosexist ideology and 'patriarchy', 'oppression of women' as well as types of homophobia such as 'rendering non-existent' and 'discrimination'.

In Text 2, parallel findings were observed with Text 1. In the description of the social order, 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity' are the primary ideological codes. 'Homophobia', on the other hand, continues to be coded frequently by means of its sub-categories such as 'violence', 'prejudice' and 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder'. Similarly, homosexuals describe their self most frequently by means of discursive units that are coded as 'desire of freedom' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity'.

Code relation of frequent codes also shows that 'heterosexism' and 'heteronormativity', two collaborating ideological apparatuses, have the strongest relationship in the

description of social order. The former is also frequently related to codes such as 'science and medicine', as an institution, and thus 'approach of science' as well as 'violence' and 'suppression and oppression' as parts of 'homophobia'. This network of codes provides evidence to the fact that 'heterosexism' is always coded with 'homophobia' or its sub-categories. Another strong relation is observed between 'heteronormativity' and 'patriarhcy' within the context of ideological frameworks prevailing in the society. As for the description of the self, it is clear that 'collective and unifying action' is related to 'desire of freedom' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity'.

According to the prominent codes and code relations in Text 1 and Text 2, it can be said that codes and code relations pertaining to the description of the social order in terms of homosexuality are considerably high in frequency rates compared to the ones describing the homosexual self. This show authors' preference to, first, portray the social conditions in which homosexual individuals had to live in 1994.

Text 3 & Text 4. In Text 3, similar to the texts published in 1994, the codes related to the description of the social order are predominantly higher in frequency compared to the description of the self. The highest frequency rate belongs to the code 'legal order' which negatively handles the heteronormative legal rights in the context of a call for a discussion on the way homosexuals should act. In line with this code, 'state' also occurs frequently as a member the axial code 'institutions'. Two ideological frameworks 'heterosexism' and 'capitalism' form the basis for explaining the works of the 'legal order' and the 'state' throughout the text. 'Anarchism', on the other hand, reveals itself as the perspective of the author in the explanation of the social order. 'Homophobia' also appears most frequently with its sub-categories such as 'rendering non-existent', 'suppression and oppression', 'violence' and 'discrimination'. Among the categories of describing the self, 'discussion of law on homosexuality', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity' and 'collective and unifying action' are the most frequent codes.

Two main codes having the largest network of code relations in the text are 'legal order' and 'heterosexism'. Parallel to the code frequencies, 'state', 'heterosexism', 'capitalism' and 'rendering non-existent' are the categories having the strongest relations to 'legal

order'. These code relations indicate that the legal order in which there is no room for non-heterosexual people in Turkey is handled in the context of ideologies such as capitalism and heterosexism by the magazine. As expected, 'discussion of law on homosexuality' from the codes describing the self, has the strongest link to the 'legal order'. 'Heterosexism', on the other hand, has close relations to 'violence' and 'rejection of acting within heterosexual values/laws' which reveals itself as a different form of resistance mechanism against the heterosexist ideology as well as heteronormative social order.

The category 'collective and unifying action', which showed up in the previous texts to some extent, dominates all the codes in Text 4. For the first time, the codes which stand for expression of the homosexual self outnumber in frequency. 'Desire of freedom' and 'multiple voices within homosexuals' are also the accompanying categories, which signify the purpose of creating a movement based on collectivity aiming at freedom of gay and lesbian people who possess varying world views and ideologies. The stress on the multiple voices within homosexual individuals, leads to revealment of a typical type of homophobia, i.e. internalised homophobia. This is followed by 'prejudice' as the second most recurring category in the axial code of 'homophobia'.

'Collective and unifying action' is the core category of the code relations in Text 4. The most strong relation of the category is to 'multiple voices within homosexuals' along with its sub-category 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals', which indicates that while the former denotes to the importance of constructing group solidarity and taking action collectively in the homosexual movement, the emergence of the latter codes turns out to be a natural result of the former. 'Desire of freedom' and 'struggle for rights' are other categories that are strongly related to 'collective and unifying action'. One last outstanding relation of the code is to 'transforming the institutions', which signifies a new misson of to the collective and unifying action of gay and lesbian people. The most recurrent code relation is formed with 'media', as an institution, pertaining to realising this mission. The second most abundant code relations are observed in 'rejection of acting within heterosexual laws/values'. The code co-occures the most frequently with 'discussion of law on homosexuality', 'desire of freedom' and 'heteronormativity' in respective order. This network of codes shows a typical anarchistic view on heterosexual

laws in that gay and lesbian people's freedom is based on to be independent of heteronormative laws and values in the society.

Text 5 & Text 6. In Text 5, the changing meanings of prejudice is handled. For this reason, 'prejudice' as a subcode of the parent code 'homophobia' is the most frequent category. As an opposition to the concept of prejudice, the categories 'desire of equality' and 'rejection of tolerance/affection' are seen as the most frequent ways of describing the homosexual self. Also, 'desire to eradicate hetrosexism/heteronormativity', 'desire of freedom' and 'positive developments' are other categories reflecting on the discourse of describing the self. The last category is directly related to the evolution of the notion of prejudice in time, which by no means signifies that the typical homophobic attitude was removed from the society. Considering the co-occuring codes in Text 5, the strongest code releation is seen between 'desire of equality' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity'. The achievement of the former desire is regarded as a way of ruling out heterosexism and heteronormativity from the society. 'Heterosexism' is referred to in the text by means of the latter code which denotes to a way of describing the homosexual self in terms of the social conditions. 'Positive developments' provides the largest code network by means of its relation to 'existence of homosexuality', 'rejection of tolerance/affection', 'prejudice', 'exluding/ignoring' and 'desire of freedom'. Also, relation of 'desire of freedom' to 'prejudice' and 'rejection of tolerance/affection' exemplify strong code relations in the text.

In Text 6, 'collective and unifying action' is the most outstanding code. Other codes following the category in respective of their frequency rates are 'solitude', 'struggle for rights', 'existence of homosexuality' and 'desire of freedom'. In the description of social order, 'heterosexism' as well as several types of homophobia, of which 'rendering non-existent' stands out, are exemplified. Code co-occurrences in the text also indicate the centrality of the code 'collective and unifying action'. The most salient relation of the code is to 'solitude'; in such a relation it is expressed that isolation and loneliness of homosexual individuals can only be overcome by aggregation. 'Struggle for rights' and 'coming-out' are other categories related to the central code. The stress on the latter code in the later texts of the period can be evaluated as a development in the homosexual community and the society as well in that the number of individual who come out of their

closets increase day by day, in turn leading to the necessity to come together to struggle for rights. The opposing categories, 'existence of homosexuality' and 'rendering non-existent', are also in a strong relation as frequently exemplified. Lastly, the strong and consistent relation of 'heterosexism' to 'homophobia' is also exemplified at the end of the period.

4. 2. 1. 7. 2. Categories as Discourse Topics

As it can be seen in the code matrices provided at the end of this section, two categories, 'heterosexism' and 'collecive and unifying action', are quantitatively representative of their group of codes, respectively 'social order' and 'describing the self'. Therefore, the textual segments coded in these categories are included in the CDA. It is crucial to note that each code encompasses a large network of code relations. Therefore, the segments included into the analysis are composed of many other thematic codes on the basis of code co-occurrences revealed in GTA. In other words, code relations observed in the categories of 'heterosexism' and 'collecive and unifying action' constitute the context of the discourse topics. Thus, the categories that determine the contexts of two discourse topics can be listed according to their frequencies respectively as follows:

- *Heterosexism*: 'Violence', 'suppression and oppression', 'rendering non-existent', rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values', 'heteronormativity', 'excluding/ignoring', 'discrimination', 'desire of equality', 'approach of science', 'science and medicine', 'patriarchy', 'oppression of women', 'homophobia', 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity', 'suppression of homosexual feelings', 'state', 'school', 'racism', 'prejudice', 'legal order', 'family', 'desire of freedom', 'collective and unifyin action', 'capitalism', 'struggle for rights', 'social transformation in the 80s', 'sexism', 'rejection of social latency', 'media', 'genetic engineering', 'gender', 'discussion of law on homosexuality', 'desire of democracy' and 'coming-out'

- *Collective and unifying action*: 'Desire of freedom', 'struggle for rights', 'multiple voices within homosexuals', 'solitude', 'homophobia', 'media', 'institutionalisation', 'existence of homosexuality', 'desire to eradicate

heterosexism/heteronormativity', 'coming-out', 'transforming the institutions', 'tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals', 'rendering non-existent', 'prejudice', 'anarchism', 'violence', 'space for homosexuals', 'rejection of social latency', 'reaching out to other homosexuals', 'political organisation', 'NGOs', 'marginalisation', 'living with heterosexuals', 'leftism', 'internalised homophobia', 'humiliation and ridiculing', 'employment' and 'desire of democracy'

Code System	1. Kao...	2. Var...	3. Nas...	4. Nas...	5. Ho...	6. Kitl...	SUM
∨ ◎ Social order							0
∨ ◎ Homophobia	▪		▪		▪	▪	9
◎ Suppression and oppression		▪	▪		▪		7
◎ Prejudice					▪	▪	13
◎ Rendering non-existent	▪				▪		7
∨ ◎ Discrimination	▪	▪			▪		8
◎ Humiliation and ridiculing		▪					2
◎ Marginalisation		▪					1
◎ Excluding/ignoring		▪		▪	▪		8
◎ Violence	▪	▪		▪	▪		14
◎ Rendering homosexuality as a disorder		▪					3
∨ ◎ Internalized homophobia					▪		4
◎ Despising other homosexuals							0
∨ ◎ Legal order			▪	▪			6
◎ Employment				▪			2
◎ Gender		▪		▪			3
◎ Oppression of women	▪	▪		▪			4
∨ ◎ Approach of science		▪					3
◎ Psychology and psychiatry		▪					1
◎ Genetic engineering		▪					1
∨ ◎ Social transformations in the 80s		▪					2
◎ Women's inclusion in politics		▪					1
◎ Environment policies		▪					1
◎ Using homosexuals as a means of political gain		▪					1
◎ Figures					▪		1
∨ ◎ Institutions							0
◎ NGOs		▪			▪		3
◎ Military		▪					1
◎ Religion					▪		1
◎ Science and medicine		▪					3
◎ Media		▪		▪	▪		8
◎ State		▪					7
◎ Family		▪					7
◎ School		▪					3
∨ ◎ Ideological apparatuses							0
∨ ◎ Leftism		▪					1
◎ Anarchism		▪					6
◎ Sectarianism							0
◎ Nationalism		▪					1
◎ Racism	▪		▪			▪	3
◎ Heterosexism	■	■	▪		▪	▪	29
◎ Patriarchy	▪	▪					9
◎ Heteronormativity		▪	▪				12
◎ Capitalism	▪	▪	▪				10
◎ Feminism		▪					2
◎ Militarism		▪					2
◎ Pragmatism		▪					1
◎ Environmentalism		▪					1
◎ Sexism	▪						1
◎ Bourgeouisie							0

Figure 4.14. Code matrix of the category 'Social order'

Code System	1. Kao...	2. Var...	3. Nas...	4. Nas...	5. Ho...	6. Kitl...	SUM
∨ Describing the self							0
∨ Collective and unifying action				■		■	32
Political organisation				•			1
Creating a discussion platform							0
Reaching out to other homosexuals			•				1
Institutionalisation				•		•	3
Desire of freedom	•	■	•	■	■	•	20
Desire of equality	•			■	■	•	14
∨ Struggle for rights	•		•			■	8
Right to choose sex by oneself			•				1
Coming-out	•			•	•	•	7
∨ Desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity	•	•		•	■		10
Rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values		•		■			7
∨ Multiple voices within homosexuals	•		•	■		•	8
Tolerance for/awareness of other homosexuals			•	■			3
∨ Existence of homosexuality	•		•	•	•	■	9
Existence of various homosexual identities			•				1
Positive developments					■		4
Rejection of social latency	•	•			•		7
Desire of democracy	•						1
Solitude		•				■	6
Rejection of tolerance/affection					■		5
Transforming the institutions				■			4
Discussion of law on homosexuality				•			4
Suppression of homosexual feelings	•	•					2
Space for homosexuals						•	1
Living with heterosexuals				■			3
Collective memory loss	•						1

Figure 4.15. Code matrix of the category 'Describing the self'

4. 2. 2. Tropological Construction Analysis: Strategies and Linguistic Means and Forms of Realisation

The previous part of this chapter has been assigned to the GTA analysis of 6 texts from *Kaos GL Magazine* pertaining to the homosexual movement between the years 1994 and 1999 in Turkey in an attempt to reveal the grounded discursive categories. That part constitutes the first component of the tripartite DHA model, i.e. *contents*. Below, the findings from the analysis based tropological construction of social actors have been presented, which completes the second and the third components of the whole analysis framework, i.e. *strategies* and *linguistic means and forms of realisation*.

A compilation of strategies based on the representation of social actors have been adopted from the frameworks laid by van Leeuwen (1996) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001). According to the frameworks, social actors are represented and constructed on the basis of in-groups and out-groups polarity through categorisation devices such as metonymies, synecdoches and metaphors (Reisgl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009, p. 8). Some

strategies overlap in the same linguistic realisations, yet each strategy denotes specific conceptualisations about the social actors. Last but not least, the representation of social actors are based on the perspective of marginalised and vulnerable, an 'insider' perspective (Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007).

Each strategy and related linguistic means and forms of realisation are provided with tables. The tables are organised in a hieararchical fashion that displays the linguistic realisations according to the discourse categories (i.e. 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action') at the highest level, and the social actors (grouped as 'us' and 'them') in the lower level for each category. Certain realisations appear in both discourse categories; the reason for this is that two major categories have overlapped in certain textual segments in GTA. The linguistic realisations are grouped two by two chronologically, and each group is regarded as a single item representing the discourse of the magazine in the related years: i.e. Text 1 & Text 2 (1994), Text 3 & Text 4 (1996) and Text 5 & Text 6 (1998-1999).

4. 2. 2. 1. Genericisation

Genericisication is reference to people generically by plural forms to represent them as "generalised essences, classes which constitute the real" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 46); in this view, a reality is constructed or reproduced by the utterer on the basis of qualities attached to the participants of those classes of people. Generic and specific reference plays an important role in the representation of social actors to construct 'us' and 'them' distinction. In this sense, genericised social actors differ in context from those specified (as realised through *assimilation* and *individualisation* strategies). Below, linguistic means and forms of realisation for the genericised social actors are presented within the context of 'heterosexim' and 'collective and unifying action'.

Table 4. 8

Genericisation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Genericisation			
Cat.	**Soc. Act.**	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	*Pluralisation.* Plural (following an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural (following a negative ideologonym) Plural (following a metaphorical professionym) Plural (with ascription of membership to non-governmental organisations) Plural (following a professionym) Plural (following a mass noun) Plural (following a criminonym) *Classification without plural.* Premodified nouns Noun with quantifier *Classification without plural.* Singular noun categorised with pre-modifier *Pluralisation.* Plural, negatively pre-modified noun compound Plural (following an organizationym) Plural (following an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural, personal pronoun Plural (following an anthroponym) Plural, indefinite personal pronoun Plural, participle	**Text 1 & Text 2** heteroseksüeller [heterosexuals]; heteroseksistler [heterosexists]; rant peşinde koşan soytarılar [fools who sought to gain credit]; sivil toplumcular [members of NGOs]; sözde uzmanlar [so-called professionals], sözcüler [spokespeople], bilim adamları [scientists], antropologlar [anthropologists], modern toplumlar [modern societies], toplumun bütün kurumları [all institutions of the society]; bilimsel katiller [scientific murderers]; kapitalist toplum [capitalist society], sınıflı toplum [class society]; her birey [each individual] **Text 3 & Text 4** ayrımcılık yapan kişi [the person who discriminates] beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları [human armies whose minds are shackled] kurumlar [institutions], heteroseksüel kurumlar [heterosexual institutions] heteroseksüeller [heterosexuals] onlar [they] **Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people]; birileri [someone]; bunları konuşanlar [those saying these words]; bizi yok sayan insanlar [people who render us non-existent]
	US	*Pluralisation.* Plural (following an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) *Classification without plural.* Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation (with quantifier) *Pluralisation.* Plural (with pre-modified noun) *Classification without plural.* Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation (with quantifier) *Pluralisation.* Plural (with pre-modified noun) Plural (following an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural (following a genderonym)	**Text 1 & Text 2** gay'ler [gay people], (bütün) eşcinseller [all the gay people]; bir gay [an homosexual] **Text 3 & Text 4** çelişen bireyler [contradicting individuals], eşcinseler [homosexuals], farklılıklar [varieties] bir eşcinsel [a homosexual], erkek escinseller [gay males], kadın eşcinseller [female homosexuals] **Text 5 & Text 6** "duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar" [sensitive, good and nice people] eşcinseller [homosexuals],

		Classification without plural. Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation (with quantifier)	kızları (harbi) [girls (are masculine), erkekleri (duyarlı) [boys (are sensitive)] bir lezbiyen [a lesbian];
	OTHER ACTORS	*Pluralisation.* Plural (following a genderonym) Plural (following an anthroponym) Plural (following a racionym, ethnonym or religionym) Plural anthroponyms (with genderonym and gerontonym)	**Text 1 & Text 2** kadınlar [women]; insanlar [people]; Kızderililer [Indians], Yahudileri [Jews], Kürtler [Kurds]; oğlan çocukları [boys], kız çocukları [girls]
		Plural (following an anthroponym) *Classification without plural.* racionym, politonym	**Text 3 & Text 4** insanlar [people]; siyah derili bir insan [a person with black skin], Amerikan vatandaşı [American citizen]
		Plural (following a racionym)	**Text 5 & Text 6** zenciler [Afro-American people],
Collective and unifying action	**THEM**	*Pluralisation.* Plural (with anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural (with negative ideologonym)	**Text 1 & Text 2:** heteroseksüeller [heterosexual]; heteroseksistler [heterosexists];
		Pluralisation. Plural (following an anthroponym) Plural (following an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural (personal pronoun) *Classification without plural.* Singular noun	**Text 3 & Text 4** insanlar [people], bireyler [individuals] heteroseksüeller [heterosexuals], heterolar [heteros] onlar [they]; öğrenci [student]
		Plural (following an anthroponym) Plural, personal pronoun Plural (following an anthroponym)	**Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people] sizler [you] başka bireyler [other individuals], bizi yok sayan insanlar [people who render us non-existent]
	US	Plural (with anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) *Classification without plural.* Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation (with quantifiers) *Pluralisation.* Plural (with pre-modified noun) *Classification without plural.* Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation (with quantifier) *Pluralisation.* Plural (following an anthroponym) Plural (with anthroponym referring to sexual orientation) Plural (with pre-modified noun, participle)	**Text 1 & Text 2:** gay'ler [gay people]; bir sıtreyt (gibi) [(like) a straight person]; **Text 3 & Text 4** çelişen bireyler [contradicting individuals], eşcinseler [homosexuals]; bir eşcinsel [a homosexual] **Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people] eşcinseller [homosexuals], lezbiyenler [lesbian people], gayler [gay people], erkek escinseller [gay males], kadın eşcinseller [female homosexuals] cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan insanlar [people who cannot live their sexual identities]; heteroseksüel olmayan tüm cinsel azınlıklar [all non-heterosexual minorities]; eşcinsel birey [homosexual individual]

		Classification without plural. Anthroponym referring to sexual orientation	
OTHER ACTORS		*Pluralisation.* Plural (with pre-modified noun)	**Text 3 & Text 4** bağımsız bireyler [independent individuals]

Note. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

In both discourse categories, namely 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action', out-groups are represented generically with following linguistic realisations: 'heteroseksistler' [heterosexists] and 'heteroseksüeller' [heterosexuals] in Text 1 and Text 2; 'heteroseksüeller' [heterosexuals] in Text 3 and Text 4; and 'bizi yok sayan insanlar' [people who render us non-existent] in Text 5 and Text 6.

Whether it is within the context the category of 'heterosexism' or 'collective and unifying action', in the sentences which include social actors from 'us' and 'them' sides both, the latter are tended to be represented generically. The following excerpts from Text 1 and Text 2 exemplify this distinction:

(1) **Biz**ler yalnızca yatak odasında değil her yerde ve her zaman gay'iz. […] Salt heteroseksüellerle bir sorunumuz yok; asıl düşmanımız bizlere yaşam hakkı tanımayan **heteroseksistler**dir. ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

(2) **Bilimsel katiller** ve **eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler**, eşcinselliğin nedenleri konusunda bir sonuca varamıyorlar. Doğrusu **biz** bu konuda hiç de meraklı değiliz. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

The social actors included in the excerpt (hereafter, E) coded in both categories 'we' and 'heterosexists' are distinguished on account of the generality and specificity of two terms. 'Biz' [we], as typical of discourses based on us/them distinction, refers to the assimilated group of homosexuals. The deictic stands for the word 'eşcinsel' [homosexual], an anthropomorphym referring to people having same-sex sexual interest, and this enables to represent the members of class of homosexuals as a group. 'Heterosexists', on the other hand, are represented as a genericised entity by means of plural and the operation of classification based on the concept of 'heterosexism'. With these in mind, heterosexists

and scientists (who are referred to as 'katiller' [murderers]) are treated as distant others as opposed to 'us' (homosexuals) as a collective unity.

In the representations of 'them' within the context of 'heterosexism', plural is used with various types of nouns such as professionyms, mass nouns, criminonyms (as exemplified by 'bilimsel katiller' [scientific murderers]) in order to refer to others generically. Some social actors are genericised by means of professionyms, not being referred to who specifically they are as person or group. As will be mentioned in functionalisation strategy, these actors, namely, 'soytarılar' [fools], 'sözde uzmanlar' [so-called professionals] and 'sözcüler' [spokespeople], 'bilim adamları' [scientists] and 'antropologlar' [anthropologists] are classified by means of (metaphorical) professionyms with plural affixation. The mass nouns 'toplum' [society] and 'kurum' [institution], which can normally function as collectives are also genericised by means of plural and premodifiers in context. The realisations such as 'modern toplumlar' [modern societies] and 'toplumun bütün kurumları' [all institutions of the society], appearing in excerpts (3) and (4), indicate that social actors can be genericised to represent negative 'others' through mass nouns. In both sentences, with an added effect of habitual and universal present tense, the related social actors are rendered generic, which establishes a contrastive relationship with specified homosexuals or individuals subjected to heteronormative values. The same structure is observable in Text 3, shown in E (5), by pluralisation of the mass noun 'ordu' [army], in the realisation 'beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları' [human armies whose minds are shackled].

(3) **Toplumun bütün kurumları**, erkek egemen ideolojiyi üretip dayattığı için de artık yetişenlerin başlarına anne, baba, öğretmen... dikmek gerekmez. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

(4) Onların [bilim adamlarının] **biz**lere yaklaşımları, antropologların, **modern toplumlar**a benzemeyen ve onun dışında kalan toplum ve topluluklara bakışlarıyla aynıdır. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

(5) […] bahsi geçen ve benzeri işler yaşamı güçleştirir, karmaşıklaştırır, **beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları** üretir. (Başaran, 1996, pp. 15-16)

There are also cases in which social actors are genericised in non-plural linguistic forms. 'Kapitalist toplum' [capitalist society] and 'sınıflı toplum' [class society] are examples to such constructions, as presented by E (6). According to this example, two types of society are genericised by possessing the male-dominant ideology. A similar case is observed in

Text 3, as exemplified by E (7). The noun premodified with participle structure, 'ayrımcılık yapan kişi' [the person who discriminates] stands for the generic class of people who discriminates people for their sexual orientation. The generic reference in the sentence is provided by classification operation through premodification as well as the noun 'kişi' [person] which gives an indefinite meaning; thus, indefiniteness and definiteness of nouns selected in discourse also has a determinant role in specific and generic representation of social actors.

(6) […] heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideoloji yalnızca **kapitalist topluma** özgü değildir. Asıl olarak **sınıflı toplumun** ürünüdür. ("Var Olan Durum ve Eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 4)

(7) Ceza yasasında, "birisine, cinsel yöneliminden dolayı şöyle şöyle şekilde **ayrımcılık yapan kişi**, böyle böyle cezalandırılacaktır" gibisinden bir madde bulunsa, başımız göğe mi erecek? (Başaran, 1996, p. 15)

Text 5 and Text 6 exemplify the distinction of generic and specific representation of 'us' and 'them' in the category of 'heterosexism' as well. The most representative example, which also falls to the category of 'collective and unifying action', is seen in E (8); the social actors who render homosexuals non-existent in the society are represented by the generic plural noun 'insanlar' [people] while homosexuals are specified by the deictic 'biz' [we].

(8) […] varlığımızı, **bizi** yok sayan **insanlar**a kabul ettirebilmek adına yol alıyoruz. (Şakir, 1999, p. 9)

Also, indefinite personal pronouns, as part of indetermination operation, are also means for genericising others. As can be seen in E (9), in spite of the positive perspective of the author, the 'others' are anonymised in discourse by means of the realisation 'birileri' [someone], and genericised by means of plural.

(9) […] en olumsuz tavır "tamam sizi anlıyorum, çok sorun yaşıyorsunuz ama bunun özgürlük mücadeleriyle ne ilgisi var, etrafımızda bunca sorun dururken" filanvari oluyor. Buna da şükür (!), en azından **birileri** bir şeyleri anlıyorlar ha! (Başaran, 1998, p. 17)

Besides the common social actors (i.e. 'heteroseksistler' [heterosexists] and 'heteroseksüeller' [heterosexuals]) in both categories, several other generic representations of 'them' are observable within the context of 'collective and unifying action'. Plural forms such as 'insanlar' [people], 'bireyler' [individuals], 'heterolar' [heteros], 'onlar' [they] as well as singular form 'öğrenci' [student] in Text 3 and Text 4;

plural forms 'insanlar' [people], 'sizler' [you], and 'başka bireyler' [other individuals] in Text 5 and Text 6 are examples to genericisation.

Plural deictic forms 'onlar' [they] and 'sizler' [you] are representative forms for generic social actors. In the sentence "[…] onların hak ya da üstünlük olarak kabul ettikleri yalancı özgürlükleri istemiyorum" [I do not want their false liberties, which they regard as rights or superior], 'onlar' [they] refers to heterosexuals, just like 'sizler' [you] in the sentence "Biz sizlerin hayatında bir değişiklik değiliz, biz kendi hayatımızız" [We are not some kind of difference in you lives, we are our own lives]. The form 'heteroseksüeller' [heterosexuals] is again a generic representation since the subject is null personal pronoun 'ben' [I] referring to an individual in the former sentence, and 'biz' [we] referring to a group in the latter.

As for representations of 'us', the social actors are represented in both discourse categories with such realisations: 'gay'ler' [gay people] in Text 1 and Text 2; 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals] and 'bir eşcinsel' [a homosexual] and 'çelişen bireyler' [contradictory individuals] in Text 3 and Text 4; 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals] in Text 5 and Text 6.

Genericisation of 'us' within the context of heterosexism is observed in sentences where there is not any comparison to the genericised 'others'. Similarly, operations such as pluralisation and classification without plural are employed to represent homosexuals generically, as exemplified by the excerpts (10), (11), (12) and (13).

(10) Bütün Kızılderilileri, Yahudileri ve Kürtleri yok edebilirsiniz. **Bütün eşcinseller**i Hitler'in yaptığı gibi pembe üçgenlerle işaretleyip toplayabilirsiniz. ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

(11) Belki "demokrasi" o kadar gelişir, o kadar gelişir ki (!) **gay'ler** de özgür olabilirler! ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

(12) "Cinsel sevi nesnesi" olarak kendi cinsini seçmekle birlikte yatak dışında gay'liğini unutan **bir gay** de aynı şekilde heteroseksist diktatörlük için sorun yaratmaz. ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2)

(13) […] görsel medyayı, ciddi bir iletişim aracı zannetmek, korkunç bir yanılgıdır […] Böyle düşünen **bir eşcinsel**e önereceğim en mantıklı şey bol para kazanacak bir iş bulması. (Başaran, 1996, p. 16)

The pluralised form 'bütün eşcinseller' [all homosexuals] in E (10) genericise homosexuals as a class category in relation to the preceding social actors Kızılderililer [Indians], Yahudileri [Jews], Kürtler [Kurds]. There is an equation between the classes

of people in terms of their victim role in the piece of discourse with an added influence of material processes; the verbs 'yok etmek' [to eradicate] and 'öldürmek' [to kill] which are realised by the hidden indeterminate agent contribute to the equation of these classes of people. The realisation 'gay'ler' in E (11), on the other hand, represents the whole class of people with the same sexual orientation, and any democratic development in the society is said to influence all gay individuals. Thus, the two realisations indicate that whether social actors are specified or genericised depends on the contextual elements within discourse. Non-plural quantifiers also genericise homosexuals. The quantifier 'bir' [a/an] premodifying the anthroponym 'gay' [homosexual] and 'eşcinsel' [homosexual], in the excerpts (12) and (13), genericises the whole set of individuals with respect to its relation to the abstract structures "heterosexist dictatorship" and the "capitalist system".

Without any doubt, genericisation is often employed by means anthroponyms referring to sexual orientation, e.g. 'gay'ler' [homosexuals], 'homoseksüeller' [homosexuals], 'bir lezbiyen' [a lesbian], 'bütün eşcinseller' [all homosexuals], 'heteroseksüeller' [heterosexuals], etc. However, there are other cases in which pluralisation is employed through more generic nouns to refer to social actors such as 'birey' [individual] and 'insan' [people]. E (14) and E (15) present typical genericisation examples:

(14) Sistemin herhangi bir yeri ile **çelişen bireyler** -bu ırkından, etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden vb. dolayı olabilir çelişme noktalarını fark edebilme ve sistemi sorgulayabilme şansına sahiptirler. (Başaran, 1996, p. 16)

(15) Ama **eşcinseller**in özgürlük istemlerinin boyutlarını anlamak "**onlar**ın ne de **duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar** olduklarını" konuşmaktan geçmiyor. (Başaran, 1998, p. 18)

The former excerpt gives clue on what is specific and generic in itself. It is stated that the (generic) 'individuals' who contradict with the heterosexist system on the basis of their (specific) qualities such as races, ethnic origins, gender or sexual orientation have the chance to realise and question the shortcomings of it. In this sense, the realisation of 'çelişen bireyler' [contradicting individuals] functions as a generic representation encompassing all kinds of minority groups within the society. The form 'duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar' [sensitive, good and nice people], in E (15), is a generic representation of homosexuals, depicting non-heterosexuals' perspective on homosexual individuals; in

this sense, a contrast between the generic noun 'people' and more specific 'homosexuals' as well as 'them' is observed in the sentence.

Besides the common realisations in both categories, the insiders (i.e. 'us') are represented by means of generic and plural realisations such as 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals], 'lezbiyenler' [lesbian people], 'gayler' [gay people], 'erkek escinseller' [gay males], 'kadın eşcinseller' [female homosexuals] 'cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan insanlar' [people who cannot live their sexual identities], 'heteroseksüel olmayan tüm cinsel azınlıklar' [all non-heterosexual minorities]; and singular classification 'eşcinsel birey' [homosexual individual]. The examples for 'us' within the context of 'heterosexism' as well as 'collective and unifying action' show that social actors are generically represented in order to express what they are subjected to or what they (should) do within society in a general sense, without concealing them as subjects within discourse.

In sum, the examples show that out-groups, who are characterised with negative attitudes and homophobic practices, are usually represented generically by means of minor operations such as pluralisation and classification. In-group members, on the other hand, are represented specifically (through operations such as *assimiliation* and *individualisation*, which will be mentioned in the next two sections) in most situations where 'others' also appeared in the discourse. Generic representation of homosexuals, apart from their contrastive relation to generic out-groups, becomes meaningful in the expression their common life experiences and relations to other members of the society, which, in a sense, specifies them by their actions and relations they are involved in.

4. 2. 2. 2. Assimilation

Assimilation refers to representation of social actors as groups (Wodak, 2001, p. 53; van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 48). It is operationalised through two minor strategies: *collectivisation*, i.e. "reference to social actors as group entities" (2001, p. 53), and *aggregation*, i.e. quantifying groups of participants (1996, p. 49). Specification of social actors as groups has a special meaning for discursive construction of in-groups in the texts of *Kaos GL*

Magazine. The linguistic means and forms of realisation for the assimilation strategy have been presented in Table 4. 9.

Table 4. 9.

Assimilation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Assimilation			
Cat.	**Soc. Act.**	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	*Collectivisation.* Collective, deictic (personal pronoun, possessive);	**Text 1 & Text 2** 'onlar' (null personal pronoun 'they'), onların çocukları [their children]
		Collective (mass nouns)	toplum [society], sınıf [class], aile [family]
		Collective (also organisationym)	devlet [state], fakülte [faculty], okul [school]
		Collectivisation. Collective (also organisationym)	**Text 3 & Text 4** parlamento [parliament], devlet [state], medya [media], parti [political party], heterosexist kurumlar [heterosexist institutions];
		Collective (mass nouns)	toplum [society], heteroseksüel kamp [heterosexual camp], kokuşmuş system [corrupted system], heteroseksüel camia [heterosexual community], ailem [my family]
		Collective (also professionym)	polis [police], medya çalışanları [media employees]
	US	*Collectivisation.* Collective	**Text 1 & Text 2** oluşum [formation];
		Collective, deictic (personal pronoun)	biz(ler) [we];
		Collective with null personal pronoun	'biz' [null personal pronoun 'we'] referring to 'dergi' [magazine];
		Collective (also anthroponym referring to sexual orientation)	gay [homosexual],
		Collectives (with plural)	genç gay ve lezbiyenler [young gay and lesbian people], gay ve lezbiyen bireyler [gay and lesbian individuals]
		Collectivisation. Collective	**Text 3 & Text 4** eşcinseller [homosexuals]; eşcinsel camia [homosexual community]
		Collective, deictic (personal, reflexive pronoun)	biz [we], kendimiz [ourselves]
		Collectivisation. Collective (also organisationym)	**Text 5 & Text 6** Lambda-İstanbul
		Collectivisation. Collective (also anthroponyms)	erkek eşcinseller [gay males], kadın eşcinseller [female homosexuals]
		Collective, deictic (personal pronoun)	biz [we]
		Collective	benzerler [alikes], oluşum [formation]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	*Collectivisation.* Collective (mass nouns)	**Text 3 & Text 4** heteroseksüel kamp [heterosexual camp], kokuşmuş system [corrupted system], heteroseksüel camia [heterosexual community], heterosexist kurumlar [heterosexist institutions], aile [family], kurum [institution], devlet [state], toplum [society], ilk parti [first political party], yeni bir toplum [a new society],

			Text 5 & Text 6
		Collectivisation. Collective	aile [family], toplum [society], özel çevre [private acquaintance]
		Collective, null personal pronoun	siz [you]
US			**Text 1 & Text 2**
		Collectivisation. Collective, deictic (personal, reflexive pronoun)	biz(ler) [we], hepimiz [all of us], kendimiz [ourselves]
		Collective, null personal pronoun	'biz' [null personal pronoun 'we'] referring to 'dergi' [magazine];
		Collective (also anthroponym referring to sexual orientation)	gay [homosexual], gay ve lezbiyen bireyler [gay and lesbian individuals], eşcinseller [homosexuals]
			Text 3 & Text 4
		Collectivisation. Deictic	biz [we], hepimiz [all of us], gruplar [groups], bireyler [individuals], kendimiz [ourselves]
		Collective, null personal pronoun Collectives	eşcinseller [homosexuals], eşcinsel camia [homosexual community], hep birlikte [altogether], bir grup [one group], tek bir grup [only one group] diğer arkadaşlar [other fellows], birlik [union], kurum [organisation];
		Collective group names	Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum, Kaos grubu [Kaos group], bu grup (Kaos GL) [this group]; 5-10 kişi [5-10 people], 10-20-30…grup [10-20-30…groups]
		Aggregation. Definite quantifiers	**Text 5 & Text 6** biz [we], siz [you] kendimiz [ourselves]
		Collectivisation. Collective, deictic Collective, reflexive pronoun Collective, mass nouns	kitle [mass of people], birliktelik [togetherness], grup [group], grupçuk [small group], oluşum [formation], beraberlik [togetherness]; "Ankara'dan iki, İstanbul'dan bir eşcinsel grup" [homosexual groups two from Ankara and one from İstanbul]; "Türkiye eşcinsel hareketinin bu üç temel bileşeni" [three main components of homosexual movement in Turkey]; Türkiye'deki ya da Türk eşcinseller [homosexuals living in Turkey or Turkish homosexuals]
		Collective, mass nouns/plural nouns with pre-modifier, participle	"birlikte yaşadığımız kişiler" [those who we live together with]; "haftasonu toplantılarındaki bireyler" [individuals who attend the weekend meetings]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

In both discourse categories the Others are represented by means of linguistic realisations such as 'devlet' [state] in Text 1 and Text 2; 'heteroseksüel kamp' [heterosexual camp], 'kokuşmuş system' [corrupted system], 'heteroseksüel camia' [heterosexual community], 'heterosexist kurumlar' [heterosexist institutions], 'devlet' [state], and 'toplum' [society] in Text 3 and Text 4.

In the category of 'heterosexism', out-groups are assimilated into plural deictics, mass nouns or organisationyms and professionyms functioning as mass nouns. In Text 1 &

Text 2, they are represented by personal pronoun 'they', referring to actors such as all homophobes in the history and scientists, and by possessive in the noun clause 'onların çocukları', referring to those who are born into a heterosexual society. Also, 'others' are collectivised by means of mass nouns such as 'toplum' [society], 'sınıf' [class], 'aile' [family] as well as organisationyms 'devlet' [state], 'fakülte' [faculty], 'okul' [school]. Similar collectives in Text 3 and Text 4 are organisationyms such as 'parlamento' [parliament], 'devlet' [state], 'medya' [media], 'parti' [political party], 'heterosexist kurumlar' [heterosexist institutions]; mass nouns such as 'toplum' [society], 'heteroseksüel kamp' [heterosexual camp], 'kokuşmuş system' [corrupted system], 'heteroseksüel camia' [heterosexual community], 'ailem' [my family] as well as professionyms such as polis [police], medya çalışanları [media employees].

All the social actors assimilated into groups within the context of heterosexism portray a general picture about out-groups to whom homosexuals are in relation. As it is clear from the linguistic forms, collectives referring to out-groups encompass politicians, media members, any member of the state (i.e. members of legislative, executive and judiciary systems), parents, police officers, etc. It is possible to say that out-groups are mostly represented as collectives in the homosexual discourse. Accordingly, it can also be said homosexuals are represented as having been subject to heterosexism and homophobia from people who are members to various instititutions of society, and that their social struggle is against heterosexist and homophobic attitudes of groups rather than individuals. Another important point about representation of out-groups within the category of 'heterosexism' is that the mass nouns used to assimilate out-groups are generic in that words such as 'toplum' [society], 'kurum' [institution], 'sistem' [system], 'devlet' [state] refer to large amounts of people collectively as general societal groups.

The way in-groups are represented in the category of 'heterosexism' gives some clues on the social actors challenging against above-mentioned out-groups within the category of 'heterosexism'. The forms into which homosexuals are assimilated are often more specified mass nouns, particulary with the effect of pluralised somatonyms referring to the sexual orientation of social actors. In this sense, the most common realisations in all 6 texts are anthroponyms such as 'gay' [homosexual], 'genç gay ve lezbiyenler' [young gay and lesbian people], 'gay ve lezbiyen bireyler' [gay and lesbian individuals],

'eşcinseller' [homosexuals]; 'eşcinsel camia' [homosexual community], 'erkek escinseller' [gay males] and 'kadın eşcinseller' [female homosexuals]. Besides these somatonyms, homosexuals are represented by mass noun 'oluşum' [formation], first person plural 'biz(ler)' [we] as exemplified in both Text 1 & Text 2 and Text 5 & Text 6. The deictic 'biz' [we] also appears in Text 1 & Text 2 as a null personal pronoun 'we' referring to 'dergi' [magazine] (*objectivisation* of homosexual social actors) through the realisation "[…] bunun için çıkıyoruz" [for this we are published (or [we are coming out]). Also, by means of reflexive pronoun 'kendimiz' [ourselves] in Text 3 & Text 4 and a sociative 'benzerler' [alikes] in Text 5 & Text 6 homosexuals are referred to as groups. Lastly, specific groups are mentioned in the texts, though within the category of 'heterosexism'; in Text 5 & Text 6, 'Lambda-İstanbul', a group name referring to the homosexual organisation in İstanbul.

These realisations show that with an added influence of somatisation, in-groups are linguistically assimilated more specifically based on the sexual orientations of individuals constituting the groups within the context of 'heterosexism'. Also, as a result of the 'minority position' of in-groups in quantity has a determinant role in the linguistic realisations: compared to the width of linguistically realised out-groups, homosexual groups are represented as more restricted. This fact is another reason for specific construction of in-groups as opposed to generic out-groups.

As for the category of 'collective and unifying action', out-groups are represented mostly with same generic mass nouns that have appeared in the category of 'heterosexism' such as 'heteroseksüel kamp' [heterosexual camp], 'kokuşmuş system' [corrupted system], 'heteroseksüel camia' [heterosexual community], 'heterosexist kurumlar' [heterosexist institutions], 'aile' [family], 'kurum' [institution], 'devlet' [state], 'toplum' [society] in Text 3 & Text 4. Different from such realisations, a specific representation exists in Text 3 & Text 4 with respect to the discussions on conducting the homosexual movement under the auspices of a political party; thus, although it is regarded as an out-group, ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) referred to by means of the linguistic realisation 'ilk parti' [first political party] has a distinctive position among other social groups representing 'Others'. 'Özel çevre' [private acquaitance] referring to close friends of homosexual individuals and second person plural 'siz' [you] referring to 'them' are other linguistic

realisations representing out-groups in Text 5 & Text 6. The form 'yeni bir toplum' [a new society] is described by its utterer as a kind of society that does not necessitate homosexuals' questioning of institutions such as family, state, religion, education and media, and that does not depend on eradication and rendering non-existent, as mentioned in E (14) from Text 4. The collective 'toplum' [society] is considered as an imagined community that includes heterosexuals and non-heterosexual both.

(16) Bunun için de eşcinsellerin aile, devlet, din, eğitim, medya gibi kurumları sorgulaması ve yok etmeye ve yok saymaya dayanmayan **yeni bir toplum** biçimi öngörmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

Besides what has already been mentioned concerning representation of out-groups in the category of 'heterosexism', these realisations show, within the context of 'collective and unifying action', that the social struggle is conducted by homosexuals against macro social structures such as society, state, system, institutions and camps as well as micro social structures such as family, private acquaintance, and political parties (even those having close ideological stances with homosexuals).

The most abundant linguistic realisations are those representing 'us' within the context of collective and unifying action. Certain linguistic realisations recur in both discourse categories due to overlapping of codes revealed in GTA: 'biz(ler)' [we], 'kendimiz' [ourselves], 'biz' [null personal pronoun 'we'] referring to 'dergi' [magazine], 'gay' [homosexual], 'gay ve lezbiyen bireyler' [gay and lesbian individuals] in Text 1 & and Text 2; 'kendimiz' [ourselves], 'oluşum' [formation] in Text 5 & Text 6.

Besides the recurring forms in both categories, in-group members are assimilated by means of mass nouns denoting to 'togetherness' such as 'hepimiz' [all of us] in Text 1 & Text 2; 'hepimiz' [all of us] 'hep birlikte' [altogether] in Text 3 & Text 4; 'birliktelik' [togetherness], 'beraberlik' [togetherness] and 'birlikte yaşadığımız kişiler' [those who we live together with] in Text 5 & Text 6. 'Unity' is another construct in the discourse topic of 'Collective and unifying action' that can be seen in forms such as 'bir grup' [one group], 'tek bir grup' [only one group], 'bu grup' (Kaos GL) [this group] in Text 3 & Text 4. 'Togetherness' and 'unity' become prevailing terms in the texts in 1996 with the start of the series titled "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışması" [What should the homosexual movement be like?].

The stress on the distinction between 'us' and 'them' consistently continues by means of deictic collectives 'biz' [we] and 'siz' [you] as well as the reflexive pronoun 'kendimiz' [ourselves]. The latter stands for out-groupers' way of addressing at gay and lesbian people. Anthroponyms referring to sexual orientation also appear in discourse with such linguistic realisations: 'eşcinseller [homosexuals] in Text 3 & Text 4, and 'Türkiye'deki ya da Türk eşcinseller' [homosexuals living in Turkey or Turkish homosexuals] in Text 5 & Text 6. Also, collectives such as 'gruplar' [groups], 'bireyler' [individuals], 'eşcinsel camia' [homosexual community] and 'kurum' [organisation] in Text 3 & Text 4 and 'kitle' [mass of people], 'grup' [group], 'grupçuk' [small group] in Text 5 & Text 6 dominate the discourse topic 'collective and unifying action'.

In-group members are also assimilated by means of collective group names such as 'Kaos GL', 'Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri', 'Lambda-İstanbul', 'Lambda-Erzurum', 'Kaos grubu' [Kaos group] as well as the collective 'diğer arkadaşlar' [other fellows] in Text 3 & Text 4, which on the one hand denotes to more specific references into which in-group social actors are assimilated; on the other hand, it socially signifies the increasing number of homosexual groups in Turkey. In the same vein, linguistic realisations in Text 5 & Text 6 such as 'Ankara'dan iki, İstanbul'dan bir eşcinsel grup' [homosexual groups two from Ankara and one from İstanbul], 'Türkiye eşcinsel hareketinin bu üç temel bileşeni' [three main components of homosexual movement in Turkey], 'haftasonu toplantılarındaki bireyler' [individuals who attend the weekend meetings] justify the existence of established homosexual groups in Turkey in 1996.

Aggregation, which refers to representation of social actors as statistics, is seen only once in the realisations '5-10 kişi' [5-10 people], '10-20-30…grup' [10-20-30…groups] in Text 3 & Text 4. The linguistic forms are given in a criticising tone by the author of the text since multiplicity of groups does not signify much importance in the homosexual movement, rather unification of groups is valorised by the author. In this sense, aggregation strategy is not used to represent in-groups positively.

In summary, assimilation strategy reveals critical information about the construction of in-group and out-group social actors. Similar to the previous distinction between genericised and specified social actors, there is a difference between the way in-groups

and out-groups are linguistically assimilated as groups in both discourse categories. Considering the assimilated social actors, it can be concluded that out-groups are represented by means of collectives referring to the system and institutions whose '+human' semantic property is not in the forefront (e.g. 'sistem' [system], 'kurumlar' [institutions], 'devlet' [state], 'fakülte' [faculty], 'okul' [school], 'parti' [political party], etc.) while in-groups are represented by means of more specific collectives (and they are even *individualised* in certain contexts, as will be mentioned in the next section) based on somatonyms (e.g. 'biz' [us], standing for 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals], 'genç gay ve lezbiyenler' [young gay and lesbian people], 'erkek eşcinseller' [gay males], 'kadın eşcinseller' [female homosexuals], etc.). Also, collectives such as 'grup' [group], 'grupçuk' [small group], 'birlik' [union], 'kitle' [mass of people] as well as group names such as 'Kaos GL', Lambda-İstanbul', Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri', etc. are more specific representations compared to the ones used for out-groups. Therefore, there is a tendency in the texts to represent out-groups as distant social actors as in the case of genericisation.

Another important point to note is that in-group members are more frequently represented with specific group names in the texts published in 1996, 1998 and 1999 within the context of 'collective and unifying action' while in the texts published in 1994 actors are represented rather by collectives based on sexual orientation and deictic 'we'. This indicates a rapid change in the way social actors referring to 'us' are represented within the first five-year period of the magazine.

4. 2. 2. 3. Individualisation

Being one of the two specification strategies, individualisation means referring to social actors individually, for instance by singular forms or proper nouns (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 48; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 53). Individualisation strategy can signify certain meanings in negative other and positive self-presentation of social actors. A few number of individualised representations from the selected texts of *Kaos GL Magazine* provide such significance pertaining to the discourse categories.

Table 4. 10.

Individualisation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Individualisation			
Cat.	**Soc. Act.**	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	Proper noun Proper noun Personal pronoun (addressing function)	**Text 1 & Text 2** Hitler, Alpago [name of the minister] **Text 5 & Text 6** Perinçek sen [you]
Heterosexism	US	Anthroponym specified with toponym *Singularity*. Singular anthroponym (with quantifier) Personal pronoun, deictic	**Text 3 & Text 4** Türkiye'de yaşayan bir lezbiyen [a lesbian individual who lives in Turkey]; bir eşcinsel [an homosexual] ben [I]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	*Singularity*. Anthroponym (relationym) Personal pronoun, deictic (addressing function)	**Text 5 & Text 6** kuzenim [my cousin] sen [you]
Collective and unifying action	US	*Singularity*. Deictic Proper noun Proper noun Personal pronoun Reflexive pronoun	**Text 3 & Text 4** ben [I] Yeşim, Mustafa, Didem **Text 5 & Text 6** Enver; Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy, Huysuz Virjin ben [I] kendi [himself]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

Out-group members are individualised in the category of 'heterosexism' by means of proper noun forms such as 'Hitler', 'Alpago' and 'Perinçek'. These elite figures, respectively a leader of a fascist regime, a state minister in Turkey in the years 1994 and 1995, and a politician and author, are not represented positively in the discourse of homosexuals due to their crimes, unsuccessful administration or unpleasant declarations. The personal pronoun 'sen' [you], on the other hand, is used for addressing function as in the sentence "Sen ne diyorsun yahu, binlerce önyargı sıralıyorsun ama ben varım işte." (Başaran, 1998, p. 17) [What are you talking about?! You are listing thousands of prejudices, but I am here and I exist!] This example also shows that social actors that are individually referred to within the context of heterosexism are not usually positively represented.

In both discourse topics, a frequent means for representing in-group members individually is first person singular 'ben' [I]. The subject 'I' is also realised by longer noun groups such as "Türkiye'de yaşayan bir lezbiyen" [a lesbian individual who lives in Turkey]. Indeterminate references may also function as individual representation, as exemplified by the in the phrase "bir eşcinselin heteroseksist baskıcı bir toplumun karşısındaki konumu" (Başaran, 1996, p. 15) [the position of homosexuals in front of an oppressive heterosexist society]. All these cases indicate that individual representations for 'us' confirm the distinction between genericised negative others and individualised positive and, mostly, victimised 'us'.

In-group members with differing statuses are individualised within the context of collective and unifying action. 'Zeki Müren', 'Bülent Ersoy' and 'Huysuz Virjin' are represented as non-heterosexual elite in-group members, yet these individuals are mostly mentioned in negative contexts; for instance the figures are described in Text 3 as "beceriksiz bir karikatür" [an unskilled cartoon]. There are also ordinary people represented individually in the same category, e.g. Yeşim, Mustafa, Didem, and Enver, in Text 3 & Text 4 as well as Text 5 & Text 6.

Though few in number, individualised social actors in both discourse categories provide distinctive meanings as opposed to genericised or assimilated ones. Although there is a tendency to represent out-groups generically throughout the texts, as explained before, elite people are usually individualised in the category of heterosexism in order to expose them for their negative qualities. This is also true for elite people in self-presentations even in the category of 'collective and unifying action'. Elite non-heterosexual individuals are not usually welcome as role models for activist homosexuals. Contrarily, ordinary people within the homosexual movement are also individualised by proper nouns, particularly within the context of discussions on the organisation of movement as of 1996. Thus, it shows that in both contexts, i.e. 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action', elites are represented negatively and ordinary people are represented positively. Also, the strategy is important as it puts the distinction between the genericised 'them' and specified 'us' in both discourse topics.

4. 2. 2. 4. Indetermination

Indetermination means representing social actors as "unspecified, 'anonymous' individuals or groups (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 52). Usually a comparison is made between *indetermination* and *differention.* Differentiation, which "explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group" (p. 52) and which is thought to create a difference between 'us' and 'them' is not observed in the texts in this analysis. Rather the linguistic means such as indefinite pronouns and generalised exophoric references realise such a difference. Table 4. 11. displays the examples of the discursive strategy employed throughout the texts.

Table 4. 11.

Indetermination strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Indetermination			
Cat.	**Soc. Act.**	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	Generalized exophoric reference, Indefinite personal/reflexive pronoun Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Indefinite personal pronoun Personal pronoun (addressing function) Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Indefinite personal pronoun Actionym, participle Personal pronoun, deictic Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people	**Text 1 & Text 2** siz [you]; onlar [they]; birileri [someone]; kendileri [they/themselves]; insan [human being]; **Text 3 & Text 4** ayrımcılık yapan kişi [the discriminator]; birileri [someone]; **Text 5 & Text 6** sen [you]; insanlar [people]; birileri [someone]; birileri [someone], kendini [himself/herself]; bunları konuşanlar [those saying these words]; siz [you]; başka bireyler [other individuals]
	US	Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people (with pre-modified quantifiers, demonstratives and adjectives) Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Generalized exophoric reference Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people	**Text 1 & Text 2** bir eşcinsel [an homosexual], bu kişi [this person], (özgür) bireyler [(free) individuals], çocuk [child], bir birey [an individual], birçok insan [many people] **Text 3 & Text 4** kişi [a person]; sen [you]; **Text 5 & Text 6** kişi [person], birey [individual]

OTHER ACTORS		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people (with quantifier or plural) Anthroponyms (with engendering) Anthroponyms (with enageing)	**Text 1 & Text 2** vatandaş [citizen], insan [human being]; bir insan [a person], insanlar [people] kadın [the woman]; çocuk [a child];
		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Indefinite personal pronoun	**Text 3 & Text 4** insanlar [people]; birisi [someone]
		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people	**Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people];
Collective and unifying action	**THEM**	Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Personal pronoun Indefinite personal pronoun	**Text 1 & Text 2** insan [human being], sen [you]; başkaları [others]
		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Indefinite personal pronoun	**Text 3 & Text 4** bireyler [individuals]; başkaları [others]
		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Personal pronoun (addressing function) Indefinite personal pronoun	**Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people], sen [you], kimsenin (bana hoşgörü göstemesini…) [nobody]
	US	Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people/group (with quantifiers)	**Text 1 & Text 2** kişi [a person]; birçok insan [many people], bir grup [one group], bir diğer insan [another person]
		Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Indefinite personal pronoun	**Text 5 & Text 6** insanlar [people] kendileri [themselves], kimi [some of them];
	OTHER ACTORS	Anthroponyms referring to anonymous people Anthroponyms (pre-modified noun)	**Text 3 & Text 4** insanlar [people], sokaktaki [those in the street] bağımsız bireyler [independent individuals],

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

In all texts analysed encompassing the first 5 years of the magazine, out-groups are tended to be indeterminated in many cases, which is a strategical move parallel to genericisations employed on the same social actors. The distinction in the way out-group members are indeterminated and, conversely, in-group members are determinated can be seen in many instances throughout 6 texts categorised in either discourse topics.

Indeterminated 'Others' are referred to by linguistic means such as indefinite personal pronouns (e.g. birileri [someone], kendileri [they/themselves], etc.), generalised exophoric references (e.g. siz [you], onlar [they], sen [you], etc.), anthroponyms referring to anonymous people (e.g. ayrımcılık yapan kişi [the discriminator], başka bireyler [other

individuals], insanlar [people], etc.), and actionyms (bunları konuşanlar [those saying these words]. A few examples in contexts are presented in E (17).

(17) Bütün eşcinselleri Hitler'in yaptığı gibi pembe üçgenlerle işaretleyip **toplayabilirsiniz.** […] Tekil olarak eşcinselleri **ortadan kaldırdılar** ama eşcinselliği asla **yok edemediler.** ("Kaos Şanlıyor", 1994, p. 2).

(18) **Ben kimse**nin bana hoşgörü göstermesini **istemiyorum**, ben her tür medyada yüceltilen kadın-erkek aşkının benim yaşantımda yarattığı baskının anlaşılmasını **istiyorum.** (Başaran, 1998, p. 18)

(19) **Birileri biz**im "iyi" olduğumuzu düşünüp, **kendini bizim hakkımızda** bununla ikna ediyorsa bu yanlıştır. (Başaran, 1998, p. 18)

(20) […] sivil toplumcular, **birileri**nin "allı, yeşilli, morlu" geldiklerini söylüyorlardı. […] **Lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler** ancak bir atılım gerçekleştirebilirler. ("Var olan durum ve eşcinsellik", 1994, p. 3)

(21) […] **bunları konuşanlar** eşcinselleri, sorunlarını, mücadelelerini ve de bilmem neleri anladıklarını sanıyorlar. (Başaran, 1998, p. 18)

(22) […] eşcinsellerin bir araya gelip **insanlar**a, "**Biz** de varız!" demesi gerektiğine inanıyorum. (Özalp, 1996, p. 9)

Generalised exophoric references, through null personal pronouns 'siz' [you], 'onlar' [they] in E (17), assign responsibility to anonymous social actors for crimes committed against homosexuals. Social actors are indeterminated through indefinite personal or reflexive pronouns 'kimse' [nobody], 'kendi' [himself/herself] and 'birileri' [someone] in E (18) and E (19) while the individualised 'ben' [I] (the author, Yeşim Başaran) and assimilated 'biz' [we] (referring to the groups of homosexuals) exist in the same sentences, through which a distinction is created between 'us' and 'them'. Also, the form 'lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler' [free individuals who have a gay and lesbian consciousness] is differentiated in context from the indeterminated 'birileri' [someone], establishing again the difference between in-groups and out-groups. Similar cases are observable in E (21) and E (22) as well. The actionym 'bunları konuşanlar' [those saying these words] and anthroponym referring to anonymous people 'insanlar' [people] are other means for indeterminating social actors as opposed to specified in-groups represented by means of the somatonym 'eşcinseller' and the collective 'biz' [we].

Linguistic forms referring to in-group members, on the other hand, are realised in both discourse topics not to exclude the actors from the discourse but to attach them general qualities, or genericise their practices and relations to other social actors. In this sense, most of the linguistic forms previously presented as genericised representations in the category of 'us' are also examples to indeterminated forms. Similar linguistic means used to refer to in-group members are as follows: anthroponyms referring to anonymous people with quantifiers (e.g. 'bir eşcinsel' [an homosexual], 'bir birey' [an individual], 'birçok insan' [many people]), generalised exophoric reference (e.g. 'sen' [you]), and indefinite personal pronoun (e.g. 'kendileri' [themselves], 'kimi' [some of them]).

To conclude, similar to the findings of the analysis based on the distinction between generic and specific representation of social actors, out-group members are represented as indeterminated social actors. This anonymous representation becomes more visible when in-group members participate in the same sentences or discursive patterns since most of the time the latter are linguistically differentiated and specified in context. In-group members, on the other hand, are indeterminate in relation to the processes in which they are represented with their general qualities and their relations with out-group members. As a last word, it has been observed that through indeterminate and determinate references, there is a consistent and continuous creation and reproduction of 'us' and 'them' distinction in the whole set of texts between the years 1994 and 1999.

4. 2. 2. 5. Association

Association refers to "groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 50). The strategy has a special importance in the representation of non-heterosexual and heterosexual social actors within the context of discourse categories 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action' since the associations of social actors lead to unearth certain relations between the social actors represented in both 'us' and 'them' sides.

Table 4. 12.

Association strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Association

Cat.	Soc. Act.	Linguistic means	Linguistic forms
Heterosexism	THEM	Parataxis, negative polarity (not only…but also);	**Text 1 & Text 2** yalnızca erkek egemen [sistemi] değil aynı zamanda heteroseksist erkek bir egemenlik sistemi [not only a male-dominated system but also a heterosexist male hegemony system];
		Circumstances of accompaniment ('ile' [with]);	rant peşinde koşan soytarılar ile beraber […] sivil toplumcular [fools who sought to gain credit from politicians and members of NGOs]; sözde uzmanlarla sözcüler [so-called professionals and spokespeople];
		Parataxis, conjunctions ('ve' [and])	tıp ve psikiyatri [medicine and psychiatry];
		Colloquial usage	ana baba [mother and father]
		Parataxis (punctuation)	anne, baba, öğretmen [mother, father, teacher]
		Parataxis, conjunctions ('ve' [and])	**Text 3 & Text 4** anne-baba ve patron [father-mother and the boss], yasalar ve kurumlar [laws and institutions]
		Parataxis, conjunctions ('ya da' [or], '…olduğu kadar' [as well as]);	**Text 5 & Text 6** "eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini ya da […] iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlar" [those who defend that homosexuals must be killed or treated]; "bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler" [those who say that we are sensitive as well as those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle]
		Parataxis, conjunctions ('ve' [and] 'ile' [with])	*Aktüel* ve benzerleri [*Aktüel* and the like]
	US	Parataxis, conjunctions ('ve' [and], 'ile' [with]);	**Text 1 & Text 2** genç gay ve lezbiyenler [young gay and lesbian people]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	Parataxis (associating institutions)	**Text 3 & Text 4** aile, devlet, din, eğitim, medya gibi kurumlar [institutions such as family, state, religion, education and media]
		Parataxis, conjunctions ('…olduğu kadar' [as well as]);	"bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler olduğu kadar mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuzu söyleyenler" [those who say that we are sensitive as well as those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle]

US	Parataxis (associating groups or individuals)	**Text 3 & Text 4** "Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum"; "gruplar ve bireyler" [groups and individuals], "yaşlı, efemine, travesti, transseksüeller" [elder people, feminine people, travesties and transsexuals]	
	Parataxis (associating groups or individuals)	**Text 5 & Text 6** "Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy ya da Huysuz Virjin" [Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy or Huysuz Virjin]; "bir kendi bir de Zeki Müren" [himself and Zeki Müren only]; "Ankara'dan iki, İstanbul'dan bir eşcinsel grup" [homosexual groups two from Ankara and one from İstanbul];	
	Parataxis (associating ethnonym, religionym and somatonym)	"ha Alevi, ha Kürt, ha eşcinsel…ha hepsi birden… [either Alevis, or Kurdish people, or homosexual people…or all of them]	

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

In the category of 'heterosexism', genericised out-groups are associated for their socio-semantic relations. In Text 1 & Text 2, personified non-human actors 'erkek egemen sistem' [a male-dominated system] and 'heteroseksist erkek bir egemenlik sistemi' [a heterosexist male hegemony system] are associated by means of parataxis (negative polarity). Association brings together people raised within male-dominated and patriarchal values and people discriminating marginal groups on the grounds that they have 'deviant' and 'abnormal' sexual desires. Accordingly, it also indirectly represents women and homosexuals as common victims of related non-human actors. Another paratactic means, i.e. circumstance of accompaniment (such as 'ile' [with]), associates the metaphorical professionym 'soytarı' [fools] and the noun phrase 'sivil toplumcu' [members of NGOs], which denotes to the ascription to non-gevernental organisations; it also associates forms 'sözde uzmanlar' [so-called professionals] and 'sözcüler' [spokespeople]. With additional negative premodifiers two items in two couples are represented as social actors who are indifferent to homosexuals and their problems.

Parataxis, referring to "the relation between two like elements of equal status" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 440) associates disciplines 'tıp' [medicine] and psikiyatri [psychiatry], personified non-human nouns, by means of the conjunction 've' [and] to refer to the doctors and psychiatrists as prejudiced social actors. Apart from such non-human nouns, family members 'anne' [mother] and 'baba' [father] as well as 'öğretmen'

[teacher] are associated, which means that the related actors share the common social function of educating children according to heteronormative values. In Text 3 & Text 4, on the other hand, the same paratactic relation associates 'anne' [mother] and 'baba' [father] and 'patron' [boss] as a unified entity. In the same way, 'yasalar ve kurumlar' [laws and institutions], personified non-human nouns, are associated, which functions as the actors guaranteeing the capitalist society.

Associated social actors within the context of 'heterosexism' differ to some extent in Text 5 & Text 6. The forms 'eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini ya da […] iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlar' [those who defend that homosexuals must be killed or treated] and 'bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler' [those who say that we are sensitive as well as those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle] exist in the same text. The former associated social actors are said by the author to have remained in the past. The latter displays a different situation: although the author describes the adjective 'duyarlı' [sensitive], which is attributed to gay and lesbian people, as a new type of homophobia, for the first time in-group members are positively represented (also an example of *positive appraisement*) in the analysed texts. '*Aktüel* ve benzerleri' [*Aktüel* and the like] is another example of associated social actors within the context of 'heterosexism'. Parataxis relates two equal items, i.e. the name of a popular periodical that had a bad reputation about its approach to homoseaxuality and indeterminated similar publications. This is only one example for negative representation of media institutions.

Since in-group members are mostly represented in assimilated forms (e.g. 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals], gay'ler [gay people], lesbiyenler [lesbians], etc.) there is only one associated form throughout the texts in the category of 'heterosexism': 'genç gay ve lezbiyenler' [young gay and lesbian people].

As for the representations of out-groups in the category of 'collective and unifying action', personified institution nouns are associated in Text 3 & Text 4 as in the realisation 'aile, devlet, din, eğitim, medya gibi kurumlar' [institutions such as family, state, religion, education and media]. The group constructed by means of association represents a total set of institutions that in-group members are in challenge with within the context of a collective and unifying action.

Association is exemplified in Text 3 & Text 4 and Text 5 & Text 6 in the 'us' category within the context of 'collective and unifying action'. In the former, on the basis of the discussions conducted in the magazine in the related year (1996) under the title "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?" [What should the homosexual movement be like?], social actors as specific groups are associated by means of parataxis (by aggragating them using punctuation): "Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum". Also, the form "gruplar ve bireyler" [groups and individuals] is another way to stress on the 'togetherness' within the context of the discourse topic. The last example is handled in a different context. The social actors "yaşlı, efemine, travesti, transseksüeller" [elder people, feminine people, travesties and transsexuals] are associated to represent them as a group which is most of the time subject to in-group prejudices.

In Text 5 & Text 6, the proper nouns referring to elite figures 'Zeki Müren', 'Bülent Ersoy' and 'Huysuz Virjin' are associated by means of parataxis (punctuation and conjunction 'ya da' [or]) to form a group whose members are held unsuccessful in establishing queer identities in Turkey. The linguistic form "bir kendi bir de Zeki Müren" [himself and Zeki Müren only], brings together an indeterminate in-group member and an elite to denote to the fact that homosexuality is not limited to the individual himself/herself and to elite people he/she watches on TV. "Ankara'dan iki, İstanbul'dan bir eşcinsel grup" [homosexual groups two from Ankara and one from İstanbul] refers to the collectivity of groups for common purposes. Lastly, a religionym, an ethnonym and an anthroponym referring to sexual orientation are associated in the form "ha Alevi, ha Kürt, ha eşcinsel…ha hepsi birden… [either Alevis, or Kurdish people, or homosexual people…or all of them] in order to equate each members in their subjection to discrimination, and to stress that each one of them is no different from the other.

The association examples show that, within the context of 'heteroexism', out-groups are represented either as collectives of genericised and personified non-human actors or groups of personalised actors each member of which has a socio-semantic relation to the other. The category also exemplifies association of actors realised as positive appraisement, contrary to the overall discourse of the selected texts. Within the context of 'collective and unifying action', associated social actors representing 'us' denote to the importance of 'togetherness' and 'unity', as previously stated within the scope of

assimilated forms. Assimilated and individualised social actors are tended to be associated in the texts published in 1996 and 1998 while out-groups, genericised as institution, are associated as a group to represent them as a unity against which gay and lesbian groups are challenging.

4. 2. 2. 6. Politicisation

Politicisation, which can be referred to as rendering social actors as political entities, encompasses many micro strategies such as *nationalisation, classification, organisationalisation, polarisation, political actionalisation,* etc. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 53). Organisationalisation comes to the forefront among micro strategies in the representation of social actors both in 'us' and 'them' sides within the context of both discourse categories.

Table 4. 13.

Politicisation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Politicisation			
Cat.	**Soc. Act.**	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	*Organisationalisation*. Organisationym Organisationym with negative connotation (also collective) Political professionym Proper noun (political figure) *Organisationalisation*. Organisationym	**Text 1 & Text 2** devlet [state] örgüt [organisation] devlet bakanı [minister] Alpago **Text 3 & Text 4** parlamento [parliament], devlet [state], ÖDP [Freedom and Solidarity Party];
	US	*Organisationalisation*. Organisationym (also collective)	**Text 3 & Text 4** oluşum [formation]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	*Organisationalisation*. Organisationym	**Text 3 & Text 4** ÖDP [Freedom and Solidarity Party]; aile [family], devlet [state], din [religion], eğitim [education], medya [media], sivil toplum örgütleri [non-governmental organisations], sendikalar [unions],

		Politonym	bağımsız yayın kuruluşları [independent broadcasting agencies]; siyasal otorite [political authority]
US		*Organisationalisation*. Organisationym	**Text 3 & Text 4** Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum
		Organisationalisation. Organisationym	**Text 5 & Text 6** Lambda-İstanbul, örgüt [organisation]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

Out-groups are represented in the category of 'heterosexism' by means of organisationyms 'devlet' [state], 'örgüt' [organisation], political professionym 'devlet bakanı' [minister] and proper noun referring to the political figure 'Alpago' (former State Minister) in Text 1 & Text 2, and by means of organisationyms 'parlamento' [parliament], 'devlet' [state], 'ÖDP' [Freedom and Solidarity Party] in Text 3 & Text 4. These realisations show that out-groups are mostly politicised in relation to 'state' both in assimilated and individualised forms. The form 'örgüt' [organisation] is negatively used to refer to 'patriarchal order' in the society as an indispensable part of heterosexist ideology. In-group members, on the other hand, are only represented by the organisationym 'oluşum' [formation] within the context of heterosexism.

Politicisation examples given in the discourse category of 'collective and unifying action' are representative of the distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Out-groups are represented by means of organisationyms such as 'aile' [family], 'devlet' [state], 'din' [religion], 'eğitim' [education], 'medya' [media], 'sivil toplum örgütleri' [non-governmental organisations], 'sendikalar' [unions], 'bağımsız yayın kuruluşları' [independent broadcasting agencies], ÖDP [Freedom and Solidarity Party], and a politonym 'siyasal otorite' [political authority]. In-group members, on the other hand, are politicisied by means of organisationyms such as 'Kaos GL', 'Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri', 'Lambda-İstanbul', 'Lambda-Erzurum' in Text 3 & Text 4 and 'Lambda-İstanbul' and 'örgüt' [organisation] in Text 5 & Text 6. This shows that politicised in-group members are linguistically realised mostly by means of specific group names while out-groups are mostly composed of genericised nouns referring to institutions in the society. It is also important to remind that some of these institutions (namely 'aile' [family], 'devlet'

[state], 'din' [religion], 'eğitim' [education], 'medya' [media]) are associated on the grounds that they are represented as heterosexist political organisations.

Comparing the linguistic forms of realisation used for both sides, it can be concluded that 'state' is in the center of the political social actors within the context of 'heterosexism', while in 'collective and unifying action' out-groups are more varied since they are handled as institutions with which gay and lesbian people are challenging as part of their social struggle. Assimilated and genericised organisationyms are in the forefront in the representations of 'others' while 'us' is represented by assimilated and specific group nouns. This has parallels with the findings of the analysis on genericised and assimilated social representations. Lastly, as previously shown within the context of association strategy, the politicised social actors (both from 'us' and 'them') are related to each other in some instances, which shows that there is a discursive construction, particularly in later years, based on the opposition between the specified and politicised groups of homosexuals and genericised and politicised institutions of the whole society.

4. 2. 2. 7. Appraisement

Appraisement is a way of categorising social actors "when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them, as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 58). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) rather use the term *social problematisation* as a more specific type of appraisement with reference to their research framework and data. Present analysis makes use of terminologies from both frameworks. Appraisement forms are not isolated from their premodifiers since they considerably contribute to the social meanings in the representations of actors.

Table 4. 14.

Appraisement strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Appraisement (negative vs. positive)

Cat.	Soc. Act.	Linguistic means	Linguistic forms
Heterosexism	THEM	*Negative ideologisation*. Negative ideologonym Collective with negative pre-modifier Abstract noun compounds (with negative pre-modifier) Organisationym with negative pre-modifier *Negative appraisement*. Negative metaphorical anthroponyms Negative metaphorical non-human nouns Professionyms with negative pre-modifier Criminonym	**Text 1 & Text 2** heteroseksist [heterosexist], burjuva [bourgeois], heteroseksist toplum [heterosexist society] heteroseksist erkek bir egemenlik sistemi [a heterosexist male hegemony system], kapitalist sömürü sistemi [capitalist exploitation system], heterosexist diktatörlük [heterosexist dictatorship], heterosexist devlet [heterosexist state] (rant peşinde koşan) soytarılar [fools (who sought to gain credit)]; cani ruhlu katliam tellaları [criers for brutal murders]; heteroseksist domuzlar [heterosexist pigs], açık heteroseksist terör [open heterosexist terror]; (sözde) uzmanlar [(so-called) [professionals]; (bilimsel) katiller [(scientific) murderers]
		Negative ideologisation. Collective with negative pre-modifier *Negative appraisement*. Anthroponym with negative pre-modifier Negative metaphorical noun compound, collective Negative metaphorical non-human noun Noun with negative connotation	**Text 3 & Text 4** heteroseksist toplum [heterosexist society], heterosexist baskıcı bir toplum [a heterosexist and oppressive society]; kokuşmuş system [corrupted system] ayrımcılık yapan kişi [the discriminator]; beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları [human armies whose minds are shackled], beyin prangalama aracı [mind-shackling tool] köleleşmiş ruhlar [enslaved souls]; efendi [master]
		Negative appraisement. Actionyms with negative pre-modifier, participles Actionym, participle Noun with pre-modifier, participle	**Text 5 & Text 6** "eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini savunanlar"* [those who defend that homosexuals must be killed], "eşcinsellerin iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlar"* [those who defend that homosexuals must be treated] "bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler" [those who say that we are sensitive]; "mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuz söyleyenler" [those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle] üstün olduğunu düşünen egemen dil [the dominant discourse which thinks that it is superior]; bizi yok sayan insanlar [people who render us non-existent]; "eşcinsel yaşam şekline büyük pervasızlık içerisinde saldıran, alaya alan, yok sayan insanlar [people who assault, mock at and ignore homosexual life carelessly]

	US	*Positive appraisement.* Anthroponym with positive pre-modifiers	**Text 1 & Text 2** lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler [free individuals who have a gay and lesbian consciousness]
		Negative appraisement. Pathologonyms Metaphor	hasta [ill], sapık [pervert] böcek [insect]
		Anthroponym with negative pre-modifier	**Text 3 & Text 4** "aklı fikri seks olan, götünü siktiren bir ibne" [fags who always think about sex and get fucked in the ass], "Beyoğlu'nda orospuluk yapan travesti" [prostitute transvestites in Beyoğlu]
		Positive appraisement (in the perspective of 'others'). Anthroponym with positive pre-modifiers	**Text 5 & Text 6** "duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar" [sensitive, good and nice people],
		Negative appraisement. Anthroponym with negative pre-modifier	yok sayılan birey [individual who is rendered non-existent]
	OTHER ACTORS	*Negative appraisement.* Anthroponym with negative pre-modifier	**Text 5 & Text 6** ikinci sınıf vatandaş [inferior citizen] (for Afro-American people);
Collective and unifying action	**THEM**	*Negative ideologisation.* Negative ideologonym; Noun with negative pre-modifier;	**Text 1 & Text 2** heteroseksist [heterosexist], heterosexist diktatörlük [heterosexist dictatorship]
		Negative ideologisation. Negative metaphorical noun compound Collective with negative metaphorical pre-modifier Negative metaphorical non-human nouns *Positive appraisement.* Organizationym (with positive premodifiers)	**Text 3 & Text 4** beyin prangalama aracı [mind-shackling tool]; kokuşmuş system [corrupted system] köleleşmiş ruhlar [enslaved souls] yeni bir toplum [a new society], ilk parti [first political party]
		Actionym, participle	**Text 5 & Text 6** "bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler" [those who say that we are sensitive]; "mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuz söyleyenler" [those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle]
		Negative appraisement. Noun with pre-modifier, participle	"üstün olduğunu düşünen egemen dil" [the dominant discourse which thinks that it is superior], "eşcinsel yaşam şekline büyük pervasızlık içerisinde saldıran, alaya alan, yok sayan insanlar [people who assault, mock at and ignore homosexual life carelessly]
	US	*Positive appraisement.* Anthroponym pre-modified with positive evaluative noun compound	**Text 1 & Text 2** lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler [free individuals who have a gay and lesbian consciousness]
		Positive appraisement. Noun *Negative appraisement.* Noun, noun compound (with negative connotation)	**Text 3 & Text 4** farklılık [variety] lider [leader], erkek minyatürü [male miniature], kadın minyatürü [woman miniature]
		Negative appraisement. Noun (in the perspective of 'others') Anthroponym with negative pre-modifier, participle	**Text 5 & Text 6** değişiklik [variety] yok sayılan birey [individual who is rendered non-existent]; cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan insanlar [people who cannot live their sexual identities];
		Positive appraisement. Collective pre-modified with positive evaluative noun	"Türkiye eşcinsel hareketinin bu üç temel bileşeni" [three main components of homosexual movement in Turkey]; "söz sahibi bir kitle" [a mass of people who have a voice]; "geneli değil tümü kapsayacak

		bir kitle oluşumu" [a mass formation which would encompass not the general but all]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.
* It is expressed in the related text that this view remained in the past.

Negative ideologisation and *negative appraisement*, micro strategies of appraisement, with a range of linguistic means predominate negative evaluative nominalisations of out-groups in the category of 'heterosexism'. In Text 1 & Text 2, out-groups are represented by means of negative ideologonyms 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] and 'burjuva' [bourgeois]. The lexeme 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] is frequently used as an adjective pre-modifier before collectives, abstract noun compounds, organisationyms and impersonalised evaluative nouns such as 'heteroseksist toplum' [heterosexist society], 'heteroseksist erkek bir egemenlik sistemi' [a heterosexist male hegemony system], 'heterosexist diktatörlük' [heterosexist dictatorship], 'heterosexist devlet' [heterosexist state] in respective order. 'Kapitalist sömürü sistemi' [capitalist exploitation system] is another example to negative ideologisation in the same type of linguistic means.

The premodifier 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] is also used with a non-human noun, e.g. 'heteroseksist domuzlar' [heterosexist pigs] and abstraction, e.g. 'açık heteroseksist terör' [open heterosexist terror] as part of negative appraisement strategy. Other examples of the same strategy are realised by means of negative metaphorical anthroponyms such as '(rant peşinde koşan) soytarılar' [fools (who sought to gain credit)] and 'cani ruhlu katliam tellaları' [criers for brutal murders]; professionym '(sözde) uzmanlar' [(so-called) [professionals] and criminonym '(bilimsel) katiller' [(scientific) murderers]. As it is apparent from the linguistic forms, the first two texts of the magazine is abundant in negative appraisement representing out-groups.

Similar linguistic realisations are seen as examples of negative ideologisation in Text 3 & Text 4 as well. The adjective 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] premodifies the collective 'toplum' [society] in two cases as in the forms 'heteroseksist toplum' [heterosexist society] and 'heterosexist baskıcı bir toplum' [a heterosexist and oppressive society]; premodified collectives are also exemplified by the realisations 'kokuşmuş system' [corrupted system] and 'beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları' [human armies whose minds are shackled]. The collective and the negative metaphorical appraisement

'köleleşmiş ruhlar' [enslaved souls] refer to social actors who are raised according to heterosexual values. Another metaphorical noun compound 'beyin prangalama aracı' [mind-shackling tool], on the other hand, refers to media. The genericised singular form 'ayrımcılık yapan kişi' [the discriminator] and 'efendi' [master], which metaphorically refers to the state, are other appraisement examples.

Several negative appraisement examples in Text 5 & Text 6 differ from the previous ones. Actionyms with negative premodifiers and participle structures 'eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini savunanlar' [those who defend that homosexuals must be killed] and 'eşcinsellerin iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlar' [those who defend that homosexuals must be treated], which seem to be justifying the homophobic attitudes in the society is uttered by the author of the related text to account for the situation in the past. Two other actionyms premodified similarly are 'bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler' [those who say that we are sensitive] and 'mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuz söyleyenler' [those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle]. Although the former exemplifies negative appraisement, the premodifier of the actionym portrays an unexpected contextual pattern by calling homosexuals as 'duyarlı' [sensitive]. The latter, on the other hand, presupposes and justifies the existence of a homosexual movement, despite it is premodified with the adjective 'agresif' [aggressive]. Besides these examples, the following negative appraisement forms, realised by means of long premodifications and participles, reminds the general attitude of 'Others' against homosexuals: 'bizi yok sayan insanlar' [people who render us non-existent]; 'eşcinsel yaşam şekline büyük pervasızlık içerisinde saldıran, alaya alan, yok sayan insanlar' [people who assault, mock at and ignore homosexual life carelessly].

In-group members are also represented in the category of 'heterosexism' by means of positive and negative appraisement. In Text 1 & Text 2, the only positive appraisement form is an anthroponym with a long premodification: 'lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler' [free individuals who have a gay and lesbian consciousness]. Negative appraisement forms 'hasta' [ill], 'sapık' [pervert] and 'böcek' [insect] stand for the restatements of 'Others'; thus, they do not represent ascriptions of in-group members for themselves. In Text 3 & Text 4, the same situation is seen in the linguistic forms "aklı fikri seks olan, götünü siktiren bir ibne" [fags who always think about sex and get fucked

in the ass], "Beyoğlu'nda orospuluk yapan travesti" [prostitute transvestites in Beyoğlu] as well as in the form of positive appraisement "duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar" [sensitive, good and nice people] in Text 5 & Text 6. Negative appraisement is realised by the form 'yok sayılan birey' [individual who is rendered non-existent].

In the discourse topic of 'collective and unifying action', most of the realisations are the same with the ones in 'heterosexism' due code overlappings in GTA process. The recurring linguistic realisations can be listed as follows: 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] and 'heterosexist diktatörlük' [heterosexist dictatorship] Text 1 & Text 2; 'beyin prangalama aracı' [mind-shackling tool] and 'kokuşmuş system' [corrupted system] and köleleşmiş ruhlar [enslaved souls] in Text 3 & Text 4; 'bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler' [those who say that we are sensitive], 'mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuz söyleyenler' [those who say that we are aggressive in our struggle], 'üstün olduğunu düşünen egemen dil' [the dominant discourse which thinks that it is superior] and 'eşcinsel yaşam şekline büyük pervasızlık içerisinde saldıran, alaya alan, yok sayan insanlar' [people who assault, mock at and ignore homosexual life carelessly] in Text 5 & Text 6.

Besides recurring forms, two exceptional forms in Text 3 & Text 4, 'yeni bir toplum' [a new society], 'ilk parti' [first political party], exemplify the positive appraisement of out-groups within the context of 'collective and unifying action'. The former refers to an imagined society where homosexuals live freely and equally with heterosexual people. The latter, on the other hand, makes reference to ÖDP [The Freedom and Solidarity Party] represented positively for its function of being the first political party which included the term 'homosexuality' in its bylaws.

Besides few number of common realisations in two discourse categories, in-group members are positively represented in the category 'collective and unifying action' by means of linguistic forms such as 'farklılık' [variety] and negatively by means of forms 'lider' [leader], 'erkek minyatürü' [male miniature], 'kadın minyatürü' [woman miniature] in Text 3 & Text 4. The indeterminate social actor 'lider' [leader] is negatively conceptualised within the context of social struggle since any challenge for leadership within groups would hamper the homosexual movement. It is also important to point that the latter two forms refer to attributions of out-groups to homosexual people, just like the

form 'değişiklik' [variety] in Text 5 & Text 6. Other negative appraisement examples representing 'us' are 'yok sayılan birey' [individual who is rendered non-existent] and 'cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan insanlar' [people who cannot live their sexual identities].

Lastly, the linguistic forms referring to the concepts of 'togetherness' and 'unity' within the context of homosexual movement are rendered as positive appraisement examples. These linguistic formas are as follows: 'Türkiye eşcinsel hareketinin bu üç temel bileşeni' [three main components of homosexual movement in Turkey], 'söz sahibi bir kitle' [a mass of people who have a voice] and 'geneli değil tümü kapsayacak bir kitle oluşumu' [a mass formation which would encompass not the general but all].

In sum, the linguistic realisations of appraisement show the rigid distinction between positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In the discourse category of 'heterosexism', out-group members are consistently presented as 'bad' or 'hated' while in-group members are mostly represented as 'good', 'victimised' and exceptionally 'deviant'. Only the text published in 1998 displays different and comparingly positive presentations of out-group members on the basis of their attitudes towards gay and lesbian people. The examples pertaining to 'us' category in both discourse topics also exemplify negative representations of homosexuals (as 'deviant' people) in the eye of 'others'. In other words, from these examples, one can see the way in-group members identify themselves in terms of 'others'.

4. 2. 2. 8. Sociativisation

Depending on van Leeuwen's (1996) *relational identification*, sociativisation, also *relationalisation*, refers to "the linguistic construction of social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relations, etc. to each other" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 53).

Table 4. 15.

Sociativisation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Sociativisation/Relationalisation

Cat.	Soc. Act.	Linguistic means	Linguistic forms
Heterosexism	THEM	Sociative (with possessive, noun compound or participle)	**Text 1 & Text 2** düşmanımız [our enemy], bilimsel katiller [scientific murderers]; eşcinsel düşmanı [homophobe], yetişenler [grown-ups], öğretmen [teacher]; okul [school], aile [family];
		Relationym, possessive pronoun	ana baba [mother and father], anne [mother], baba [father], onların çocukları [their children]
		Sociative	**Text 3 & Text 4** patron [boss]
		Sociative, noun with pre-modifier	ayrımcılık yapan kişi [the discriminator],
		Sociative, noun compound and participle, metaphor	aslan payını alanlar [those who have the lion's share], beyin prangalama aracı [mind-shackling tool], köleleşmiş ruhlar [enslaved souls]
	US	Sociative (with noun compound/pre-modified noun)	**Text 1 & Text 2** cinsel sevi nesnesi [sex object], azınlık [minority], kendi cinsi [those with same sex], kendisi gibi bir arkadaş [a friend like himself/herself]
		Sociative	**Text 3 & Text 4** birey [individual], çelişen bireyler [contradicting individuals];
		Sociative (with pre-modified noun)	**Text 5 & Text 6** azınlık [minority], benzerler [alikes],
	OTHER ACTORS	Sociative	köle [slave] (referring to women), tutsak travesti ve transeksüeller [prisoned travesties and transsexual people]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	Sociative, possessive	**Text 1 & Text 2** düşmanımız [our enemy]
		Sociative, noun compound and participle, metaphor	**Text 3 & Text 4** beyin prangalama aracı [mind-shackling tool]
		Sociative, negative metaphor	efendi [master]
		Sociative, noun compound and participle	**Text 5 & Text 6** açıldığım insanlar [people I came out to];
		Relationym	aile [family], kuzenim [my cousin];
		Sociative	özel çevre [private acquaitance]; arkadaşları [their friends], partnerleri [their partners]
		Sociative, participle, noun	"birlikte yaşadığımız kişiler" [those who we live together with];

US	Sociative	**Text 1 & Text 2** azınlık [minority]
	Sociative	**Text 3 & Text 4** çelişen bireyler [contradicting individuals]; diğer arkadaşlar [other fellows]; farklılık [variety]
	Sociative	**Text 5 & Text 6** benzerlerimiz [the likes of us], bizim gibiymiş gibi duran ilk birey [the first person who looks like us], alt grup [sub-group], azınlık [minority], benzerler [alikes]
	Sociative (in the perspective of 'others')	değişiklik [variety];
	Sociative, participle, noun	"hayatlarında gördükleri ilk eşcinsel" [the first homosexual they had ever seen]; "yanına aldığı ya da yanında yer aldığı" [individuals whom he/she be with or takes sides with]; heteroseksüel olmayan tüm cinsel azınlıklar [all non-heterosexual minorities]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

In the discourse topic of 'heterosexism', out-group members are represented in the category of 'heterosexism' by means of sociatives such as 'düşmanımız' [our enemy], 'bilimsel katiller' [scientific murderers]; 'eşcinsel düşmanı' [homophobe], 'yetişenler' [grown-ups], 'öğretmen' [teacher]; 'okul' [school], 'aile' [family]; and relationyms such as 'ana baba' [mother and father], 'anne' [mother], 'baba' [father], 'onların çocukları' [their children] in Text 1 & Text 2. Further sociatives are exemplified in Text 3 & Text 4 with linguistic forms such as 'patron' [boss], 'ayrımcılık yapan kişi' [the discriminator], 'aslan payını alanlar' [those who have the lion's share], 'beyin prangalama aracı' [mind-shackling tool], 'köleleşmiş ruhlar' [enslaved souls].

The examples indicate that 'others' are mostly represented in terms of their negative relations to homosexuals. Negative appraisement serves as a means to understand the way of relation social actors are in. In this sense, words such as 'düşman' [enemy], 'katil' [murderer] and 'ayrımcılık yapan' [discriminator] describe the negative relation between two sides. Also, out-group members are represented as collectives such as 'okul' [school] and 'aile' [family] as well as members of these institutions who actively take action to adapt the individual into the heterosexual society. A similar relation is also constructed in discourse by means of the form 'patron' [boss], referring to the situation in the workplace besides school and home. The form 'aslan payını alanlar' [those who have the lion's share] represents the out-group members in terms of their relation to the capitalist system while 'beyin prangalama aracı' [mind-shackling tool] which refers to the media, as an out-group institution, is represented by its relation to individuals (heterosexuals or

non-heterosexuals) it has influence on. The impersonalised (abstracted) form 'köleleşmiş ruhlar' [enslaved souls] represents individuals in terms of their relation to the heterosexual system, which is metaphorically 'master' of these individuals.

As it can be seen from the table, in-group members are represented in the category of 'heterosexism' by means of their relations to other in-group members as well as to out-group members. For the former, individuals are referred to as 'cinsel sevi nesnesi' [sex object], 'kendi cinsi' [those with same sex], 'kendisi gibi bir arkadaş' [a friend like himself/herself] in Text 1 & Text 2 and 'benzerler' [alikes] in Text 5 & Text 6. For the latter, in-group individuals are referred to as 'azınlık' [minority] in Text 1 & Text 2 and in Text 5 & Text 6; 'birey' [individual], 'çelişen bireyler' [contradicting individuals] in Text 3 & Text 4. These examples show that, in the category of 'heterosexism', homosexuals are represented as bound to other individuals with the same sexual orientation in order to live in the heterosexual society. They are also represented as 'distinct' individuals, as in the case of 'çelişen bireyler' [contradicting individuals], and as 'minority' in terms of their relation to the rest of the society dominated in quantity by heterosexual people.

As for the discourse topic of 'collective and unifying action', out-group members are represented by means of linguistic realisations such as 'düşmanımız' [our enemy] in Text 1 & Text 2 and 'beyin prangalama aracı' [mind-shackling tool] in Text 3 & Text 4 and 'aile' [family] in Text 5 & Text 6, recurring realisations in both discourse topics. Also, they are referred to as 'efendi' [master] in Text 3 & Text 4; 'açıldığım insanlar' [people I came out to], 'kuzenim' [my cousin], özel çevre [private acquaitance], arkadaşları [their friends], partnerleri [their partners] and 'birlikte yaşadığımız kişiler' [those who we live together with] in Text 5 & Text 6. Different from recurring forms of realisation, out-group members are represented as actors dominating homosexuals as in the metaphoric relationship between 'slave' and 'master'. Also, new members of out-groups, who are composed of individuals having close social relations to the homosexual individual, come into the stage as exemplified in Text 5 & Text 6.

Lastly, besides the recurring forms in both discourse topics, i.e. 'azınlık' [minority] and 'çelişen bireyler' [contradicting individuals], in-group members are represented in the

category of 'collective and unifying action' by means of sociatives 'diğer arkadaşlar' [other fellows] referring to other non-heterosexual individuals in the call for a collective action in Text 3 & Text 4. In Text 5 & Text 6, on the other hand, there are sociatives such as 'benzerlerimiz' [the likes of us], 'bizim gibiymiş gibi duran ilk birey' [the first person who looks like us], 'benzerler' [alikes], 'hayatlarında gördükleri ilk eşcinsel' [the first homosexual they had ever seen], 'yanına aldığı ya da yanında yer aldığı' [individuals whom he/she be with or takes sides with]. These references to in-group members in terms of other in-group members point to the importance of the concepts 'aggregation' and 'collectivity'. In-group individuals are also referred to as 'farklılık' [variety], which represents in-group members as 'distinct' identities, in Text 3 & Text 4 as well as 'alt grup' [sub-group], azınlık [minority], and 'heteroseksüel olmayan tüm cinsel azınlıklar' [all non-heterosexual minorities] which denote to the minority position of non-heterosexual people in quantitiy, in Text 5 & Text 6. The form 'değişiklik' [variety], as previously mentioned in the context of appraisement, represents homosexuals negatively from the perspective of 'others'.

To summarize, out-group members are represented in respect to their negative relations to in-group members, and this reveals itself as negative appraisement as exemplified by the forms such as 'düşmanımız' [our enemy], 'katiller' [murderers] and 'eşcinsel düşmanı' [homophob]. Also, social actors such as 'anne' [mother], 'baba' [father], 'öğretmen' [teacher], 'patron' [boss] with whom gay and lesbian people have everyday relations as well as institutions, such as 'okul' [school] and 'aile' [family], function in the discourse topic of 'heterosexism' as important actors that gain meaning from their relation to homosexual individuals. They are also represented as individuals whose minds are seized by the heteronormative values of the society reproduced by institutions such as media, which in turn influences lives of in-group members due to the inescapable homophobia of out-group members. This view is represented by the abstracted sociative 'köleleşmiş ruhlar' [enslaved souls]. The sociatives referring to in-group members within the context of 'heterosexism', on the other hand, show that they are represented as 'distinct individuals', who can easily discover the shortcomings of the system they are living in, and as 'minority' in quantity.

The sociatives referring to in-group members in the discourse topic of 'collective and unifying action', in the texts published in 1994 and 1996, are more based on signifying the 'minority' position and 'distinctiveness' and of non-heterosexual individuals. In later texts, particularly Text 6 (1999), linguistic forms referring to in-group members in terms of homosexual individuals themselves signify the importance of being together with individuals who share the same values, interests and sexual desire. Increase in the number of such sociatives denoting to in-group social relations is a result of the prevalent coming-out of homosexual individuals and the need for a collective and unified homosexual movement in Turkey.

4. 2. 2. 9. Somatisation

Somatisation is defined by van Leeuwen (1996) as "a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a part of their body. Reisigl and Wodak (2001), on the other hand, handle somatisation as a way synecdochisation in which a part or characteristic of social actors' body are picked out to refer to them by this characteristic (p. 53).

Table 4. 16.

Somatisation strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Somatisation			
Cat.	Soc. Act.	**Linguistic means**	**Linguistic forms**
Heterosexism	THEM	*Reference in terms of sexual orientation.* anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations; *Engendering.* Genderonyms *Engendering.* Genderonyms	**Text 1 & Text 2** heteroseksüel(ler) [heterosexuals], anne [mother], baba [father] **Text 3 & Text 4** anne [mother], baba [father]

		Linguistic means	Examples
	US	*Reference in terms of sexual orientation.* Anthroponym referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations;	**Text 1 & Text 2** homoseksüel [homosexual], gay [gay male], travesti [transvestite], trans [transsexuals/transgender people], lezbiyen [lesbian], gay ve lezbiyen bireyler [gay and lesbian individuals], sıtreyt [straight];
		Enageing. Gerontonyms	çocuk [child], genç gay ve lezbiyenler [young gay and lesbian people],
		Reference in terms of sexual orientation. Anthroponym referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations;	**Text 3 & Text 4** lezbiyen [lesbian], eşcinsel [homosexual], gay [homosexual], travestiler [travesties], transeksüeller [transsexual people], erkek escinseller [gay males], kadın eşcinseller [female homosexuals]
		Derogatory noun	ibne [fag]
		Reference in terms of sexual orientation. Anthroponym referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations;	**Text 5 & Text 6** eşcinseller [homosexuals], eşcinsel insanlar [homosexual people]
	OTHER ACTORS	*Engendering.* Genderonyms *Enageing.* Gerontonyms Anthroponyms (genderonym and gerontonym)	**Text 1 & Text 2** kadın [the woman] çocuk [a child] oğlan çocukları [boys], kız çocukları [girls]
Collective and unifying action		*Racialisation.* Racionym	zenciler [Afro-American people]
	THEM	*Reference in terms of sexual orientation.* anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations;	**Text 1 & Text 2** heteroseksüel(ler) [heterosexuals],
		Reference in terms of sexual orientation. anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations;	**Text 5 & Text 6** heteroseksüeller [heterosexuals],
	US	*Reference in terms of sexual orientation.* anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations	**Text 1 & Text 2** gay [gay male], gay ve lezbiyen bireyler [gay and lesbian individuals], eşcinseller [homosexuals]
		Reference in terms of sexual orientation. Anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations	**Text 3 & Text 4** eşcinseller [homosexuals], bir eşcinsel [a homosexual], homoseksüel [homosexual], biseksüel [bisexual], erkek eşcinsel [male homosexual], travesti [travesty], transseksüel [transsexual people], gay [homosexual]
		Pejorative noun	ibne [fag]
		Reference in terms of sexual orientation. anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientations	**Text 5 & Text 6** eşcinsel [homosexual], lezbiyenler [lesbian people], gayler [gay people], erkek escinseller [gay males], kadın eşcinseller [female homosexuals];
		Engendering. Genderonym (noun compound)	erkek minyatürü [male miniature], kadın minyatürü [woman miniature];
		Genderonym	kızları (harbi) [girls (are masculine), erkekleri (duyarlı) [boys (are sensitive)]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

As it can be seen from Table 4.16, throughout the texts analysed and in both discourse topics, out-group members are represented by means of *anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientation* such as 'heteroseksüel(ler)' [heterosexual(s)], and *genderonyms* such as 'anne' [mother], 'baba' [father]. In-group members are represented by means of *anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual orientation* such as 'homoseksüel' [homosexual], 'gay' [gay male], 'travesti' [transvestite], 'trans' [transsexuals/transgender people], 'lezbiyen' [lesbian], 'gay ve lezbiyen bireyler' [gay and lesbian individuals], 'sıtreyt' [straight man/woman], 'eşcinsel' [homosexual], 'travestiler' [travesties], 'transeksüeller' [transsexual people], 'erkek escinseller' [gay males], 'kadın eşcinseller' [female homosexuals], 'eşcinsel insanlar' [homosexual people] and 'biseksüel' [bisexual]; *derogatory antrhroponym* 'ibne' [fag]; *gerontonyms* such as 'çocuk' [child], 'genç gay ve lezbiyenler' [young gay and lesbian people]; and *genderonyms* such as 'erkek minyatürü' [male miniature], 'kadın minyatürü' [woman miniature]; 'kızları (harbi)' [girls (are masculine), and 'erkekleri (duyarlı)' [boys (are sensitive)].

All these sets of somatonyms have already been exemplified in relation to previous discursive operations. Depending on Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) way of handling somatisation, it can be said that the operation has a special role in the representation of social actors in the present analysis since the most basic 'us' and 'them' distinction throughout the texts is based on the sexual orientation of social actors. All representation schemes that have been mentioned so far benefit from this meronymic (part-to-whole) semantic relation. In this aspect, somatisation functions as a complementary discursive strategy in the creation of 'us' and 'them' distinction.

4. 2. 2. 10. Personification

Personification, or anthropomorphisation, is a rhetorical operation "to give a human form or human humanise inanimate objects, abstract entities, phenomena and ideas" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 58). By means of personification, social actors can be animated as collective subjects. Limited number of linguistic realisations exemplify this discursive operation in the texts.

Table 4. 17.

Personification strategy and linguistic means and forms of realisation

Strategy: Personification			

Cat.	Soc. Act.	Linguistic means	Linguistic forms
Heterosexism	THEM	Non-human abstract nouns, politonym	**Text 1 & Text 2** diktatörlük [dictatorship], sistem [system], düzen [order], ideoloji [ideology], iktidar [power], burjuvazi [bourgeoisie]; heteroseksist zihniyet [heterosexist mindset], kapitalist düzen [capitalist order], erkek egemen ideoloji [male-dominant ideology];
		Nouns referring to scientific disciplines	tıp [medicine], psikiyatri [psychiatry], gen mühendisliği [genetic engineering], hukuk [law]
		Non-human abstract noun (compound)	**Text 3 & Text 4** sistem [system], siyasi iktidar [political power], ekonomik iktidar [economic power], yasalar [laws]
		Non-human abstract noun	**Text 5 & Text 6** egemen dil [dominant discourse]
	US	Non-human abstract nouns	**Text 1 & Text 2** eşcinsellik [homosexuality]
		Non-human abstract nouns	**Text 3 & Text 4** eşcinsellik [homosexuality]
Collective and unifying action	THEM	*Abstraction.* Non-human nouns, politonym	**Text 1 & Text 2** diktatörlük [dictatorship], iktidar [power], siyasi otorite [political authority];
		Non-human abstract noun	system [system]

Notes. Italic entries in linguistic means column refer to sub-strategies.

With this in mind, out-group members in *Kaos GL Magazine* are represented as abstract entities and ideas, particularly in the earlier texts within the context of 'heterosexism'. Thus, abstract linguistic forms such as 'diktatörlük' [dictatorship], 'sistem' [system], 'düzen' [order], 'ideoloji' [ideology], 'iktidar' [power], 'burjuvazi' [bourgeoisie], 'heteroseksist zihniyet' [heterosexist mindset], 'kapitalist düzen' [capitalist order], 'erkek egemen ideoloji' [male-dominant ideology], 'siyasi iktidar' [political power], 'ekonomik iktidar' [economic power], 'yasalar' [laws], 'egemen dil' [dominant discourse] are personified to refer to the social actors in the category of 'them'. Also, scientific discipline names such as 'tıp' [medicine], 'psikiyatri' [psychiatry], 'gen mühendisliği' [genetic engineering] and 'hukuk' [law] are animated as human to refer to collective out-group

members. On the contrary, in-group members are rarely represented as animate abstract entities; the sole case for in-group members is the personification of the term 'eşcinsellik' [homosexuality].

With such a rhetorical move, a discourse is constructed on the basis of representing out-group members as abstract entities against which a solidarity among in-group members must be formed and a collective action must be taken.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, findings based on results from GTA and CDA were presented. In the present chapter, the findings will be discussed on the basis of the socio-historical background of the homosexual movement in Turkey between the years 1994 and 1999, social psychological realities gay and lesbian experienced in the specified years, and the relevant literature on QL and CDA. The discussion of the findings in this dissertation is designed as answers to the research questions. The first research question is directly related to the findings of GTA.

5. 1. ANSWER TO RQ 1:

RQ 1: Considering the texts sampled from *Kaos GL Magazine* on the whole, what are the salient categories through which the magazine describes the society and the way homosexuals express themselves as against the social conditions between the years 1994 and 1999?

a. What are the categories that saliently co-occur in the magazine within the context of homosexual movement in Turkey?

b. What is the significance of these foregrounded and co-occurring categories and values in the construction and perception of homosexuality by homosexuals themselves?

As GTA has shown, 6 texts sampled from *Kaos GL Magazine* provided two large sets of category groups, i.e. 'Social order' and 'Describing the self'. The results indicate that there is a considerable change in the distribution of categories in the texts of the same type and class ('argumentative texts' on 'homosexual movement in Turkey') through the years 1994, 1996, 1998 and 1999. In this sense, the socio-political development of the homosexual movement can be monitored through the categories describing the society and homosexuals themselves. The following paragraphs will account for this variation.

The texts published in September 1994, "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos Comes Out] and "Varolan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality] are the first and second texts of the magazine. Since homosexuals had the opportunity to make their voice be

heard freely through the magazine for the first time, without being a part of any political attempt or any other social movement, they came out with a radical and anarchist discourse (Partog, 2012). Such a characterisation, though rejected by the editors of the most of the time (Erol, 2011 and Partog, 2012), seems to be plausible considering the oppression they had experienced in the 80s during the military regime and the isolation after the strategical failure of new social movements.

Although findings of CDA sketch out this radical discourse more concretely, findings of GTA have provided some clues as well. Above all, the most frequent categories of the texts, namely 'heterosexism', 'heteronormativity', 'patriarchy', 'capitalism' and 'homophobia', indicate against what homosexuals initiated a social movement. It can be said that homosexuals determined their policy in the beginning of the movement as a challenge against ideologies and systems of beliefs predominating the society as well as homophobic attitudes and practices that are based on these negative ideologies. The frequent categories describing the homosexuals, on the other hand, show that their primary strategies in the fight with such ideologies and homophobic actions are 'expression of desires', 'rejections' and 'struggle' as exemplified by 'desire of freedom', 'desire of equality' and 'desire to eradicate heterosexism/ heteronormativity', 'rejection of acting within heterosexual law/values' and 'struggle for rights'. Considering the categories and their relations to each other, Kaos GL based its standpoint on the conflict of the system, which is characterised with negative ideologies and homophobia, and homosexual individuals who need to be aware of themselves, struggle for freedom and equality, and actively fight with heterosexism. Thus, the process of identity construction which is seen as the general policy of the movement in the first seven years —Partog (2012, p. 172) specifies the period as 1993-2000— depended on urging individuals to come out of their closets by foregrounding this basic conflict.

It is also important to note that existence of the code 'oppression of women' and the code relation between 'patriarchy' and 'heterosexism' signify that women and homosexuals are equally oppressed and discriminated groups in the society. As Başaran (2003) stated, homosexual movement also adopted the mission of transforming and contributing to many other social struggles that time (p. 40). Thus, the related thematic relation is an

indication of the policy of the magazine and of the movement to contribute to the feminist movement in Turkey.

The close relation of 'heterosexism' to 'rendering non-existent', a typical homophobic attitude, has a particular socio-cultural importance. Non-heterosexual identities are excluded from the public sphere and this fact owes much to the The Article No. 10 of the Constitution, titled as 'Equality before the laws' which justifies the non-existence of sexual minorities in Turkey by not including the expression "sexual orientation" (Öner, 2015, p. 81). Kaos GL criticised this by means of the slogan "İbne Değil Eşcinsel, Gay Lezbiyen Burdayız" [Fags no more! We are gay and lesbian, we are here!] (İnce, 2014).

As Partog (2012) indicated the first seven years were based on forming identities and dissolving the prejudices rather than doing identity politics (Partog, 2012, p. 170). And these were, most of the time, old prejudices that was overcome by Western homosexual communities nearly 15-20 years ago. Categories and code relations found out in the first two texts provide evidence to this fact. For instance, 'rendering homosexuality as a disorder' and the relation of 'heterosexism' to 'science and medicine' and 'approach of science' reveal the actuality of such prejudices in 90s in Turkey.

As mentioned in the summary of the GTA findings, Text 1 and Text 2 served for portraying the social conditions in which homosexual individuals had to live in the early 90s and introducing them the ideologies they must fight against.

The texts published in 1996 point to a change in the issues discussed through the magazine. Discussions on the organisation of the movement began 2 years later. As the code frequency rates showed the first hot topic in these discussions was the 'legal order'. The anarchist perspective reveals itself within a code relation network composed of the categories 'legal order', 'state', 'heterosexism', 'capitalism' and rendering non-existent'. From the first day of the magazine, an insistent stress is made on non-existence of a law on homosexuality since, as Öner (2015, p. 81) quotes from Öz (2011), the lack of such legal regulation is usually used in the disadvantage of LGBTI individuals in court decisions.

As soon as the discussions on how to organise the movement began, the category of 'collective and unifying action' came to the forefront in the discourse of the texts. A range of code relations also appear in 1996 depending on the prominence of the idea of 'togetherness'. This concept reminds the individuals that gay and lesbian people come from various backgrounds and they have varying world views, which in turn required individuals to be tolerant to other non-heterosexual people for a sound collective action and group solidarity. Liberal and anarchist views contradict in the category of 'discussion of law on homosexuality'. The authors adopting the former mostly produce arguments based on the categories 'transforming institutions' and 'struggle for rights' while 'rejection of acting within heterosexual laws/values' is a typical code representing the anarchist views. Nevertheless, both sides agree on the concept of 'freedom'. In sum, the texts published in 1996 show that codes drawing attention to concepts such as 'group solidarity' and 'togetherness' become prominent as opposed to the previous texts in which descriptions of the society in terms of negative ideologies and homophobia were predominant. In this sense, it can be said that gay and lesbian individuals were more oriented towards the organisation of the movement from the year 1996 onwards.

The change in the categories of argumentative texts related to the movement within 2 years can be interpreted as a manifestation of the dynamism of the movement and the influence of the magazine on gay and lesbian individuals. It is a fact that the socio-historical conditions of the early 90s, which led to the establishment first gay and lesbian organisations, have a determinant role on the themes and language appearing in the texts produced by the very individuals of marginalised groups. As Yıldırım Türker argued in the magazine called *Express* in 1995 (as cited in "Tarihçe", 2011), the magazine was an attempt of young and rageful gay and lesbians people who tried to be "themselves" and cried for their freedom with "extravagant excitement" for the first time. Engindeniz (2012), in her PhD dissertation, stated that the choice of capital letters was a symbolisation of this rage and cry (p. 270). Concerning the topics and stance of the magazine, Engindeniz draws attention to the editors' attempt to refer to homosexuality in relation to the notions such as heterosexism, male hegemony and racism in the first text. She states that this attempt was the first of its kind in the national context. (p. 269). It can be understood from the themes and the language of the first texts in the magazine, the editors aimed at expressing their discontentedness about the social conditions from the

homosexual perspective. Therefore, as GTA analysis also indicates, in the first two years the magazine (i.e. 1994 and 1995) concentrated more on describing the shortcomings of the society in which gay and lesbian individuals had to live, and to cry out who actually they are and are not.

It is a fact that homosexual groups had not existed by the early 90s. Therefore, when the groups began to emerge for the first time with the establishment of Lambda-İstanbul and Kaos GL, they were even acting unaware of each other (Güneş, n.d.). Homosexual groups moved independently for some time until they realised the importance of being together. As the editors of *Kaos GL Magazine* state, the attendance of Kaos GL and Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri (a group formed by lesbian individuals) to a public meeting in Ankara on March 8, 1996 for the first time, was an important step for the awareness among groups regarding the need for solidarity and unity ("Kaos GL Meydanlardaydı!", 1996). From that moment onwards a considerable shift in the magazine was soon observable: more space was spared to the discussions on how to organize the movement together.

The change in the thematic distribution is also observable in the last two texts of the period. The texts published in 1998 and 1999 provide considerably distinctive code patterns. The former can be said to be portraying an evolution in the society with reference to the notion of homophobia. Much more radical concepts were included in the discourse by authors to describe the very notion in the earlier texts most of which referred to people's practices and attitudes in the context of 'violence'. This can be evaluated as an achievement of the homosexual movement by the end of the first 4-5 years. The latter is representative of the policy of the movement to construct a collective and unifying action. While in the earlier years of the movement the concepts such as 'coming together' and 'togetherness' existed in the texts, discussions about institutionalisation came to the agenda in 1999. In this respect, the text is indicative of the evolution of the homosexual movement in Turkey. Besides, a change in the attitude of people towards homosexuals is expressed, which is represented by the code 'positive developments'—a possible indication of the success of the movement in raising awareness on the basis of gay and lesbian individuals' becoming more visible in the society. The most important incentive to start discussions about institutionalisation was mostly based on the first large-scale meeting of homosexual groups held on September 27, 1998 in İstanbul. The First Meeting

of Homosexuals from Turkey, which later turned into regular meetings held semi-annually and alternately in Ankara and İstanbul until 2004, brought together the groups Kaos GL, Sappho'nun Kızları, Bursa Spartaküs and Almanya Türk Gay ("Özetle: Lambdaistanbul Ne Yaptı?", n.d.). Also, groups started to act together in issues concerning homosexuality, particularly against media. The common declaration of Kaos GL, Sappho'nun Kızları and Lambdaistanbul against Doğu Perinçek, who addressed remarks to homosexuals through his column in *Cumhuriyet* in February 1999, was a clear example of this coordination.

Thus, it can be concluded for this section that the findings of GTA are in line with the literature and socio-historical facts of the homosexual movement in Turkey. CDA analysis based on representational strategies and linguistic means and forms of realisation provide further findings about the discourse of the magazine.

5. 2. ANSWER TO RQ 2:

RQ 2: How is the discourse of homosexual movement constructed and maintained through the written discursive practices of *Kaos GL Magazine*?

    a. What are the contents, representational strategies and linguistic means of realisations through which the ways of negative-other and positive-self presentation are constructed?

    b. What social and ideological stances and practices can be identified in the analysed discourse against the system, and how do homosexuals socially represent and identify themselves as against the system?

Apart from the findings of GTA based on detailed code distributions and code relations which provided us with the thematic construction of the magazine within the five-year period, CDA framework based on the representation of social actors within the tradition of DHA have yielded significant findings on the way in-groups and out-groups are constructed. Through insider perspective in DHA, which is based on identification of oneself and Others on the basis of differences, social agents construct themselves in a referential process of differentiation (Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007, p. 99). In the same

manner, homosexuals identify themselves with Others (p. 99) basing their stance on being different from them, or Others being different from the homosexuals. In many cases, various representational strategies adapted from van Leeuwen (1991) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) exemplify this identification process.

The representation of social actors within this identification process was analysed in terms of the discourse topics/contents 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action', which were determined based on the results of GTA. The basic constructs of negative other and positive self can be listed as follows:

- 'Us' and 'them' distinction in the discourse of the magazine is constructed through representing 'Others', or non-heterosexual individuals or groups, as generic in relation to 'We', which gives the impression that Others are distant individuals and groups to homosexuals since the latter are mostly victimised by the former within the context of 'heterosexism' in particular. The examples show that generic or specific representation of social actors which construct 'us' and 'them' distinction is based on multiple textual factors such as plurality, singularity, tense, etc. that vary according to context. The findings show that non-heterosexual social actors are represented generically in the contexts where homosexuals are represented as specific groups. In the cases in which homosexuals are genericised as social actors, however, either they are equated with other minorities in the society, such as Kurds, Alevis, etc., or their relation to social mechanisms such as heteronormativity and capitalism is expressed in a general sense, without an effort to make a comparison with Others.

- A considerable distinction between the forms of assimilated in-group and out-group members was also observed in the texts. Others are tended to be represented by metonyms such as 'sistem' [system], 'devlet' [state], 'okul' [school], 'parti' [political party], etc. while in-group members are represented by plural meronyms based on sexual orientation 'eşcinseller' [homosexuals], 'gay'ler [gay males], 'lezbiyenler', [lesbian people], etc. Also, 'togetherness' and 'unity' are critical constructs particularly for the topic of 'collective and unifying action'. In this context, homosexuals are tended to be represented by collectives and specific

group names as part of the assimilation strategy. The linguistic means, then, serve for identifying themselves as different from out-groups.

- The generic Others and specific Us distinction also shows itself when actors are associated for specific purposes in the discourse. In the discourse topic of 'heterosexism', Others, represented by non-human nouns and nouns with similar negative social meanings, are associated to form differentiated unities that are negatively represented in discourse. Similar situation is exemplified in the case of politicisation: as part of the magazine's policy based on criticising the state with all its sub-institutions for being heterosexist, or as part of its anarchist views, state is represented as the generic primary out-group in the discourse topic of 'heterosexism'. In the same sense, Others are genericised by means of various political nouns in the context of 'collective and unifying action'. In-group members, on the other hand, are represented as groups in a specific way mostly by means of proper group names. Although Partog (2012) maintains that it was not until 2000s that Kaos GL and Lambda-İstanbul, the first homosexual groups, could explicitly express themselves as political actors, representation of state and homosexual groups as conflicting actors by the end of 1999 is an indication of politicisation of homosexuals.

- Identification of homosexuals themselves is also clearly seen in the differentiation of elite people by their representations in both discourse topics. Elite people, whether or not they are members of in-groups or out-groups, are represented in negative contexts; ordinary people, on the other hand, are frequently represented as individuals within the context of 'collective and unifying action'. In this sense, homosexuals tend to identify themselves by means of individual representations, such as members of specific homosexual groups, as opposed to the elite Others or unfavourable in-group members who are represented as bad role models, criminals or unsuccessful figures.

- Homosexuals tend to represent and identify themselves as differentiated social actors as opposed to Others who are mostly indeterminated by means of various linguistic forms. In this way, out-groups are excluded from the discourse of homosexuals particularly in contexts where they exist as actors too.

- Positive and negative appraisals are the most direct tools for negative-other and positive-self presentation. Most of the appraisals in the texts employed to refer to Others are related to the term 'heteroseksist' [heterosexist] which is both used as a noun to refer to people and as an adjective to premodify collective Others, as with 'heteroseksist domuzlar' [heterosexist pigs]. Other negative appraisement examples refer to Others as 'bad' or 'hated' such as 'soytarılar' [fools], 'katliam tellaları' [criers for murder], 'katiller' [(scientific) murderers], 'ayrımcılık yapan kişi' and the like while in-group members are mostly presented as 'good', e.g. 'lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler' [free individuals who have a gay and lesbian consciousness], 'victimised' such as 'yok sayılan birey' [individual who is rendered non-existent]; and exceptionally 'deviant'. In some cases, authors of the texts prefer to restate the negative identifications of Others about homosexuals in order to stress the prejudices about themselves in the society, e.g. 'hasta' [ill], 'sapık' [pervert] 'böcek' [insect] and the like. Or, homosexuals are rarely positively appraised, particularly in the texts published at the end of the 90s, as in the example 'duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar' [sensitive, good and nice people].

- Sociativisation examples also indicated that in the topic of 'heterosexism', Others are negatively presented in relation to in-group members by means of forms such as 'düşman' [enemy] and 'katil' [murderer] as well as heterosexual institutions or personalised social actors that homosexual individuals are in relation to in their everyday lives. In-group members, on the other hand, are represented as 'minority' and 'distinctive people'. In the topic of 'collective and unifying action', Others are represented similarly, as in the topic 'heterosexism', while in-group members are represented in relation to other homosexuals particularly in the last text of the five-year period.

- Personification is significant for the representation of Others in both discourse topics particularly pertaining to the texts published in 1994. Out-group members who are referred to as abstract nouns are personified in the processes they are involved in. This gives the impression in context that an in-group solidarity is aimed to be constructed among the members and they are encouraged to form a collective action.

- Somatisation, a strategy which accompanies other discursive strategies, constructs the general distinction between heterosexual and non-heterosexual sexual identities, which is crucial in identification of in-groups themselves focusing on their 'sameness' as against 'different' Others.

These discursive constructs show that, apart from the historical changes some of which point to within the related period, a clear distinction of positive-self and negative-other presentation is observable in the discourse of the magazine. In the terminology of the 'insider' perspective, these basic constructs give a general insight on how out-groups are negatively presented, or differentiated with negative conceptualisations and discursive operations while homosexuals identify themselves positively mostly referring to their 'sameness' in their interactions with Others. The result of such a construction is a radical discourse as previously discussed.

What is the point in constructing such a radical discourse? The answer to this question lays in the socio-historical conditions of the period. To remind the situation before the first homosexual groups were established, in the 80s, all non-heterosexual sexualities were already under oppression; they were exiled to suburbs, arrested in their workplaces and homes, and were subject to physical and psychological torture and violence (Çetin, 2015, p. 3). Also, non-heterosexuals were not, and still are not, protected by any law against discrimination based on sexual orientation (Öner, 2015, p. 83). In 1993, a group of non-heterosexual people planned to organise a pride week but it was banned by the İstanbul Governorship upon media's manipulative news about the activity. This last event and earlier experiences led to the germination of the homosexual movement in two metropolitan cities by Lambda-Istanbul and Kaos GL. The social psychological effects of such a negative atmosphere, and the advantage of acting on their own (Partog, 2012, p. 170) was manifest in the discourse of the magazine, particularly in the first two texts. In other words, the discourse in these texts was the outpouring of the "extravagant excitement" which was mentioned by Yıldırım Türker to refer to the social-psychological situation of homosexual activists.

At this very point it can be claimed that, in the first five years of the movement, homosexuals used the magazine as a means for unearthing and constructing identities

through a discourse which benefits from 'oppositions' between social actors, as apparent from the findings of GTA and CDA. Via the magazine they not only organised the movement but also expressed their demand for rights (and sometimes rejected them), and, most importantly, they came together for a common goal, i.e. freedom (as it echoed in the slogan "Eşcinsellerin özgürlüğü heteroseksüelleri de özgürleştirecektir." [Freedom of homosexuals will free heterosexuals as well.]) (Erol, 2011). These and many other causes can be evaluated as rightful in the social sense; that's to say, people were apparently subject to many faces of homophobia and heterosexism in Turkey. When it comes to the discursive-linguistic constructions (linguistic structures based on intentional or unintentional discursive strategies), it can be said that similar patterns of 'us' and 'them' distinction, as in many dominating, discriminatory and identity-constructing discourses (e.g. Wodak, et al., 2000; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Krżyzanowski and Wodak, 2007) are observable in the linguistic realisations of the magazine. In other words, in-group discourse of homosexuals reveals itself as a 'counter othering' discourse which benefits from negative-other presentation strategies.

Following the writers who defined the first five years of the homosexual movement in Turkey as was a period of covered identity construction in which the individuals were involved in an in-group coming-out process and looked for ways to overcome the norms of 'disorder' and 'sin' (Erol, 2001; Partog, 2012), the present study has shown that the discursive construction of the magazine was based on identifying and constructing homosexual identities by means of these counter othering discursive operations. To put it more concretely, through representation of out-groups as generic and in-groups as specific, for instance, the magazine intended to guide its primary readers, i.e. other homosexuals, on how they should struggle with the negative Others. In a sense, the authors were sharing their counter othering perspective with other individuals. This can be seen as a purposive policy of the magazine in constructing the identities in the first five years.

In their study on migrants Krżyzanowski and Wodak (2007) illustrated the realisation of different options for identification in migrant constructions of belonging (p. 114). In our case, 'belonging' can be a pretentious terminology for the group of people whose identity consciousness had just begun to be constructed. Still, the magazine's representation of

homosexuals by their differences in contrast with Others, as exemplified by the basic constructs, can be evaluated as typical of an identification process in the 'insider' perspective of DHA. Besides aiming to construct identities on the basis of belonging, marginalised homosexual in-groups in this study rather involve in the process of constructing identities that never appeared as social groups. As pointed in this study, this is operationalised through typical discursive patterns of negative-other and positive-self presentation.

The most relevant studies to the present analysis within the literature of QL belongs to Koller (2009, 2013). In these two studies the researcher investigated the construction of lesbian in-group identity. In the former, it is concluded that there is not a single and linear way of constructing collective identities in that lesbian in-groups can be under-defined and less differentiated compared to the out-group depending on historical context. The latter, on the other hand, investigated how nomination and predication in lesbian discourse are employed to construct in- and out-group representations diachronically, and it was found that there was a discourse change from a positive, non-complex in-group and negative, non-complex out-group to a more differentiated less uniformly positive in-group representation. These studies show, as clear from non-parallel results, historical background and context are of utmost importance in the representation of collective identities. In another study, Ghaziani (2011) investigated the historical changes in the way LGBT activists construct collective identity based on us versus them distinction. The researcher concluded in his study that the activists tend to be more inclusive in their constructions in order to build bridges toward members of the dominant group. The present study cannot be said to have many parallels with these analyses due to the fact that collective identities are shaped within socio-cultural contexts just like individuals. Still, in the context of the socio-historical background of the period 1994-1999, it can be stated that out-groups are more differentiated for their heterosexist attitudes and practices in the early period while in-groups are more differentiated at the end of the period due to the construction of group solidarity.

5. 3. ANSWER TO RQ 3:

> **RQ 3:** Taking into account the previous research questions, would it be possible to talk about historical variations in the discourse (re-)constructed by the magazine in the course of time between 1994 and 1999? If yes, in terms of which thematic categories and discursive patterns these variations are observable?

Before going into the evaluation of findings of CDA as well as GTA in a diachronic sense, a brief evaluation can be made on the titles of the texts analysed so far. The titles of the texts in chronological order are as follows:

- "Kaos Şanlıyor" [Kaos Comes Out] (September 1994)
- "Varolan durum ve eşcinsellik" [The current situation and homosexuality] (September 1994)
- "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket tartışmasına çağrı" [A call for the discussion of "What should the homosexual movement be like?"] (May 1996)
- "Tartışma: Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?" [Discussion: What should the homosexual movement be like?] (August 1996)
- "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" [The other face of homophobia] (March 1998)
- "Kitleselleşelim mi, kurumsallaşalım mı? [Should we aggregate or institutionalise?] (April 1999)

As mentioned in the findings chapter, 'şanlamak' is a homosexual slang term which means 'to come out'. A gay or lesbian person's 'coming out' denotes making people know that they are so. Therefore, the verb was selected intentionally to refer to the emergence of homosexuals as members of a social movement in Turkey for the first time. The second text sketches out the general atmosphere in the country in terms of homosexuality in and before the 90s. In this sense, the first two texts of the magazine can be regarded as founder texts. The titles of the texts published in 1996 refer to the initiation of group discussions about the organisation of the movement. The title of the fifth text refers to a different form of homophobia, which makes one to think about a change in the way homophobia is conceptualised. The title of the last text, on the other hand, refers to the discussion of 'institutionalisation' —a term which was brought to the agenda of the magazine in the year 1999 and continued throughout the second period of the magazine by the year 2005

when Kaos GL became the first LGBTI association in Turkey. In sum, the titles of texts, which are thought to be representative of the homosexual movement, give an initial insight on the chronological development of the magazine as well as thematic and discursive changes in the texts within five years. It begins with 'coming-out' which signifies the very first action of homosexuals' appearance, at least within their community in the beginning, and ends with the discussion on their unified organisation.

As it also be understood from the answer to the first research question, the findings of GTA over texts with specific textual features (i.e. characteristics of argumentative text) and category (i.e. homosexual movement) have revealed that there are certain changes through time within the first five years of the magazine. These changes show the general tendency of discourse topics through time in parallel with the socio-historical conditions, evolution and achievements of the homosexual movement in the cultural context. Having a look at the first ten years of the homosexual movement in Turkey, one can see a continuum of development extending from 'struggle for visibility' to demand of 'fundamental rights', which ended up in the inclusion of the expression "discrimination besed on sexual identity" into the Draft Statute of Commission for Equality and Fighting Against Discrimination (Özbek, 2017, p. 145) and the Kaos GL's and other organisations' achievement of the association status. In this sense, it should be indicated that socio-historical situations in the start and end points of his continuum differ considerably.

The period analysed in this study falls to a time range in which Kaos GL struggled for social visibility and constructing identities. The anarchistic and radical discourse of Kaos GL in the beginning is representative of the conditions which actually dated back to the late 80s. Güneş (2015) describes the period as a term when homosexuals were exposed to heterosexism of moral values and police violence — there was too much oppression on feminine male homosexuals and tranvestites: they were taken under custody from their home, they were beaten, they were forced to be hospitalised in sanatorium for days without any reason, so on. The failure in establishing political party and the fact that leftist groups were passivized left homosexuals alone in their struggle, which to some extent provided them with some freedom to act by themselves. In addition, the hinderance of a Pride organisation in 1993 with a following maltreatment of police and negative attitude of the media prepared the social conditions for the emergence of a movement. Therefore,

the thematic categories in the first texts of *Kaos GL Magazine* in 1994 can be said to be representing the reaction against this homophobic and heterosexist conditions of the time. A clash of categories, i.e. on the one hand heterosexism, heteronormativity, patriarchy, capitalism and homophobia, on the other hand desire of equality, desire to eradicate heterosexism/heteronormativity and struggle for rights, is apparent in the findings of GTA.

It was a fact that soon after Lambaistanbul, Kaos GL and Venüs'ün Kız Kardeşleri, were established in 1993 and 1994, the number of groups from different parts of Turkey began to increase: Çağrı Grubu (1995, İstanbul), Bilinçli Eşcinseller Topluluğu (1995, Eskişehir), Lambda Erzurum (1996, Erzurum) and LeGaTo (1996, Ankara) were established by the end of 1996 (Yıldız, 2007). As the number increased, the need for being together was understood by groups since clash of ideas among groups was hindering them from moving together. Reflections of this fact is also apparent from the discussions in *Kaos GL Magazine* as of 1996. As GTA revealed, the category 'collective and unifying action' comes to the forefront based on the concepts of 'togetherness' and 'group solidarity' in the analysed texts published in 1996.

The change in the discourse topics is not only restricted to the distribution of categories. As code relation analysis revealed, some changes are also observable within categories through time. Texts sampled from the years 1998 and 1999 exemplified this situation: the category 'homophobia', which generally encompassing concepts and themes such as violence, suppression, rendering non-existent, etc., contrarily included the concept of 'tolerance', in spite of being a different way of homophobia. This shows that gay and lesbian people became more visible in the society because they felt more confident to come out compared to the late 80s and early 90s, which can be interpreted as an achievement of the homosexual movement. A similar change is also observable in the concepts of the category 'collective and unifying action': the idea of togetherness evolves into institutionalisation. As explained before, such a change in this category is the outcome of group meetings that started to took place in the late 90s.

The discursive constructs can be evaluated diachronically as follows:

- The assimilated in-group representations in the discourse topic of 'collective and unifying action' show that in the beginning of the period homosexuals were tended to be referred to usually by means of collective anthroponyms referring to sexual orientation. However, as of 1996, with the influence of the notions such as 'group solidarity' and 'togetherness', they were frequently referred to by means of specific group names. This is also true for the associated specific in-groups and individuals.

- In a similar sense, in both contexts, i.e. 'heterosexism' and 'collective and unifying action', individualised ordinary people who are referred to by means of proper nouns began to appear in the discourse in the context of discussions on the organisation of movement as of 1996.

- It has been observed that through indeterminate and determinate references, there is a consistent and continuous creation and reproduction of 'us' and 'them' distinction in the whole set of texts between the years 1994 and 1999.

- The politicised social actors, based on the opposition between the 'specified and politicised groups of homosexuals' and 'genericised and politicised institutions of the society' appear as of 1996.

- In 1998, positive presentations of out-group members on the basis of their attitudes towards gay and lesbian people are observable in discourse in the context of appraisement strategy.

- Sociatives varied in 'collective and unifying action' at the end of the 5-year-period, and representations of in-group members in terms of other in-group members become more apparent, which is an indication of group solidarity is paid much more attention. This can be explained with the general social-psychological dynamics of the movement in Turkey in that the movement first aimed at reaching and unearthing the gay and lesbian identities, and it was not until the 1996 that the first discussions on 'how to organise' were initiated through the magazine. Increase in the number of such sociatives signifies the increase in-group social relations.

It can generally be stated that the movement and the magazine, which in the beginning adopted the policy of unearthing gay and lesbian identities, was more oriented to identify

the society based on negative-other presentation with an added anarchist discourse. The authors in the later years, however, tended to construct a group solidarity among in-groups, eventually leading to general discussions of issues such as aggregation and institutionalisation, which can clearly be seen from the findings of both GTA and CDA. Besides the findings of GTA, CDA additionally provided us with identification of in-groups in terms of society and vice versa through peculiar discursive strategies and linguistic patterns. In this sense, CDA framework in the present dissertation enabled us to discover more intricate relations between the social actors taking part in the discourse of the texts.

As previously stated in the historical development of homosexual movement in Turkey (see Chapter 2 for the related issue), upon criticisms on *Kaos GL Magazine*'s discourse in the first years for being too much 'radical', Erol (2011) stated that it was indeed "radical just because what is said via the magazine had never been said before in Turkey, and because of homosexuals' visibility". Moreover, Partog (2012) asserted that some regular authors of the magazine adopted an anarchist stance in the first years, contrary to the editors' insistent efforts to reject it. It can be stated that this claim is apparently rightful according to the thematic constructs found out in GTA. Still, CDA reveals that the radical discourse is not only restricted to the anarchist view of a number of authors. It is also related to the linguistic forms that represent out-groups negatively by means of several counter-othering discursive strategies.

In the same vein, it can be concluded that DHA framework established by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) on discriminatory, racist, nationalist, anti-Semitist, ethnicist and sexist language use fit into the analysis of in-group discourse of homosexuals, which seems to be paradoxical in the first place. In usual cases, one would expect similar conceptualisations, discursive strategies, linguistic means and forms from heteronormative discourses. Nevertheless, the discursive construction of *Kaos GL Magazine*, which is thought to have a strong voice on the issues concerning homosexuality and marginalised non-heterosexual identities in Turkey is based on linguistic patterns common for discriminatory discourses.

Another important point about CDA: common linguistic realisations and discursive strategies observed within the contextual boundaries of both categories included in the analysis (i.e. *heterosexism* and *collective and unifying action*) show that discursive construction as well as the thematic patterning of argumentative texts pertaining to homosexual movement in *Kaos GL Magazine* are homogeneous and interdiscursive in nature; in other words, there are not clear-cut thematic and discursive boundaries.

Going back to the criticisms on *Kaos GL Magazine* on the fact that is imports a Western homosexual identity to make it established in Turkey (Bereket and Adam, 2006), the issue seems to be beyond the capabilities of this study on the grounds that this study is solely oriented to the analysis of textual material strictly purposively selected from the Magazine. As the analytical procedures show, the texts selected for the specific purpose of investigating the fundamental organizational discursive practices. A discursive-linguistic investigation on such Westernised gay and lesbian identities can only be carried out involving in a full repertoire of texts from all other text types mentioned in the methodology chapter.

5. 4. IMPLICATIONS

Two main implications can be drawn from the study. First, homosexuals as in-groups can be agent in constructing a 'counter-othering' discourse in which they identify themselves by representing out-groups negatively. Homosexuals are generally known as dominated by discriminatory discourses in which they are represented as 'unwanted', 'sick' or 'sinful' groups of people. Outside perspectives to CDA deal with such groups as objects, just like the position of Afro-American people in racist discourses or women in sexist discourses (Wodak, 2011). The present study contrarily provided an analysis of discursive construction of a homosexual group in Turkey with an insider perspective. The findings of this study have shown that discourses, whether or not they are constructed by in-groups or out-groups, can have common characteristics. In this sense, it is not always the marginalised groups that are negatively presented in discourses but also marginalised in-groups can identify themselves of out-groups by making use of similar strategies of negative-other presentation. Therefore, the present study is significant in providing an

insight for further studies which may look into the distinction of heterosexual world and homosexual reality.

Second, the DHA model adopted in this study provided the researcher with invaluable findings on the representation of social actors only within a five-year period of the homosexual movement in Turkey. The differences between the periods of the movement, as specified in the inventory analysis in the methodology chapter, also deserve to be investigated. Moreover, any investigation on the period before and after the website *kaosgl.org* in the same manner can reveal further remarkable findings for the literature of Queer Linguistics and discourse studies. The present dissertation has provided invaluable findings about thematic and discursive construction of the first five year of a social movement. These findings are expected be light to the researchers who set out for such an extensive project.

Besides these implications, a few suggestions for further studies can be provided in relation to the findings of this study. It is a fact that *Kaos GL Magazine* is publication which was initiated by educated group of people. Unveiling the categorical patterns and the discourse constructed through the magazine (by narrowing the study to argumentative texts and the issue of homosexual movement) can by no means represent what homosexuality is and is not in the socio-cultural context with all its aspects. In this sense, further studies (especially those based on fieldwork) adopting Grounded Theory, which is used as a thematic analysis method in the present study, can unearth further and changing social realities about homosexual individuals and identities in Turkey.

Homosexuality in Turkey is said to be imported from the Western style of gay and lesbian identities with all their pecularities, from their practices regarding the liberation movement to their lifestyles (Bereket and Adams, 2006; Özbay, 2015). This study provides certain insights on how Kaos GL arguably tried to establish such a Western model only limited to the practices of homosexual movement. With further studies, adopting CDA, such an identity construction can be investigated through texts from *Kaos GL Magazine* or other publications, and researchers of such studies can either benefit from the findings of this study or develop them with further aspects. Without any doubt

such studies can provide a comprehensive description of homosexuality in Turkey compared to Western cultures.

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APPENDIX 1. ARGUMETATIVE TEXT INVENTORY OF *KAOS GL MAGAZINE* ON HOMOSEXUAL MOVEMENT

YEAR	MONTH	TITLE	AUTHOR	SOURCE	TUR./TRANS.	CLASSIFICATION
		KAOS GL MAGAZINE: 'ARGUMENTATIVE TEXTS' ON 'HOMOSEXUALITY' WITHIN THE 'CONTEXT OF TURKEY'				
1994	September	Kaos Şanlıyor	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1994	September	Aykırı Fırtınalar	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	September	Eşcinsellik, Sosyalizm, Anarşizm	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	September	Düşünceler-i-miz	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	September	Varolan Durum ve Eşcinsellik	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1994	September	Polis Kimliği ve Heteroseksist Terör	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
1994	October	Cinsel Mozaik	Sanem Akay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	October	Cümlenin Dışında	Utku A. Feza	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	October	Türkiye'nin Bütün Eşcinselleri, Birleşelim!	Ediz Öztürk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1994	October	Eşcinselliğin Tarihine Özgürlükçü Yaklaşım (IV ve V. başlık)	Mark Richards	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	November	Korku	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	November	Aids Bildirisi (Bölüm: Aids ve Eşcinsellik)	Tim Edwards	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Health and homosexuality
1994	November	AIDS ve Anlamları	Susan Sontag	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Health and homosexuality
1994	November	KAOS GL, Heteroseksüellere Düşman mı?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	December	Kapak	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	December	Eşcinsellik mi? Erkeksi/Kadınsı Protesto mu?	Samet Güngör	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1994	December	Mekan Sorunu	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
1994	December	Uzlaşma	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	January	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	January	Ailen Biliyor mu?	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1995	February	Lezbiyen Varoluşun Başkaldırışı	Ann Menasche	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	February	Verem, Diyanet, Aids, Lut	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
1995	February	Psikoloji mi, Biyoloji mi	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1995	February	Bir Gün Mutlaka	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	February	İ.H.D.'de Neler Oluyor?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1995	February	No title	T.E. (heteroseksüel)	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	February	Arka Kapak	Başak Upar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	March	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	March	Mücadele Yoksa, Özgürlük de Yok!	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	March	Günlüğümden Notlar	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	TARTIŞMA: Aslına uygun özümsenen sevgi	İstanbul'dan bir lezbiyen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1995	April	TARTIŞMA: Neden?	Bir grup lezbiyen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	TARTIŞMA ...	Atilla Karakış	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	Sevgili KaosGL	Küçük İskender	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	Sevgili G.G.	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	ÖZGÜR VE SAYGIN CİNSELLİK	Sanem Akay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	April	YATAKTA NE YAPARLAR?	Warren J. Blumenfeld & Diane Raymond	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1995	May	Eşcinsel ve İşçi Olmak...	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
1995	May	çalışma hayatı ve eşcinseller (el yazısı)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1995	May	T A R T I Ş M A (Ali Erol)	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality

1995	June	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	June	NEREDESİNİZ?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	June	lezbiyenlere baskı mı var? diyenlere	Monika Reinfelder	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Violence and homophobia
1995	June	T A R T I Ş M A - Neden bakışık?	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	June	M E K T U P -lar- D A N (Philadelphia)	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1995	June	M E K T U P -lar- D A N (Ü.Z., Bilinçli Eşcinseller Top. üyesi)	Ü. Z.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	June	KIZILAY'DAKi PARKTA NELER OLUYOR?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
1995	June	TÜRKİYE'DE EŞCİNSELLİĞE PSİKİYATRİSTLERİN BAKIŞI NASIL?...	Bülent Karadoğan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1995	June	YENİ BİR OLUŞUMA DOĞRU-HERKESE MERHABA.	Bilinçli Eşcinseller Top.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1995	July	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	July	Kaos GL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	July	Mektuplardan (Afyonlu bir okurumuz)	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	July	KAOS GL nasıl bir dergi?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1995	August	BEYNİNİZE SAHİP ÇIKIN!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1995	August	AŞK GÜZELDİR, Kurtuluş Mücadelemiz Daha da	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1995	September	"şimdi okullu olduk"	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1995	September	Q	Vladimir Gonzalez	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	September	Ne yapmaya çalışıyorlar?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1995	October	Eşcinsellerin Kurtuluşu aynı zamanda Heteroseksüelleri de Özgürleştirecektir.	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	October	GAY'LİĞİ YAŞA(yama)MAK!	Esat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1995	November	Gerçek Çocuk Sahte Çocukluk	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Child and homosexuality
1995	November	Kapitalizm ve Gay Kimliği	John D'Emilio	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Capitalism and homosexuality
1996	January	BİLİM, MASUM DEĞİLDİR!	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1996	January	Kızım kadınları seviyor	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	January	ÖNYARGI VE HOMOFOBİ	Güneş K. Göker	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
1996	February	BİR SERÜVENDİR HER EŞCİNSEL İLİŞKİ	Mustafa	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1996	February	LEZBİYEN İLİŞKİLER HANGİ NEDENLERLE BAŞARISIZLIĞA	Monika Streit	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1996	February	İP CAMBAZI EŞCİNSELLER	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	February	VE HOMOFOBİ	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
1996	February	ARTEMiS'iN TAPINAĞI-MODA SENDROMLARI	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1996	February	MEKTUP (Siyasette Eşcinsellerin Konumu)	Fazıl Hakarar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
1996	March	ARTEMiS'iN TAPINAĞI (Aile ve Yok ettikleri)	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1996	April	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1996	April	CİNSEL KİMLİK ÜZERİNE BİRKAÇ DÜŞÜNCE	Murat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	April	ARTEMiS'iN TAPINAĞI (Eşcinsellik; Hiperseksüalite?)	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	April	MERHABA KAOS GL (metnin bir kısmı)	Mehmet Alaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1996	May	"MUTLUYUZ, EVLENMiYORUZ" (Metnin büyük bir kısmı)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1996	May	NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET TARTIŞMASINA ÇAĞRI	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	May	ARTEMiS'iN TAPINAĞI (Tapınaklar yerine gül bahçeleri)	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
1996	June	Medya I	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1996	June	O başkalık benim kendimdir.	Kemal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	June	VE HOMOFOBİ	Yalçın Kaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1996	June	DEĞİNMELER (Mehmet Ali Erbil'in Topları)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1996	June	DEĞİNMELER (Zeki Müren)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1996	June	AIDS (yazının ilk kısımları)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1996	June	Aşk üzerine	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1996	July	VE HOMOFOBİ	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia

1996	July	Beyin Cimnastiği	Emre Güven	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
1996	July	Şehir	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
1996	July	ARTEMiS'iN TAPINAĞI (Aşk üzerine Madde 2)	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1996	July	İSTANBUL KANATLARIMIN ALTINDA, EŞCİNSELLİK İSE AYAKLAR ALTINDA	Atilla Karakış	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1996	August	"SEVGİ İÇERİKLİ DİNE EVET, EŞCİNSELLİĞE HAYIR!"	Derya Kurat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1996	August	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Batur Özdinç	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	August	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	August	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Barış Evren	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	August	Gay&Lezbiyen Hareketi Üzerine Düşünceler	Devrim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	August	Farklı olmak ama...	Kemal Yiğit	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	August	Türkiye'de Gay Kültürü üzerine bir deneme	Hasan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	August	Çocuklara Kötü örnek olmak	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Child and homosexuality
1996	August	Gayri tabii mukarenet	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1996	September	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
1996	September	ADALET VE LEZBİYENLER	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
1996	September	DÜŞÜNCELER, İZLENİMLER, GÖNDERMELER, TAŞLAMALAR	Emil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	September	NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET TARTIŞMASI…	Sedat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	September	GAY & LEZBİYEN HAREKET ÜZERİNE DÜŞÜNCELER	Devrim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	September	Dış Mihraklar - LGFM	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual movement
1996	October	Bir İntihar Öyküsünün Ardından	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1996	October	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	October	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	November	ALTTAKİ ve ÜSTTEKİ	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1996	November	NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?: EŞCİNSEL KÜLTÜRÜN DOĞUŞU	Cengiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	November	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1996	November	Eşcinseller Güzeldir	Selçuk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	December	BİR GRUP EŞCİNSEL KAMU EMEKÇİSİNİN 14 ARALIK'I DEĞERLENDİRMESİ	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1996	December	SICAĞI SICAĞINA LAMBDA	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1996	December	AZINLIK-ÇOĞUNLUK VE HOŞGÖRÜ ÜZERİNE	Enver	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1996	December	Medya her zaman bilgi verir mi?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1997	January	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	January	Daha Ne Zamana Kadar Seyredecegiz?	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	February	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	February	Lezbiyenler artık luna mı yiyeceğiz?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1997	February	Kaos	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	March	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET? (İlk paragraftan sonra)	Bora	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	March	Kaos	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	April	EŞCİNSEL ÖĞRENCİLER İÇİN HEPSİ ZULÜMDÜR!	Bir grup lezbiyen ve gay öğrenci	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1997	April	"HETEROSEKSÜELLİK NORMAL DEĞİL, SADECE YAYGIN"	Derek Jarman	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	General discussion/evaluation
1997	April	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET? (İlk kısım)	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	April	Eşcinsel Kimlik	Cengiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	April	TARTIŞMA-NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET?	Yasemin Özalp	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	Kapak	Kapak	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	May	1 Mayıs'ta Aşk ve Özgürlük için Yürüdük	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
1997	May	Lambda'nın *Yeni Mezunları*	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	Mekanlarda Eşcinsellik	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality

1997	May	İzmir	Ezgi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	KaosGL'nin dayanışma notu	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	May	KAOS'A DAİR	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	June (1)	"LEZBİYENLER SOKAĞA İNDİ!"	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1997	June (1)	SENDİKALILAŞTIRABİLDİKLERİMİZDEN MİSİNİZ? (birkaç soru)	Nedim B.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
1997	June (1)	Kimlikten sonra	Urvashi Vaid	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual movement
1997	June (1)	Abartıyor muyuz?	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1997	June (1)	ODTÜ Eylül'den Haziran'a	Devrim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (1)	NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET	Halil Seyhan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	Derilerin kalınlaşması	Mustafa Konur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	SONUNA KADAR TOZPEMBE!	Ezgi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	June (2)	Aslında tüm kurumsal yapılara karşı olmama rağmen	Burak Karacan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1997	August	Orada Kimse Var mı (Grincheus'tan itibaren)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
1997	September	4	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	September	Değinmeler, Dertleşmeler (iskenderun'dan yazan arkadaş)	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	September	ve ARTIK BİRLEŞİM!	Ezgi Giz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1997	October	Yumruğunu Sık!	Mustafa	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1997	October	Gari tabii mukarenet	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1997	December	ÇAĞRI ya da "Haklar verilmez, alınır!"	Enver	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	January	Broşür (2. paragraf)	Lambda İstanbul	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
1998	January	PANİK YOK	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
1998	February	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	February	Lezbiyenler, hangi rolü seçelim?	Gül	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	February	Eğitim-Sen'li öğretmenlere	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1998	February	NE 5 NE 8... EŞCİNSEL ÖĞRENCİLER İÇİN HEPSİ ZULÜMDÜR!	Kaos Eşcinselleri	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1998	February	İNADINA İNADINA VARIZ!	Taha	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1998	March	HOMOFOBİNİN DİĞER YÜZÜ	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	March	LEZBİYENLİĞİN YÜZEYİNDEN DERİNİNE	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	April	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	April	DİN VE EŞCİNSELLİK	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
1998	May	TARTIŞMA, ELEŞTİRİ, VS. Sevgili Gül'e (ilk sayfası)	F. Meral	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	May	TATLISU ANTİ-MİLİTARİZMİ YA DA "İBNELER" NEDEN ASKERE GİTMEZLER !…	Barış Taner Bortaçina	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1998	May	en büyük asker bizim asker	Atilla Karakış	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1998	May	MEKTUPLARDAN	Şarmut A. İkarus	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	May	Arka Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	June	TARTIŞMA, ELEŞTİRİ, VS.	Meltem	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	June	TARTIŞMA, ELEŞTİRİ, VS. Lezbiyen bakışmalar	Burcu, Ebru, Zeloş, Yeşim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	June	ŞAİBELİ AKTİVİSTLER Bizim de söyleyeceklerimiz var	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	June	Lambda İstanbul'dan arkadaşlara	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	July-August	Eşikteki erkek	Şarmut A. İkarus	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	July-August	EŞCİNSELLİK VE ASKERLİK ÜZERİNE SÖYLENMEDİK BİRŞEY KALMASIN.	Dinçer Arslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1998	July-August	TÜRKİYE'DEKİ EŞCİNSEL HAREKETLENMELERE GENEL BAKIŞ (ilk metin)	Hakan K.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1998	July-August	TÜRKİYE'DEKİ EŞCİNSEL HAREKETLENMELERE GENEL BAKIŞ (Türk solu ve eşcinsellik)	Hakan K.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
1998	July-August	… Genel Bakış Üzerine Birkaç Not	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	September	POLİTİK DÜZLEMDE EŞCİNSEL BİLİNCİN GENİŞLETİLMESİ	Gülay Derya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality

1998	September	ÇOCUKLUĞUN VE İLK GENÇLİĞİN YAŞATTIĞI (CİNSEL) ÖZGÜRLÜK	Ece Göksenin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Child and homosexuality
1998	September	MANTIKLI ELEŞTİRİ YAPABİLMEK YA DA ANKARA'DAN ALİ	Dinçer Arslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	September	Ayıptır Söylemesi (metnin orta kısmı)	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	September	Gay kavramına dair geç kalmış bir yazı	A. Deniz Yıldız	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	October	böyle GAZETECİLİK olur mu?	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1998	October	öğreten eşcinsellik	Yusuf Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	October	iyi niyet öldü	Pharao	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	October	Bir lezbiyen tarafından sikilmek istemiyorum	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	October	Neden tartış(a)mıyoruz? Neden bizim düşüncemiz yok?	Ece Göksenin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	November	Aile mi İstiyorum (?)	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1998	November	dinsel sapıklar… cinsel sapıklar	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1998	November	No title	Şener	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	November	Tartışma	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	November	Sapphonun kızları	Sapphonun kızları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1998	December	RESİMLİ HAYAT ANSİKLOPEDİSİ	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1998	December	Mektuplardan - Eftal	Eftal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	December	Mektuplardan - Mahmut	Mahmut	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1998	December	YENİ YAŞAMLARDAN YENİ BİÇİMLERDEN ANLADIĞIMIZ ANLAMADIĞIMIZ	Ece Göksenin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1998	December	Eşcinsellere Yönelik Şiddete Karşı Ne Yapmalı? Örgütlenmeli!	Suat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	January	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1999	January	intihar, ihtimalleri ortadan kaldırma isteğidir (sayfa 4)	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
1999	January	Lezbiyenliğim gururumdur (ilk gençlik yıllarında… ile başlayan paragraf)	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	January	LEZBİYEN KİMDİR?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	January	EVLENSEK DE Mİ KURTULSAK, EVLENMESEK DE Mİ KURTULSAK?!	Özgür Hürcan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	February	POST-GAY: Bir Eleştiri	Paula MARTINAC	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	February	Psikanaliz ve Eşcinsellik	Oğuz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
1999	February	Mektuplardan (Harun)	Harun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	February	SÖMÜRÜN EFENDİLER SÖMÜRÜN! AKSIRINCAYA, TIKSIRINCAYA… GEBERİNCEYE KADAR SÖMÜRÜN!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	March	Doğu Perinçek'e yanıt	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	March	Şu lanetli 80'li yıllar… (Şu nazik konu: çocuk meselesi)	Kaos Eşcinselleri, Lambda İstanbul, Sappho'nun kızları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Child and homosexuality
1999	March	KARANLIK DOĞU'dan YÜKSELDİ…	Burhan Murat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	March	aktüel	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	March	Kim Kimi Taciz Ediyor	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
1999	March	entelektüel maskelerin örttüğü çirkef:HETEROSEKSİST SALDIRGANLIK	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	April	sappho'nun kızları tartışıyor-KENDiNE ÖNYARGILI LEZBiYEN	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	April	Kitleselleşelim mi , kurumsallaşalım mı?	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	April	Aşk…	Bora	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	April	KUTLU OLSUN	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	May	BaharANKARA Sunumları - Kampüs Grupları	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
1999	May	BOCALAMANIN VERSİYONLARI	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	June	KAYBOLMAYA TAHAYYÜLLE DİRENMEK	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	June	lezbiyenlik ve feminizm	Gül	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	June	ANNELERİMİZ… BABALARIMIZ… …VE BİZ!!!	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
1999	June	ÇOK ZOR DEĞİL	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	July-August	iletişim "TARTIŞMALARI"	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

1999	July-August	iletişim "TARTIŞMALARI"-Narkisos ve Hermes (Bir soru:)	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	July-August	sappho'nun kızları tartışıyor-BİZİ GİDİ BİZİ	Tezer Kanık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	July-August	sappho'nun kızları tartışıyor-BANA BU AŞKI DA LÜTFEDER MİSİNİZ?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	July-August	HOMOFOBİ;her nerede yaşanıyor ya da yaşatılıyorsa...	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
1999	July-August	Nasıl Bir Eşcinsel Hareket Tartışması	Fethi Işık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	July-August	MUHAMMED ve ERKEK EŞCİNSELLİĞİ	Jim Wafer	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Religion and homosexuality
1999	July-August	TAHAYYÜLLÜN TÜKENDİĞİ YERDE UNUTARAK TAHAMMÜL	Olga S.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	July-August	Kapitalizmin kaypaklığı	Gülay Derya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Capitalism and homosexuality
1999	July-August	GL kitaplığı (kitap harici paragraflar)	Selçuk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	July-August	Mekanlar ve eşcinsellik	Şener	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
1999	July-August	Mektuplardan (Spartaküs ölüyor arkadaşlar!)	Barış Evren	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	July-August	Mektuplardan (Eşcinsel deneyimin varlığı ve anlamı)	Paşa	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	July-August	Biz ayrılıkçı lezbiyenleriz, çünkü…	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	September	HELAL OLSUN EMEKÇİYE-ha, bi de şu "TOP" yaşar meselesi	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
1999	September	İletişim "Tartışmaları" (Bir kafkas öyküsü)	İbrahim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	September	İletişim "Tartışmaları" (Herkes haklı!)	Coşkun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	September	Mektuplardan (Heteroseksüel kıskacında gay)	Hikmet	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1999	September	Medya (Mine G. Kırkkanat'ın yazısına cevap)	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medya (Mine G. Kırkkanat'ın yazısına cevap)	Taha	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medya (Mine G. Kırkkanat'ın yazısına cevap)	Can Atak	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medyada eşcinsellik tartışmaları (Jülide Sevim'in yazısına cevap)	Tolga	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medyada eşcinsellik tartışmaları (Jülide Sevim'in yazısına cevap)	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medyada eşcinsellik tartışmaları (Jülide Sevim'in yazısına cevap)	Sıtkı Sıyrıldı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Medyada eşcinsellik tartışmaları (Jülide Sevim'in yazısına cevap)	Tolga, Ali Özbaş ve Sıtkı Sıyrıldı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	September	Cinsel yönelim ve eşcinsellikle ilgili sorularınıza yanıtlar (bazıları)	Amerikan Psikoloji Derneği	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
1999	September	Tartışma… Değinme… vs… (Söyleyeceklerim var)	Serkan Ege	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1999	September	Tartışma… Değinme… vs… (POLİGAM OLSAK MI, OLMASAK MI?)	Gülay Derya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	September	KaosGL 6. yılında	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
1999	October	YOLLAR, HAYATLAR VE ŞİDDET	Gülay Derya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
1999	October	GAY KÜRESELDİR	Richard GOLDSTEIN	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	General discussion/evaluation
1999	October	GENEL DÜŞÜNCELER VE DUYGULANIMLAR	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
1999	October	iletişim TARTIŞMALARI - Nereye kadar iletişim?	Kerem	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
1999	October	iletişim TARTIŞMALARI - İletişim köşesi	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
1999	October	iletişim TARTIŞMALARI - YEDİ TEPELİ ŞEHİRMDEKİ LEZBİYENLERİM	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Dec.-Jan.	Psikoloji, Psikiyatri ve Eşcinsellik	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	Toplum, Ahlak, İnanç, Birey...	Şener	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Dec.-Jan.	Ne İşe Yarar Bu Coming-Out?	Şakir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	HETEROSEKSÜELLİK BİR CİNSEL TERCİHTİR (metnin ikinci yarısı)	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	ATAERKİDE KADIN OLMAK+ EŞCİNSEL OLMAK +AZINLIKTA OLMAK	Tezer Kanık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Dec.-Jan.	KADIN VE YİTİK CİNSELLİK (yazının ikinci kısmı)	Duygu Zafer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	BİR AŞK DİLİYORUM TANRIDAN İNSANLARA	Dicle F.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2000	Dec.-Jan.	EŞCİNSEL AŞK DA VAR	Ümit Kader	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	MURATHAN'IN ARKASINDAN YILDIZ TOPLAMAK (Son 3 paragraf)	Ümit Kader	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	BEN BİR ALTERNATİF MİYİM?	İlker Ünlü	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Dec.-Jan.	BÜTÜN HAKEMLER İBME Mİ?	Gülay Derya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2000	Dec.-Jan.	MEKTUP - DEMOKRASİNİN ZAFERİ	Coşkun Durmuş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Feb.-Mar.	EŞCİNSEL KİMLİK VE BEDEN	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality

2000	Feb.-Mar.	BİR ARAŞTIRMA ÜZERİNE…	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2000	Feb.-Mar.	KONU EŞCİNSELLİK OLUNCA HABERDE ÖZENSİZLİK VE SORUMSUZLUK FARZ MIDIR?	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2000	Feb.-Mar.	AIDS İLE MÜCADELENİN İNCELİKLERİ	Kerem	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2000	Apr.-May	KaosGL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Apr.-May	Muzırlık	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Apr.-May	En çok neyin yakınında yaşamak isteriz	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Apr.-May	Özel sektör, hayallerim, geyliğim ve işsizlik	Ahmet	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2000	Apr.-May	Basında KaosGL	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Karantina altında yaşamak	Ufuk Kuzey	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Kuşadası	Ahmet	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	Apr.-May (2)	İHD: Hükümet özür dilemelidir	İnsan Hakları Derneği	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Kuşadası ve Taksim'den dinliyorum Türkiye'yi gözlerim açık	Osman Elbek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	Apr.-May (2)	hugo	Özgür Eren	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Eşcinsellik	Murat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Biz ve onlar	Eralp Yıldırım	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler (Türkiye'yi ilgilendiren kısım)	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Apr.-May (2)	Güztanbul üzerine	Koray	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	June-July	KaosGL'den (ilk kısım)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	June-July	Ayakla çorba içilmez Netekim	Gözüm Abla	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	June-July	Eşitlik ve özgürlük konusunda güçlü bir soluk: KaosGL	Osman Elbek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	June-July	Muzır Tepkiler	Asudan, Ezgi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	June-July	Kaşınmalarım (1)	Dicle F.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	June-July	Kaşınmalarım (3-9)	Dicle F.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2000	June-July	AB ülkelerine üye ülkelerde eşcinsellikle ilgili hukuki düzenlemeler ve bunların gekişim süreci (Türkiye hakkındaki paragraf)	Onur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2000	June-July	BaharANKARA'nın matematikselliği	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	June-July	AIDS ısrarla patlamıyor	AIDS Buluşma	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2000	Aug.-Sep.	Kurul beni değil yazımın kaynağını eleştiriyor	Zekeriya Gün	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2000	Aug.-Sep.	sinir sistemi olmaksızın da yaşanıyor	Ufuk Kuzey	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2000	Aug.-Sep.	Açık ve kapalı aileler	Colin Ward	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Family and homosexuality
2000	Aug.-Sep.	Birlik ve buluşma	Kerem Güven	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Aug.-Sep.	Kaos'ta yeni ne var, bu politikalar nereye götürür?	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Aug.-Sep.	"Baharankara'nın Matematikselliği"ne Matematiksel ve Kişisel Olmayan Cevap	Koray	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Aug.-Sep.	"Öte"-ki ben/Aylık Lezbiyen-Feminist Dergi Projesi	Öte-ki ben	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2000	Aug.-Sep.	Homofobinin entelektüel hali	Muhittin Serinay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2001	Spring	Cinsellik ve haklar: lezbiyen ve gey politikasını sorunsallaştırmak	Momin Rahman	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Legal issues and homosexuality
2001	Spring	neden?	birisivar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2001	Spring	Ne yapmalı?	Murat Özen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2001	Summer	kabahatlerimiz ortaya dökülürken: 1 Mayıs, Ceviz Kabuğu, Tarkan (Eşcinsellerin 1 Mayıs'ta Ne İşi Vardı?)	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	kabahatlerimiz ortaya dökülürken: 1 Mayıs, Ceviz Kabuğu, Tarkan (Ceviz kabuğunu dolduramıyorsan celladına aşık ol)	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	kabahatlerimiz ortaya dökülürken: 1 Mayıs, Ceviz Kabuğu, Tarkan (HANGİSİ TARKAN? MİLLİ İKİYÜZLÜLÜĞÜMÜZ, MİLLİ COME-OUT'UMUZ, MİLLİ GURURUMUZ)	Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	Tarkan evine hoş geldin!!! Ya da go home Tarkan!!!	Atilla A.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	Amcaya pipi göstermeye hayır	Hakan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	ikiyüzlülük	Yeşim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	Özel hayat ne zaman özeldir	Hakan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event

2001	Summer	Röportaj…	Atilla A., M. Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2001	Summer	Ay kadına bak	Murat Özen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2001	Summer	"Eşcinsellere genelevde çalışma izni"	Oktay Çetinoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2002	Jan.-Feb.	9 Kasım Mitingi	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Vicdani red	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Komşudan mektup: Atina Lezbiyen Grubu	Atina Lezbiyen Grubu	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Eşcinselim, varım; Lezbiyenim, yokum	Oyaburcu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Lezbiyen görünürlüğü ya da görünmezliği	Filiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Nerelere kaçsak gey gey?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Eşcinsel hareketi lüks mü?	Ali Baba	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Gey ideolojisine reddiye	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	ikiyüzlülük	Volkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2002	Jan.-Feb.	1 Mayıs, Coming-out ve Birlikte Özgürleşmenin Olanakları (Söyleşi)	Ali Erol, Murat Yalçınkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Lezbiyenler internetten dışarı	Filiz, Yeşim (KaosGL)	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Jan.-Feb.	Workshop: Psikoloji ve Eşcinsellik	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Kaos Kültür Merkezi Kapatılmak Isteniyor!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Mar.-Apr.	TÜRKIYE LGBT BELGESELI (Birkaç paragraf)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Kültür Merkezini Yeniden Düşünmek	Koray	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Mar.-Apr.	BIZ BÖYLE MI OLACAKTIK YA DA BIZE NELER OLUYOR?	Filiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Escinsel Kurtulus Hareketinde Kadinlar	KaosGL'li kadınlar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Coming out of internet	Filiz, Koray, Ahmet, Akif, Onur, Nedim Serkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	İnternet ve Chat : Kablolu Yasamlar	Filiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Iliskiler, Çeliskiler ve Internet	Ahmet	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	SIMAG : Siddetle Mücadele Alt Grubu	ŞİMAG/Lambda İstanbul	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Kan davasi	Gözüm Abla	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Kimlik Sorgulamasi	Can Dara	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Evlilik korur mu denetler mi?	Cynthia Peters	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2002	Mar.-Apr.	...!!!	Kerem	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Aladağlar'da Açilmak	Volkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Mar.-Apr.	Üçüncü renk Pençe	Coşkun Durmuş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Summer	Düşündük, taşınmadık!	Filiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Summer	Atölyelerimizi kuralım (birkaç paragraf)	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Summer	1 Mayıs.	Tarkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Summer	ZORUNLU HETEROSEKSÜELLIK INSANLIK SUÇUDUR! EŞCİNSELLER VAR!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2002	Summer	Hayatımın ilk 1 Mayıs'ı (bazı paragraflar)	Huebear/Türkiye Ayıları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Summer	1 Mayıs İzlenimlerim	Öner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Summer	Koç Üniversitesi: Özgür Eğitim Kurumu mu, Ticarethane mi?	Türkiye Eşcinsel Oluşumları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Summer	HOMOFOBIK HOCAYA TEPKI !	LAGATO	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2002	Summer	Kampüs Standlarinda Duran Gey ve Lezbiyenlerle Söylesi (bazı yorum içerikli kısımları)	LEGATO-ODTÜ ve KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Summer	GEY VE LEZBIYENLERIN GÜÇLENDIRILMESI	Elif Gökçearslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2002	Summer	ESCINSEL BIREYLER VE SOSYAL HIZMET	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2002	Summer	KAOS GL Sağlik Projesi	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2002	Summer	AYRILMAK ZOR	B. Ruby Rich	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2002	Summer	SUSMAYA, EĞLENMEYE DEVAM EDIN AMA SIRA SIZE DE GELECEK!	Oktay Çetinoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Summer	Heteroseksizm ve Günlük Hayatta Karsiliği	Türkiye Eşcinsel Oluşumları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

2002	Summer	Escinsel Hareketin Bilesenleri: Gruplar	Türkiye Eşcinsel Oluşumları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Summer	Heteroseksizm ile Mücadelede Yeni Hareket Alanlari	Türkiye Eşcinsel Oluşumları	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Damgalanmaya Karsi Kampanya	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Lambdaistanbul'dan Basin Açiklamasi	Lambda İstanbul	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	LGBT Strateji Semineri	Ulaş Yılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Eşcinsellik tartışması…	Atila Demirkasımoğlu, Üstün Öngel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Escinsellik: Doğustan mi Sonradan mi?	Levine Gelles	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Barlarda Takildik Kaldik!	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	İlk Durak Konya… (Lezbiyenlerle ilgili paragrafları)	Oyaburcu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2002	Sep.-Oct.	Izmir Escinsel Kültür Grubu Kuruldu	Izmir Escinsel Kültür Grubu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	January	Orda Bir Dergi Var Uzaklarda!...	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Lambdaistanbul'dan Haberler (Metnin ilk ve son kısmı)	Berkay Y. Bostan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2003	January	9. ESCINSELLER BULUSMASI BASIN AÇIKLAMASI	Bağimsiz Escinseller, Anadolu Ayilari, Kaos GL, Lambda Istanbul, LEGATO, Pembe Üçgen Izmir Escinsel Kültür Olusumu, Türkiye Ayilari	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	January	Güztanbul ve 1 Aralik'tan Medyaya Yansıyanlar…	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2003	January	Güztanbul'dan Notlar ve İzlemimler:	Armağan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	January	Üniversitelerde Escinsel Mücadele	Cihan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Lezbiyen Örgütlenmesinin Önündeki Engeller	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Güztanbul'da Gözümüzden Kaçanlar	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	January	Adim Adim Özgürlük	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	January	Bilen Aile Toplantisi (Bazı kişilerin yazdıkları)	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2003	January	Yürüyeceğiz, Özgürleseceğiz	Kahraman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Özgür Kadin Dergisi'nin Yesim Basaran Ile Yaptığı Röportaj	Özgür Kadın Dergisi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	January	Lambda Neden Bir "Terapi" Grubudur	Coşkun Durmuş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Problemleri Halinin Altina Süpürerek Nereye Kadar?	Fırat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Escinseller, Politika ve Seçim	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2003	January	Türkiye'deki Escinseller Sosyal Forumlarin Neresinde Durmalidir?	Ulaş Yılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	January	Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kimlik	Atılım	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	January	Biz Bu Filmi Görmüstük	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2003	February	EŞCİNSELLER NEDEN IRAK'TA SAVAŞA KARŞI	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	February	Meydandan Medyaya...	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	February	KKM'de Film Izlemenin Gey-Politik Anlami	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	February	Bu Kültürde Escinsel Olmak: Çekingenlik ve Saldirganlik Sarmalinda Escinsel Hayatlar	Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2003	February	Anadolu'nun Son Tutsaklariyiz	İrfan Aktan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2003	February	"Kurtulusumuzu Örgütleyelim" Kadin Konferansi	Oyaburcu, Yesim Basaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	February	Kabullenmek	Aslı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	February	Escinsellik Üzerine Bir Deneme	Üstün Öngel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	February	Lezbiyen ve Geylerin Sorunlari ve Toplumsal Baris Için Çözüm Arayislari	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	February	Soranda Kabahat!	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	February	Bir Bilene Sorduk; Bes Bilene Yolladi	Kadir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	February	Lütfen Belden Asaği Vurmayalim!	Coşkun Durmuş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	April-May	Toplum Tarafindan Baskilaniyoruz…	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	April-May	Bu Kültürde Escinsel Olmak: Çekingenlik ve Saldirganlik Sarmalinda Escinsel Hayatlar -2	Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2003	April-May	Efendinin Dili (metnin çeşitli bölümleri)	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation

2003	April-May	Sefkatli Kalpler Kimin Için Atiyor? (metin sonundaki basın açıklaması)	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	April-May	"Normal", "Doğal" Kavramlari ve Escinsellik	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	April-May	Escinselliğin Nedenleri Tartismalarina Iliskin	Koray	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2003	April-May	Ataerkil Sistem ve Heteroseksizm Üzerine Söylesi	Can Yaman, Didem Çoban	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	Summer	Escinsel Hareketin Bir Kilometre Tasi	İrfan Aktan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Summer	Içinde ya da "üzerin"(d)e (bir kısmı)	Melek Göregenli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Summer	Sempozyum Prematüre Değil!	Serkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Summer	Çağdas Sanatlar'dan Marmacik Koyu'na...	Onur Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Summer	Escinsel Onur Etkinlikleri (Can, Öner, Engin'den bazı kısımlar)	Can, Öner, Engin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Summer	Escinseller Üçüncü Cins Değil	Güler Emektar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	Kapak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	Aileye Açılma: Sorunlar, Stratejiler,Politikalar…	Yeşim ve Ulaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	Sivil Toplumdan Ne Anliyoruz...	Tuğba Özkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	Kaos GL Sempozyumundan Üç Ay Sonra	Nevzat Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	"Escinsel Kadinlar": Ötekileri Yeniden Tanimlamak	Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (1)	Kendimize Taniklik Edebildik Mi?	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Fanteziler De Tek Tiplesti!	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Bilitis: Lezbiyenlerin ve Biseksüel Kadinlarin Tartisma Listesi	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Hayallerim, Internetim ve Ben	Uğur Alper	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Internet and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Yaşamdersleri Forum	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Anne-Babaniza Açilmadan Önce	T.H. Saureman	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Family and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Nereye Kadar Bu Siddet	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Ceza yasasi önerisine dair...	Seyran Ates	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Kadin Bakis Açisiyla Türk Ceza Kanun Tasarisina Dair (bazı kısımları)	Ela Anıl	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Gökkusağinin Altinda (Türkiye değerlendirmesiyle ilgili kısımlar)	Öner Ceylan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2003	Sep.-Oct. (2)	Türkiye'de Azinlik, Cemaatte de Gey Olmak…(ilgili kısımlar)	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Ask Güzeldir	Gay'e Efendisiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Cynthia Enloe ile Cinsel Politika Üzerine (ilk soruya cevap)	Nirgül, Ayşe Gül	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Türk Medyasinda Escinsellik ve Escinseller	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Cezaevinden Mektup	Mustafa	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Ölümün Gölgesinde Escinsel Olmak	Serhat Şen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Escinseller Ne Istiyor? Hukuk Alanindaki Çalismalar	Cihan Hüroğlu, Elif	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2004	Jan.-Feb.	11. Bulusmanin Düsündürdükleri...	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Pera Palas'ta AIDS Günleri	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2004	Jan.-Feb.	Risk Grubu Değil Ihmal Edilen Grup Olarak: Escinseller	Koray, Umut	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Bedenim Dile Gelse...	Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Bedenimize Açilmak	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Ayilik ve Fetisizm Üzerine...	Ahmet Kaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Gey- Lezbiyen Isçi- Memur Aği	Gey- Lezbiyen Isçi-Memur Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Iste Öyle Bir Gün;	Onur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Zekeriya Gey Olabilir, Ozan'in Escinsel Olabilmesi Için Henüz Erken…	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Escinsel Olmanin Onuru	T.Z.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Eğitimde Sosyalizasyon Politikalari: Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrencilere Yansimalari	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	"Türkiye'de Cinsel Kimlik ve Yönelimleri Anlamak" (yazının ilk kısmı)	Cihan Hüroğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Antalya'da Sivil Homofobi	Ekrem Berk Bilginer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2004	Mar.-Apr.	Türkiye'de Cinsel Eğitim Yok! (metnin son kısmı)	Akademi Komisyonu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2004	May-June	Mekan Kurmak	Reyhan Atasü	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality

2004	May-June	Mekan...	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	May-June	Doğuda Escinsel Olmak...	Ahmet Kaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	May-June	Batman'da Karanliği Parçalarken	Serhat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	May-June	Pop Çaği Çocuklarinin Ölüm Dansi…	Evren Aşık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	May-June	A'dan Z'ye Esra Ceyhan: H Harfi=Homofobi	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	May-June	Erkeği Aklamak Bitti	Gayal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	May-June	Yelda Ile Ilgili Çikan Haberlerin Düsündürdükleri	Hasbiye	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	May-June	Unutulmayacaksin	Hasbiye	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	May-June	Gey-Lezbiyen Isçi Ağı'ndan Merhaba;	Gey- Lezbiyen Isçi Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2004	May-June	"Escinsellerin 1 Mayis'ta Isi Ne?"	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	July-August	Queer, Simulakrum, Mim	Özgür Özakin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	July-August	Türkiye Escinsel Mücadelesi ve Queer	Öner Ceylan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	July-August	Alisarak ve Unutarak Sinirlar Yaratiyoruz!	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2004	July-August	Belirsizlik= Queer = Kaçis	Sürmeli Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2004	July-August	Ayilar Mekan Arayisinda	Pence're	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	July-August	Kasabanin Erkekleri	İnan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2004	July-August	'Geyler': Isyandan Entegrasyona Mi? (metnin ilk kısmı)	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2004	July-August	Gey-Lezbiyen Haklari Insan Haklaridir...	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2004	July-August	Kaos GL Sempozyumu 2004 Eğitimde Sosyalizasyon Politikalari: Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrencilere Yansimalari	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2004	July-August	Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrenci Ağı'ndan Merhaba;	Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrenci Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	July-August	Farkli Yüzleriyle Cinsellik…	Yeşim Başaran, Öner Ceylan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2004	July-August	Yine Yeni Tartisma Alanlari Açmak	Cihan Hüroğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	July-August	Mülteci Gününde Tartisilmayanlar...	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Migration and homosexuality
2004	July-August	Cinsel Yönelim Ayrimciliği Devam mi Edecek?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Merhaba	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Yabancilasmanin Daha Ötesi Mümkün Mü?	Çağdaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Sep.-Oct.	"Çatisirken Dönüsüyoruz"; Palavra, palavra, palavraaaa!	Sürmeli Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Siddetle Siddete Uğruyoruz	Buse Kılıçkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Kaos GL Merkezinin Camlari Taslanarak Kirildi	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2004	Sep.-Oct.	TCK'da Cinsel Yönelim Serüveni	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrencilerin Sorunlari	Gey-Lezbiyen Öğrenci Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Tutsak Escinsellerle Dayanisma Ağı Girisimi	Tutsak Escinsellerle Dayanisma Ağı Girisimi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Gey-Lezbiyen Haklari Ihlalleri Raporu Çalismasi (Hukuk & Gey-Lezbiyen Haklari altbaşlığı)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Psikiyatrik/Psikolojik Homofobi Karsiti Girisim	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Gey-Lezbiyen Isçi Aği	Gey-Lezbiyen Isçi Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Kaos GL Koordinasyonundan Kaos GL Türkiye Genel Koordinasyonuna	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2004	Sep.-Oct.	Türkiyeli Escinseller Bulusmasina Dair Kaos GL'nin Görüsü	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Medyanın Dili Erkek Dili	Tuğrul Eryılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Fikirler sonuçlara gebedir	Kürşad Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2005	Mar.-Apr.	İnsan Hakları ve Eşcinseller	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Eşcinsel ve işçiyiz!	Gey ve Lezbiyen İşçi Ağı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Biz hasta değiliz!	Psikiyatrik-Psikolojik Homofobi Karşıtı Girişim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Neden "Psikiyatrik-Psikolojik Homofobi Karşıtı Girişim"i?	Psikiyatrik-Psikolojik Homofobi Karşıtı Girişim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

2005	Mar.-Apr.	'Sevgilili' Olmak ya da Olmamak (metnin son kısmı)	Ayşegül Arıkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Gruplararası İlişki İdeolojisi Olarak Homofobi	Melek Göregenli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2005	Mar.-Apr.	Cinsiyetçiliğe ve homofobiye karşı mücadele etmeden mi yükselecek toplumsal muhalefet?	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2005	Summer	Mehmet, Barış'ı Seviyor: Total Retçi Mehmet Tarhan'a Özgürlük	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2005	Summer	'İçeri'de olmak (Dışarıdaki Tutsaklar altbaşlığı)	Hasan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2005	Summer	TCK için sözümüz var!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2005	Summer	Nasıl bir dergi? Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?-cinsellik özgürlük sorunudur!	Halim Şafak	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2005	Summer	Nasıl bir dergi? Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareket?	Ayşe Düzkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2005	Summer	Kampüste- Din, Eşcinsellerin Kadınsılıkları ve Çok Eşlilik"	Salim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	Görünür olmaya yanıt: Yok ol!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	İfşa et!	Zeynep Aksoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	Açıl susam açıl!	Selen Doğan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	gardrobun dışı	Ayşe Düzkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	Utanmak nedir?	Küçük İskender	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	'Yaşadıklarını saklamak gurursuzluktur'	Güner Kuban	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	ve perdeler aralansın	Onur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	Aynadaki yüzümüz hangisi?	Özlem Kınal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Mar.-Apr.-May	yorumlar…	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Summer	Bir tüketim nesnesi olarak beden	Meltem Arıkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Summer	Feminist pornografi eleştirisi ve eşcinsel pornosu	Ayşe Sargın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Summer	Pornografinin Zaferi (mi?)	Onur Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Summer	Eşcinsel evlilik üzerine güzelleme	Aslı Kazan Gilmore	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2006	Fall	korku ruhları kemiredursun...	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Fall	Eşcinseller değil, 'genel ahlak' değişecek!	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Fall	Pornografik dünyaya hoþ geldiniz!	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Fall	Ne hastayız, ne ahlaksız. İnsanız! (alıntı kısımları)	Gökkuşağı Derneği	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Fall	Gruplararası İlişki İdeolojisi Olarak Homofobi	Melek Göregenli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2006	Fall	Zorunlu heteroseksüellik bir insanlık hakkı ihlalidir	Aksu Bora	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2006	Fall	cins(iyet)e ihanet	Erinç Seymen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2006	Fall	Homofobi, Terapistler, Homofobi Karşıtı Eğitim (ilk kısım)	Nesrin Yetkin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2006	Fall	Eşcinselliğin 'tedavisi' yok ama homofobiden kurtulmak mümkün!	Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2006	Fall	Oynama şıkıdım şıkıdım…	Kürşad Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2006	Fall	Homofobi-Ataerki-Siddet	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2006	Fall	Eşcinsellere Yönelik Sosyal Hizmetler	Sema Buz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2006	Fall	Çalışma Hayatında Eşcinsellik	Oya Aydın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2006	Fall	Basın 'eşcinsel mücadelesini' nasıl çerçeveledi?	Gülsüm Depeli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2007	Jan.-Feb.	Anne! Baba! ben eşcinselim!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2007	Jan.-Feb.	LGBTT gündem (İstanbul'da Gümüşsuyu…basın açıklaması kısmı)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Kaos GL Dergisi Yargılaniyor	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2007	Mar.-Apr.	28. sayının yazarları ne dedi	Övül Durmuşoğlu, Meltem Arıkan, Adnan Yıldız	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Cinsel ve politik kimlikler ortak paydayı sağlayabiliyor mu?	Aksu Bora	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Mar.-Apr.	escinsel genç adam komsudaki ev kadınıyla ne konusur?	Ayşe Düzkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Kadınlığın Dili	Burcu Baba	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Homofobiye karşı feminist hareket deneyimleri	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	ittifaklara ne kadar hazırız	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Amargi'de eşcinsel kadın olmak	Ülkü Özakın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

2007	Mar.-Apr.	Feministler eşcinsellerle ne kadar dost?	Selen Doğan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Feministler eşcinsellerle ne kadar dost?	Ayça Örer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Feministler eşcinsellerle ne kadar dost?	Ayça Kurtoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Feministler eşcinsellerle ne kadar dost?	Ebru Hanbay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Yoklarmış gibi yapmak	S. Nazik Işık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	"birbirimizden öğreneceğimiz çok şey var"	Gamze Göker	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	"kadın hareketi 'özel olan politiktir' söylemini yanlış kuruyor"	Cansu Cancan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Hem kadın hem eşcinsel 'hem de' feministim	Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Mar.-Apr.	Türkiye'de İslam'la Hemcinsler Arası İlişkileri Uzlaştırmak (yorum kısımları)	Tarık Bereket	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2007	May-June	erkekliğim benim, cinnetim	Uğur Yüksel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	May-June	Bilgi Üniversitesi Gökkuşağı Kulübü: "Artık yaptığımız işlerle anılmak istiyoruz"	Bilgi Gökkuşağı LGBT Kulübü	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	May-June	Korku ruhu yer bitirir	Umut Tümay Aslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	May-June	Gey kültürü	Anıl Üver	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	May-June	Erkekliğin ölçütü dürüstlüktür	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	May-June	Erkek fahişeler için büyük pazarlar yaratılıyor	Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Child and homosexuality
2007	May-June	Ataerkillik ve kapitalizm karşısında eşcinsellik,travestilik ve transeksüellik	Mehmet Bozok	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	July-August	KaosGL'den - iyi temizlikler	Uğur Yüksel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Denizli'de hep KaosGL	Halil Kandok	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Domatesler gideceği yeri iyi biliyor	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2007	July-August	Buluşma güncesi	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Yan yana durmak	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Yüzümüzü gösterebilsek	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Eşcinsellerin tarihi "yeni yeni" değil tüm coşkusuyla yazılıyor ("RTÜK'ün gizli sansürü" hariç)	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	RTÜK'ün gizli sansürü	Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2007	July-August	Ahlaksızlığa yerimiz var mı?	KaosGL, Aysun Sayın, Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver, Ville Forsman, Anıl Üver, Pelin Kalkan, Aydın Öztek, Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi, Ebru Engindeniz, Şanar Yurdatapan, Fırat Yurt	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2007	July-August	e-dergi: Beargi	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Ötekileştirmeden ahkam kesmeden - Pazartesi	Pazartesi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	July-August	Renkli hayatlar	Sürmeli Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2007	July-August	Eşcinsel öğrenciler, toplum ahlakımız ve ODTÜ kriterleri	Kumru Toktamış	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2007	July-August	Eurovizyon'un bizlere ettiği	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2007	July-August	Peki şimdi ne yapacağız bu Eurovision'u	Mehmet Bilal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Evaluation after event
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Alışmak sevmekten daha zor geliyor	KaosGL, Pınar İlkkaracan, Alp Biricik, Umut Güner, Koray Güney Yılmaz,	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Küfürbazın dönüşü	KaosGL, Yasemin Öz, Kadınların Medya İzleme Grubu,	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Yalnız ölmek mi?	Selçuk Gök	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Yalnızlığımızı kalabalıklaştırarak yok etmeyi denedik	Serkan Ertin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Sürgün her nefeste yalnızdır	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	No title	Hasbiye Günaçtı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Sep.-Oct.	Kendini ifade edebilme ihtiyacı	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2007	Nov.-Dec.	Erkek 30 üstü ve bekar ise 'eşcinsel misin' diye soruluyor (ilgili paragraflar)	Hülya Gülbahar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality

2007	Nov.-Dec.	Bu ülkede "eşcinsel varoluş" kabul edilmiyor	Baskın Oran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2007	Nov.-Dec.	Bir sıçrama anı olacaktır, Stonewall gibi bir gün	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Nov.-Dec.	No title	Selim İpek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Nov.-Dec.	Geyler kimi sevsin	Selçuk Gök	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Nov.-Dec.	Oynama şıkıdım şıkıdım…	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2007	Nov.-Dec.	Neşeli düze özenir mi?	Ayşe Düzkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	Jan.-Mar.	KaosGL'den - çok uzak, fazla yakın	Uğur Yüksel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2008	Jan.-Mar.	Yeni çağ	Sürmeli Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2008	Jan.-Mar.	Yasal güvence istiyoruz	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	Jan.-Mar.	Önümüzdeki engeller kaldırılsın	Lambda İstanbul	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	Jan.-Mar.	Göreceğiz, duyacağız, konuşacağı	MolEl Eskişehir LGBTT Oluşumu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	Jan.-Mar.	İnsan bilmediği şeylerden korkar	Buket Korkmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	burhan kuzu'ya kart atıldı	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Avşar kızının aklından geçenler	Sürmeli Can, Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2008	Mar.-Apr.	"Benim evim senin evindir" diyebilmek	Mathilda Piehl	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	City/Space and Homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Annem babam eşcinselliğim	Aral Tolga, Begüm Başdaş, Bahadır Berk, Yasin Erkaymaz, Barış Soncu, Şeyda Benan, Fatih Kocatürk, Yiğit Ünsal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Kendine ait bir ev	Yasemin Öz, Aylin Demir, Karun Tugey, Ogeday Celep,	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Ev demek özgürlük demek	İsmail Alacaoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Yersiz yurtsuz eşcinseller	Behruz Mehrabi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2008	Mar.-Apr.	Birileri ahlakıma mukayyet olsun (giriş kısmı)	Aykan Safoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	May-June	KaosGL 100. kez şanlıyor	Uğur Yüksel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2008	May-June	Yerelden KaosGL'ye söz ve ses	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Küçük bir kutlama yazısı	Murathan Mungan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Tarihimizi kendimiz yazıyoruz	Yıldırım Türker	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Haydi gel bizimle ol	Sürmeli Can	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Mahreme elde kazmayla dalıvermek (girişten sonra)	Nazik Işık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	May-June	Alternatif habitat düşleri	Zeynep Aksoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2008	May-June	Britanya 1971, Türkiye 2008	Tuğrul Eryılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2008	May-June	Klişe gelecek belki ama: bir dönüm noktası işte!	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Bazen gerçekler düşleri aşar	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Uyanış yılları	Devrim Sezer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Toplumun kabuğunu kırmak	Emre Gönlügür	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Ben kimim?	Emine Özkaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	LGBT politik mi olmalı?	Kürşat Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Eylem planı	Adnan Yıldız	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	"Türkiyeli eşcinseller başardı"	Ali Özbaş, Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Çiftlik ve çokluk üzerine	Emre Koyunu, Zafer Aracagök	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	May-June	Size mektup	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	May-June	Hayat bir düş olsa	Nilgün Kayalı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2008	May-June	Kardeşim eşcinsel	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2008	July-August	İnkardan affa	Yıldırım Türker	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	July-August	Baskı, şiddet aklaksa, biz ahlaksızız	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	July-August	Ne dediler?	Özay Şendir, Ali Murat Güven,	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality

			Gülay Göktürk, Tayfun Atay, Perihan Maden, Kürşad Kahramanoğlu, Yıldırım Türker			
2008	July-August	Mahremiyet üzerine serbest salınımlar	Göze Orhon	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	July-August	l'ahlak (metnin ilk kısmı)	Aykan Safoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	July-August	"Diğerlerine benzememek çirkin olmak demek"	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	"Şahin ayrımcılığı meşrulaştırıyor"	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	"çocuğum daima benim çocuğum"	Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	Hulk	Kürşad Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	Ahlaksızlığımızın izini sürerken	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	Ahlak şemsiyesi kimin için(de) açılsın?	Adnan Yıldız	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	"Ahlaksızlık" kol geziyor	İpek İlkkaracan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	Barbaros Şansal ile röportaj	Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2008	Sep.-Oct.	İşe yaramaz çığlığım	Bilge Remus Ka	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2008	Sep.-Oct.	Kapartmıyoruz	Semih Togay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2008	Nov.-Dec.	5 binden fazla imza mecliste	LGBT Hakları Platformu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2008	Nov.-Dec.	Dinden imandan çıkarken	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2008	Nov.-Dec.	İslam ve eşcinsellik	İmam Muhsin Hendricks	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2008	Nov.-Dec.	Din bir tekliftir	Mustafa Çelik	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2008	Nov.-Dec.	Ne eşcinselliğimden ne Allah'ımdan	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Çavuşun sırrı	Murathan Mungan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	HIV/AIDS ve geyler	Kürşad Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Orada bir taşra var uzakta	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Taşrada eşcinsel olmak	Ege Tanyürek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Taşra'da lezbiyen ve biseksüel kadın olmak	Nevin Öztop, Pelin Kalkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Yıllar sonra yeniden İzmir'de yan yana onlar!	KaosGL İzmir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Biz	Hikmet Öztürk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Kendimi evde bıraktım, Mehmet oldum	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	"Exodus"tan "Benötesi"ne eşcinsellere yönelik haçlı seferleri	Nesrin Yetkin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2009	Jan.-Feb.	Önce suçlama sonra…	Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2009	Mar.-Apr.	Kırların kötü çocukları	Çağlar Yerlikaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Mar.-Apr.	Gözlerini açıp acı çekmek	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Mar.-Apr.	"Her şey yerli yerinde" mi?	Salih Canova	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2009	Mar.-Apr.	Engin Temel'i yazamamak	Deniz Deniz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2009	Mar.-Apr.	Darağacı	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2009	Mar.-Apr.	Nefret ve iktidar	Yusuf Eradam	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2009	May-June	Eşcinsel ve biseksüel kadın ol(a)(ma)mak	Özge Süreyya, Lale Düşnar, Sevgin Duru, Seçin Varol, Layla Rendekar, Güneş Kara, Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	May-June	Hayal et ki dünya değişsin	Hande Altıntaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	May-June	Kimlikleri paniğe sokmak	Hande Öğüt	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	May-June	(Neden) "aç yüzünü"?	Seçin Varol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	May-June	Ezilenlerin a(nti)politikliği üzerine (1)	Hülya Sur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	July-August	Kendimi her şeyi sevebilir hissetmek	Kemal Ördek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2009	July-August	Hayat güzeldir	Çağlar Yerlikaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2009	July-August	Domates, biber, patlıcan	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2009	July-August	Benim hala umudum var	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

2009	July-August	Ezilenlerin a(nti)politikliği üzerine (2)	Hülya Sur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Sep.-Oct.	KaosGL'den - Kelimeler ve Şeyler	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Gerçekçi ve imkanlı bir hayal: KaosGL 15 yaşında	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Üçüncü sınıf muzır (bir kısmı)	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Hem kendimi hem de çocuğumu kazandım	Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	1001 "sapkın" düşünce sözcüklere dökülürse	Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Katı olan her şey buharlaşıyor	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Tabu toplumca nasıl oynanır	Aylin Kuryel, Emrah Irzık	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Eşcinseller kalkınca LGBTT'ler sarkar mı?	Nevin Özgür	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Adalet bir masaldı	Senem Doğanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Yelpazenin aşırı ucu: Ayılar	Semih Varol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Sep.-Oct.	Eşcinsellik ve psikanalizci yaklaşım	İmge Oranlı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	KaosGL'den - Öğrenilmiş korkularımız…	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	"Genel ahlak" ablukası İzmir'de	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	LGB işçiler Ankara'da buluştu	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Dünya pek alçak bir yer olmadan	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Fobi	Seçin Varol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Güneydoğu'da ötekinni de ötekisi olmak	Hozan Oxir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Sistemin dışarıladıkları - Birbirinden korkmayı bıraktığında…	Hülya Sur	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Sevmekten korkar hale gelmek	Hevî Ayber	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Ez nazimane Kurdi	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2009	Nov.-Dec.	Emekçiyiz, gey-lezbiyen ve biseksüeliz	Özge Gökpınar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Kral TV'nin kralı işini kaybetti (son soruya cevap)	Özge Gökpınar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Aşkın M* hali	Deniz Pekin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Doğal olmak ya da olmamak	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Dosya: heterseksüellik	Aykan Safoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	1 kadın ve 1 erkek	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	O biçim bir aile'ye	Gülkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Emziklerin cinsiyeti olur mu	Kürşat Kızıltuğ	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Normal olanı tayin etmek	Yener Bayramoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Eğitim sisteminin heteronormatif yapısı üzerine	Remzi Altunpolat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2010	Jan.-Feb.	Tebeşir tozları ve çözünmüş şekerler	Nevin Öztop	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Türkiye'de LGBT bireylerin dernekleşme hakkı mücadelesi: hukuki söylemlerin bir analizi	Pınar İlkkaracan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Yoksulluğumuz yoksunluğumuz	Remzi Altunpolat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Sosyal vatandaşlık etrafında ittifakın olanakları üzerine	Volkan Yılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Paranın tanrısallaştırıldığı ülkede eşcinsel-trans olmak	Deniz Deniz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Yoksulluğumuz: yatakta, kültürde, kuramda	Birol Dinçel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Bu çorbada bizim de emeğimiz var	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	Heteroseksist eğitime hayır!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2010	Mar.-Apr.	LGBTT hareketi değil homofobi çürütür	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Dünya gözüyle Judith Butler'ı görmek	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Aktivist, akademisyen, yazar: Kürşad Kahramanoğlu	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	General discussion/evaluation
2010	May-June	Sol ve LGBTT: hareketin seyri	Lambda İstanbul	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Sol ve homofobi	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Sol neremizden geçer	Cihan Hüroğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Eşcinseller hala komünist olamaz mı? ("Türk solu" kısmı)	Bayram Şahin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality

2010	May-June	Politik bir yabancılaşma biçimi olarak homofobi ve sol	Erol Zavar, Mahmut Soner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	"Eşcinseller korkmadan açık bir şekilde yaşayabilmeli"	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2010	May-June	Post-yapısalcı anarşizm ve LGBT hareketi	Asmoday	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	May-June	Özür ve teşekkür	Evun Sevgi Okumuş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	May-June	Eşcinsel kadın kimlikleri üzerine konuşmalar…	Nevin Öztop	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	July-August	Homofobi Karşıtlarının Gözünden 5. buluşma ve KaosGL	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	July-August	Herkesin ötekisi!	Diyarbakr Hevjin LGBTT Oluşumu, KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	July-August	İslam, eşcinsellik ve sekülerizm	İmge Oranlı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Tek meyve portakal değildir!	Yeliz Kızılarslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2010	July-August	ONARIM TERAPİSİ: HOMOFOBİNİN ve SOSYAL DIŞLANMANIN PAYANDASI!	Seven Kaptan, Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Ruh sağlığı alanındaki homofobiye içeriden müdahale	Mahmut Şefik Nil	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Heteroseksizm ve Homofobi	Nesrin Yetkin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Eşcinsellik, sosyal dışlanma ve ruh sağlığı sorunlarına yaklaşım	Şahika Yüksel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Homofobi hastalık mı?	E. Timuçin Oral	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Terimlerin gölgesinden boyutsal anlamaya doğru…	Umut Altınöz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	Aileleri dolaptan çıkaran LİSTAG	Seven Kaptan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2010	July-August	"Herkes için yaşanabilir bir dünya istiyoruz"	Canan Bozkurt	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Evet, hayır, boykot	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Referandumda ana mesele örgütlülük	Bayram Şahin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	12 Eylül Darbe Anayasasına da AKP'nin Paketine de Hayır	Remzi Altunpolat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Judith Butler'ın yankıları hala sürüyor	Nevin Öztop	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Erkekliğin sığınaklarından biri diye futboldan vazgeçmeye gerek var mı?	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Sol Açıklar ve Üç "Büyükler" (bir kısmı)	Sarphan Uzunoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Aramızdaki top	Can Yaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Kampüste örgütlenme girişimleri: ODTÜ LeGaTo ve LeGaTo Projesi	Özgür Özakın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Üniversiteli eşcinsel oluşum:kimlik farklılıkları, sosyalleşme ve politikleşme	Serkan Görkemli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	LGBT hareketinin üniversite mücadelesi	Bayram Şahin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Kampüste çıplak krallar	Sarphan Uzunoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Homofobi ve Transfobiye Karşı Kampüsler	Sinan Elitemiz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Sep.-Oct.	Bir gey ve bir feministin söyleşisi (son soruya cevap)	Ceren Avşar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2010	Nov.-Dec.	Vicdanen rahatsız düşünceler	Mutlu Dulkadir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2010	Nov.-Dec.	Lezbiyenler için bir yaşam alanı mümkün mü?	Seçin Varol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2010	Nov.-Dec.	Üniformaların Altında Tutsak Kalan Bedenler…	Canan Bozkurt	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Kalecinin penaltı halindeki endişesi	Murathan Mungan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2011	Jan.-Feb.	ODTÜ Yönetimi 15 Yıldır LGBT Realitesini Tanımamakta Direniyor!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2011	Jan.-Feb.	3. sayfanın nefreti	Murat Köylü	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Uzun soluklu bir linç örneği: Medyada LGBTT kişiler	İdil Engindeniz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Nefret sokağa çıktığında	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Pembe üçgen ya da korku kültürü	Nazlı Deniz Bayraktaroğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Doğanın cinsiyeti, Adem, Havva ve Ötedikleri	Fevzi Özlüer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2011	Jan.-Feb.	Homofobi karşıtı buluşmanın bu yıl altıncısı düzenleniyor	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Ayrımcılık yasası ile LGBT'lere ayrımcılık yapılıyor	Ali Erol, Barış Sulu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Militarizm heyûlası	Remzi Altunpolat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Sokaktaki militarizm	Hilal Demir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Militarizmin artık adı var	Ayşe Gül Altınay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Ordunun Bartleby'leri eşcinsel erkeler (midir?)	Senem Doğanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality

2011	Mar.-Apr.	Aile Albümünde Yer Alması Sakıncalı Resimler: Militarizm, Bellek ve Arşiv	Alp Biricik	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	Gayri Tabii Mukarenet ya da Psiko-Seksüel Bozukluk: Üçüncü Bir Yol Yok mudur?	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	Mar.-Apr.	"Can Veririm, Kan Dökerim: Ders Kitaplarında Militarizm	Ayşe Gül Altınay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Military and homosexuality
2011	May-June	Siyasi Parti Program ve Tüzüklerinde Homofobi	Ezgi Koçak	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2011	May-June	"Lezbiyen arzuyu yeniden konumlandırmak"	Elizabeth Grosz	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2011	May-June	Bir ilk peşinde	Nagihan Akarsel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual relationships/marriage
2011	July-August	Katilleri Bulmayan Suç Ortağıdır !	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2011	July-August	Mecliste Şafak sökecek	Erkan Altay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2011	July-August	Medyanın eşcinselleri	Ayşe Düzkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2011	July-August	Gyank jiyan bir hayat, isyanın adı	Jiyan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2011	July-August	Sansürlerden sansür beğenmek (metnin bir kısmı)	Neyir Zerey	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2011	July-August	Sosyal medyanın "devrimci" gücü üzerine genel bir değerlendirme: "Devrim" sözcüğünün cazibesi (metnin son kısmı)	Gülseren Adaklı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Politik Kamusal Alanda İki İleri Bir Geri Yürümek	Alp Biricik	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Kentli olmak veya kent hakkı	Ayşe Kurtoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Performatif Bedenler, Mekânlar ve Erkeklikler	Doğu Durgun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Burası bizim değil, bizi öldürmek isteyenlerin ülkesi	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Neoliberalizmin günahkârları kentsel dönüşüm, başka bir sürgün! (metnin bir kısmı)	Atalay Göçer	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	"Korunup kollanacağımız mekânları değil, buna gerek bırakmayacak olanlarını istiyoruz."	Burcu Ersoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	"Mekân konusunda benim deneyimimde ekonomi ve cinsiyet, cinsel yönelimden önce geliyor."	Yeşim T. Başaran	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Kendimize Ait Odalarımız?	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	Kozmik Bir Şaka Olarak Gey Barlar Hani O Kurtarılmış Alanlar?	Seçin Varol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2011	Sep.-Oct.	"Lezbiyen Arzuyu Yeniden Konumlandırmak - II	Elizabeth Grosz	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	LGBT Hareketinin İçinden Taciz Meselesine Bakmaya Çalışırken…	Umut Güner	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	bunun senin lezbiyenliğinle ilgili olduğuna emin misin?	Hilal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	Lezbiyenlik ve biseksüel kadınlık, kadınlıktan ayrı nev-i şahsına münhasır kategoriler değilrdir.	Sevim Özdemir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	'ARKASINI' Kollamak: Haksız Tahrik İndirimi	Senem Doğanoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	Taciz ve tecavüz politiktir	Halil Kandok	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	Devlet Baba' hem sever, hem…	Cansu Karagül	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2011	Nov.-Dec.	Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadelede Lezbiyen Deneyiminin Görünmezliği	Hilal, Leman Sevda, Özlem Ç.	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Abuse, harassment and homosexuality
2012	Jan.-Feb.	LİSTAG desteğinizi bekliyor!	Lambda İstanbul Aile Grubu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2012	Jan.-Feb.	Muhafazakarlık ve eşcinsellik: hastalıkta ve sağlıkta…	Doğancan Özsel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Jan.-Feb.	Muhafazakarlık bile bozuldu!	Levent Şentürk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Jan.-Feb.	Muhafaza ederken yok etmek	Simten Coşar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Mar.-Apr.	Milliyetçiliğin özü: homofobi	Elif Kutlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Mar.-Apr.	Faşizmin türevleri: homofobi ve milliyetçilik	Ahmet Yavuz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Mar.-Apr.	Romayı yıkanlar HDK'yı kuranlar	Tunca Özlen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2012	May-June	1 Mayıs'tan 17 Mayıs'a Homofobi karşıtı buluşma	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2012	May-June	Sınırları Aşmak: Türkiye'nin Sınırları ve Evrim Alataş Üzerine Kürtlerin Mücadelesi Türkiyelileri de Özgürleştirecek! (metnin ilk kısmı)	İmge Oranlı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	July-August	Peki, kim bu LGBT mülteciler?	Özge Arslan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Migration and homosexuality
2012	July-August	4-5 dakika…	Nevruz Ebru Aksu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Sep.-Oct.	Normlarla Belirlenmiş Olmamak Toplumsal Cinsiyet Permütasyonları	Elif Kutlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Sep.-Oct.	İmkânsız Kimlikler, Kimliklere Direnen Bedenler Queer Performativite	Nurhayat Köklü	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2012	Nov.-Dec.	İnsan Hakları Haftasında Ayrımcılıklara Karşı Sempozyum	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2012	Nov.-Dec.	Bir sosyal politika meselesi olarak LGBT bireylerin çalışma yaşamında karşılaştığı ayrımcı pratikler	Elif Tuğba Doğan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality

2012	Nov.-Dec.	Adalet'in iffeti var mı?	Selçuk Candansayar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2012	Nov.-Dec.	Sosyal Politika Uygulamalarında Sosyal Adalet ve Kimlik	Erdal Partog	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2012	Nov.-Dec.	Çalışma hayatında LGBT bireylere yönelik ayrımcılığın önlenmesi ve ilgili mevzuat	Gaye Burcu Yıldız	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2012	Nov.-Dec.	LGBT bireyler için kamusal sağlık hizmetleri	Volkan Yılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	Jan.-Feb.	Benim çocuğum…	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2013	Jan.-Feb.	Anti-kapitalist queer ve queer anti-kapitalizm	Göksu Yazıcı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	Jan.-Feb.	İktidar ve mücadele eksenlerinde bedeni ve bedener-arasılığı düşünmek	Ülker Sözen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	Jan.-Feb.	Biz kimiz?	Zeynep Yankı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Jan.-Feb.	Lisede cinsiyetçilik ve homofobi	İlker Öztemir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2013	Jan.-Feb.	Ali Erol'un David Kato Vision & Voice ödül konuşması	Ali Erol	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Mar.-Apr.	Öteki ve/veya madun olmanın toplumsal temelleri	Cihan Ertan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	Mar.-Apr.	LGBT mahpuslar	Zafer Kıraç, Mustafa Eren	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	May-June	Hapishane yönetimleri LGBT mahpuslarından da sorumludur!	Zafer Kıraç	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	May-June	Feminizmde özcülük tartışması ve Queer	Serdar Küçük	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	May-June	Ara Wilson ile söyleşi: LGBT ile feministler müşterek güçlerini muhafazakarlığa karşı sergilemeli	Aylime Aslı Demir	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	May-June	Sakallı bir kadının tragedyası	Yıldız Tar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	May-June	Feminizm ve Queer'e dair gullümlü bir muhabbet	Begüm, Gülkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	May-June	Queer toplumsal cinsiyet sorunları kaçınılmaz olarak heteroseksüel toplumsal cinsiyet sorunlarından farklılık gösterir!	Aylime Aslı Demir	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	May-June	Feminist siyasetin öznesi kim?	Pelin Zuzu, Evun Sengi Okumuş, Zeynep Özdal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	July-August	Barış için direnişe devam!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	July-August	LGBT'lere yönelik ilan edilmemiş savaşa son!		KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	July-August	21. LGBT Onur Haftası: Direnişe devam!	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	July-August	#direneşcinsel!	Erkan Altay	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	July-August	"Queer Tahayyül": Gezi direnişine selam olsun!	Nazan Tüysüzoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2013	July-August	"Asansörde yiyişen dayılar" ya da heteroseksüel Biz'in bulantısı	Nagehan Tokdoğan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2013	July-August	Herkes için barış! Herkes için özgürlük!	Çukurova Eşcinsel İnsiyatifi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Birkaç ağaç çapulcu	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Gezi olayı	Zeynep Direk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Gezi sonrası üzerine (LGBT Hareketi ve Gezi sonrası)	Mehmet Tarhan, Mehmet Sinan Birdal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Şimdi ne olacak?	Begüm Başdaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Direniş, delikanlılık ve LGBT hareketi	Doğu Durgun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Gezideyim, arzular şelale!	Deniz Engin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Diren ayol! (LGBT ile ilgili olanlar)	No name	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Bu daha başlangıç, mücadeleye devam…'	M. Efe Fırat	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	31 Mayıs'tan Onur Yürüyüşü'ne (LGBT ile ilgili kısım)	Hale Çelebi	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Sep.-Oct.	Gezi sürecinde LGBT ve direniş deneyimi	Ahmet Y. Yılmaz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Nov.-Dec.	Ayrımcılık Sicili Kabarık Bir Ülkede LGBT mücadelesi	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2013	Nov.-Dec.	"Farklılıklarımızla Birlikte Eşit Olabilmek"	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2013	Nov.-Dec.	LGBT hakları be hukuk politikamız	Elif Ceylan Özsoy	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	Nov.-Dec.	Lgbt Hareketi, Anayasa Kampanyaları ve Bugün	Mehmet Tarhan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2013	Nov.-Dec.	Rengârenk Sosyal Hizmetler: Sosyal Çalışma ve LGBT Hakları	Sedat Yağcıoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	Nov.-Dec.	"Ve benzeri nedenler"?	Oya Aydın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2013	Nov.-Dec.	Çalışma Hayatında LGBTİ Hak İhlalleri Açısından Eşit Davranma İlkesi, Ayrımcılık Yasağı ve Ayrımcılık Tazminatı	Türker Vatansever	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2014	Jan.-Feb.	Yoldaş ben ibneyim!	Aslı Demir	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement

2014	Jan.-Feb.	PNYX'TEN GEZİ'YE SİYASETİN YERELİ (son kısım)	Mehmet Sinan Birdal	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2014	Jan.-Feb.	LGBT'LER SİYASİ TEMSİL VE SEÇİMLER	Mehmet Tarhan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2014	Jan.-Feb.	LGBTİ Hakları Mücadelesinde Yerel Siyaset Nereye Düşer?	Sezer Yalçın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2014	Jan.-Feb.	Kente Muhtelif Kılıklarda Dolan İktidar Karşısında ve Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Mekanlarda LGBT OLMAK	Çiğdem Akgül	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	City/Space and Homosexuality
2014	Mar.-Apr.	HOMOFOBİ VE OKUL PSİKOLOJİK DANIŞMANLIĞI	Erkan Alkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2014	Mar.-Apr.	Eleştirel Pedagojiden Queer Pedagojiye: QUEER PEDAGOJİ NE KADAR MÜMKÜN?	Dilek Çankaya	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Education and homosexuality
2014	May-June	Psikanaliz ve Queer	Zeynep Direk	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2014	July-August	Yerlerini Yadırgayan Sonsuz İlişkilerin Adına	Merve Kültepe	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2014	Sep.-Oct.	Yetmez Ama 20...Az Değil	İdil Engindeniz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2014	Sep.-Oct.	İbneliğe Methiye	Yasemin Öz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2014	Sep.-Oct.	Ah Ah.. Bizim Zamanımızda..	Ali Özbaş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2014	Sep.-Oct.	20. Yıla Mektup	Bawer Çakır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2014	Sep.-Oct.	Medyada Lgbti Haberlerinin Dünü Bugünü	Gülsüm Depeli	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Media and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	Kaos GL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	LGBT Hakları Sendikal Haklardır	Emine Uysal Gümüş	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	Bir Eve Bir Baca, Herkese ya Bir Karı ya Bir Koca: Yoksa Siz de Kuirleştiremediklerimizden Misiniz?	Dilara Çalışkan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	Heteronormatif Aile: 'Sıcak Aile Yuvası' Hiç De Sıcak Değil	Burcu Şenel	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	"Türkiye'de Aileler Çocuklarını Malları Gibi Görüyor"	Yıldız Tar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	"Eşcinselliği dışarıdan hoş görmeyle işin bittiğini zannedenlerdendim"	Ömer Akpınar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2014	Nov.-Dec.	Röportajlar	Oğuz, Asude, Cihanay Deniz, Çağlar, Ozan Uğur, Pınar, Şeref, Yılmaz Demir,	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Family and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	Kaos GL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Working life and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	Akdeniz Belediyesi Eş Başkanı Mutlu: LGBTİ'ler yaşam savaşı veriyor	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Politics and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	Endişeliyiz Lgbti Hapishaneler	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	Sendikalara Çizilen Sınırlar	Cahide Sayı	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	Sendikal Mücadele ve LGBTİ Hareketi Üzerine	Furkan Hancıoğlu	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	Jan.-Feb.	"Hepsi lgbti diye düşünüyoruz ama bunun içinde farklı sınıflar var"	Sultan Yavuz Özinanır	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2015	Mar.-Apr.	Kaos GL Eğitim Çalışma Grubu ve Kaos GL'nin Eğitim Alanında Yaptığı Çalışmalar	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2015	Mar.-Apr.	Lezbiyenlerin müzikteki haklı hareketi: Eşcinsel kadınlar kendi tarzları ile yükseliyor ve her kesime seslerini duyuruyor.	Şeyda Aydın	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2015	Mar.-Apr.	Bazı lezbiyenler, bazı kadınlar, bazı translar, bazı cinsel pratikler…	Ecemen	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2015	Mar.-Apr.	Lezbiyen bedenleri: Seviciler, erkek fatmalar ve kaşarlar	Barbara Creed	KaosGL Dergi	Translation	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2015	May-June	Kaos GL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2015	July-August	Kaos GL'den	KaosGL	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	July-August	İnkarla İkrar Arasında Zeki Müren	Funda Şenol Cantek	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Conceptual/Identity&body discussion on homosexuality
2015	July-August	Sağlık Hakkı, Kimin Hakkı? Ahhh Hakkı!!	Ayşe Devrim	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	July-August	Sağlık Hizmetlerine Erişimde "Gizli" Sorunlar	Özge Çaman	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Legal issues and homosexuality
2015	July-August	Türk Psikologlar Derneği ve LGBTİ Çalışmaları (ilgili kısımlar)	Sinan Tetik	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Science and homosexuality
2015	July-August	Lezbiyen Kadınların Cinselliği ve Sağlık İhtiyaçları ile İlgili Yeterince Konuşuyor Muyuz? (giriş kısmı)	Nurgül, Efsun	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Health and homosexuality
2015	Sep.-Oct.	İslamda Eşcinsellik	Mücahit Oğuz	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Religion and homosexuality
2015	Nov.-Dec.	Homofobi Nedir? Ne Değildir? Bir Kavramın İzini Sürmek	Nüket Paksoy Erbaydar	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia
2015	Nov.-Dec.	Bir İnsan Hakları Mücadelesi Olarak LGBTİ	Batuhan Sarıcan	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Homosexual movement
2015	Nov.-Dec.	Öfkeli Olmaktansa Neşeli Olmayı Tercih Ederim!	Meriç Aytekin	KaosGL Dergi	Turkish	Violence and homophobia

APPENDIX 2. TEXTS OF ANALYSIS

Text 1

KVOS GL

EYLÜL 1994   SAYI 1

KAOS ŞANLIYOR

YALNIZCA SEKSİST DEĞİL AYNI ZAMANDA HETERO-
SEKSİST BİR TOPLUMDA YAŞIYORUZ. KADINLARI-
N KÖLELEŞTİRİLMELERİ ÜZERİNE KURULAN; ZA-
MAN İÇİNDE DÖNÜŞÜP YENİDEN BİÇİMLENER-
EK KAPİTALİST SÖMÜRÜ SİSTEMİNE KADAR
GELEN İÇİNDE YAŞADIĞIMIZ BU TOPLUM,
YALNIZCA ERKEK EGEMEN DEĞİL AYNI
ZAMANDA HETEROSEKSİST ERKEK B-
İR EGEMENLİK SİSTEMİDİR. İÇİNDE
YAŞADIĞIMIZ. BU TOPLUMDA ZA-
MAN ZAMAN EŞCİNSEL OLUV-
ERME SENDROMLARI VE LEZ-
BİYENLİK MODALARI GÖR-
ÜLSE DE YAPILAN HER Ş-
EY HETEROSEKSİST PO-
LİTİK VE TOPLUMSAL
D İKTATÖRLÜĞÜ N
SÜREKLİLİĞİ İÇİN
YAPILIYOR. KA-
DINLAR SALT
KADIN OLD-
UKLARI İ-
ÇİN EZİ-
LİYOR
VE

KADINLIK KONUMUNDAN DOLAYI SÖMÜRÜLÜYORLARSA GAY'LER DE SALT GAY OLDUKLARI İÇİN HETEROSEKSİST ZİHNİYET VE BU ZİHNİYETİN KURUMSAL ÖRGÜTLENİŞİ OLAN ERKEK EGEMEN DÜZEN TARAFINDAN YOK EDİLMEK İSTENİYOR.

YOKETME... BÜTÜN KIZILDERİLİLERİ, YAHUDİLERİ VE KÜRTLERİ YOK EDEBİLİRSİNİZ. BÜTÜN EŞCİNSELLERİ HİTLER'İN YAPTIĞI GİBİ PEMBE ÜÇGENLERLE İŞARETLEYİP TOPLAYABİLİR-SİNİZ. HASTANELER, HAPİSHANELER, TOPLU EŞCİNSEL İDAMLARI, FAİLİ MEÇHUL EŞCİNSEL VE TRAVESTİ CİNAYETLERİ; HEPSİ TARİH BOYUNCA DENENDİ. TEKİL OLARAK EŞCİNSELLERİ ORTA-DAN KALDIRDILAR AMA EŞCİNSELLİĞİ ASLA YOKE-DEMEDİLER. İNSAN İNSAN OLARAK KALMAYI BAŞARABİLİRSE KİŞİ KENDİ CİNSİNİ SEVMEYE DEVAM EDECEKTİR.

TANS'IN BACAKLARI ARASINDA BİR VAJEN YA DA PENİS OLMUŞ HİÇ FARKETMEZ. ONUN KAFASI ERKEK EGEMEN İDEOLOJİ TARAFINDAN ESİR ALINDIĞINDA HETEROSEKSİST ERKEK EGEMEN DİKTATÖRLÜK AÇISINDAN SORUN YARATMAZ. YARATMADI. "CİNSEL SEVİ NESNESİ" OLARAK KENDİ CİNSİNİ SEÇMEKLE BİRLİKTE YATAK DIŞINDA GAY'LİĞİNİ UNUTAN BİR GAY DE AYNI ŞEKİLDE HETEROSEKSİST DİKTATÖRLÜK İÇİN SORUN YARATMAZ.

BİZLER YALNIZCA YATAK ODASINDA DEĞİL HER YERDE VE HER ZAMAN GAY'İZ. TOPLUMSAL LATENTLİĞİ REDDEDİYORUZ. NİCEL ANLAMDA HETEROSEKSÜELLER KARŞISINDA AZINLIK OLABİLİRİZ AMA NİTEL ANLAMDA AZINLIK OLMAYI REDDEDİYORUZ. SALT HETEROSEKSÜELLERLE BİR SORUNUMUZ YOK; ASIL DÜŞMANIMIZ BİZLERE YAŞAM HAKKI TANIMAYAN HETEROSEKSİSTLERDİR. AŞAĞI YA DA ÜSTÜN OLMAYI REDDEDİYORUZ. BİLİYORUZ Kİ İKTİDAR EGEMENLİĞİ DIŞINDA HER ŞEYDEN VAZGEÇEBİLİR. İÇİNDE YAŞADIĞIMIZ TOPLUMUN EGEMENİ BURJUVAZİ, DE-MOKRASİ ADI ALTINDA, AYNI ŞEKİLDE KENDİ İKTİDARI DIŞINDA HER ŞEYDEN VAZGEÇEBİLİR. BELKİ "DEMOKRASİ" O KADAR GELİ-ŞİR, O KADAR GELİŞİR Kİ (!) GAY'LER DE ÖZGÜR OLABİLİRLER! AMA BİZLER ÖZGÜRLÜĞÜ BÜTÜNSEL BİR VAROLMA OLA-RAK ALGILADIĞIMIZDAN HETEROSEKSİST DİKTATÖRLÜ-ĞÜN POLİTİK VE TOPLUMSAL OLARAK BÜTÜNÜYLE NAŞLAMASINI HEDEFLİYORUZ.BUNUN İÇİN ÇIKIYORUZ...

Text 2

VAROLAN DURUM VE EŞCİNSELLİK
KAOS GL

İktidar'ın fizik şiddetten belki de daha etkili silahı unutturmak olmalı. Tarihsel ve toplumsal hafıza kaybı olarak ortaya çıkan bu durum bireylerde görülmekle birlikte asıl etkisini bir bütün olarak toplumsal gruplarda gösteriyor. Saray ve hamam muhabbetleri dışında toplumsal geçmişimizle ilgili şimdilik bir şey bilmiyoruz. 'Şimdilik' mi bilmiyoruz ya da 'bilecek' bir şey mi yok, zamanla ortaya çıkacak.

İçinde yaşadığımız toplumda seksenli yıllara görünüşte bir durgunluk egemenken içten içe bir alt üst oluş sözkonusuydu. Bizler her şey yolundaymış gibi okullarımıza giderken okullardan askeri otobüsler 'son kalanları' toplardı. Batıda 'yeni toplumsal hareketler' kategorisinde adlandırılan bir çok oluşum özellikle seksenlerin ikinci yarısında bizde de ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Çevrecilik konusunda devlet çok acele davrandı ve soruna daha baştan el koydu. Feminizmin atağı karşısında geç kalan devlet kadın kurtuluş hareketi sonucunda "kadın realitesini" kavradı ve iş, kadın bakanlığına kadar vardı. Heteroseksist devlet bir gün bize de sahip çıkar-sa hiç şaşırmayacağız doğrusu! Biz eşcin-selleri de doğrudan ilgilendiren durgunluk sürecinde, kadın hareketi, kendi önünü aça-mayınca (bu sorunun tartışması ayrı bir ko-nu) Devlet Bakanı Alpago'yu savunma duru-muna geldi.

Rant peşinde koşan soytarılarla beraber kendilerine vatandaş arayan sivil toplumcular, birilerinin "allı, yeşilli, morlu" geldiklerini söylüyorlardı. Oysa ne gelen vardı ne giden. Söz konusu olan, yanılsama ve sözde uzmanlarla sözcülerin pragmatizm-leriydi. Lezbiyen ve gay bilincine sahip özgür bireyler ancak bir atılım gerçekleştirebilirler.

Bir insana, bir olguya, bir nesneye, tarafsız bir gözle bakabilmek, onu kendi varoluşunda, kendi koşullarında ne ise o olarak anlamak hem çok kolay hem de çok zor bir durumdur. Bilim adamları, bir olguya ya da nesneye bile tarafsız bir gözle bakamaz-ken bir insana tarafsız bakması zaten çok zor. Hele bu kişi bir eşcinsel ise var olan gözlüklere bir de heteroseksüel gözlüğü (ön-yargılar ve cehalet) eklenir. Bu durumda on-lara ne derece güvenebiliriz? Çünkü onların bizlere yaklaşımları, antropologların, modern

3

toplumlara benzemeyen ve onun dışında kalan toplum ve topluluklara bakışlarıyla ay-nıdır. (Geldiği yeri unutup ya da bilinçle eleş-tirip incelediği topluluğa karışan veya onlarla dayanışma içinde bulunan bazı antropolog-lar gibi heteroseksist gözlükleri çıkarıp gay ve lezbiyenlerle dayanışma sürecine giren heteroseksüeller de var.)

Gazetelerde farklı zamanlarda rast-larız; 'eşcinselliğin' nedeni bulundu diye. Bulan bazen Kanada'dan bir fakülte olur, bazen de bireysel bir girişim. Tıp ve psi-kiyatri, on yıllardır 'bulduk, bulduk' diyor ama kendi bulduğuna kendi de inanmıyor olmalı ki her seferinde yeni bir "neden"le karşı-laşıyoruz. İster iradi bir seçim olsun, ister fizyo-biyolojik ya da sosyo-psikolojik olsun, biz onların hiç bir zaman bu nedeni bulama-yacaklarını düşünüyoruz. Üstelik bütün bunlar yetmiyor gibi 'gen mühendisliği' denen bilim dalı aracılığıyla heteroseksist domuz-ların asıl hedefinin ne olduğunu öğreniyoruz. Bu cani ruhlu katliam tellalları, gen mühen-disliğinin ilerlemesiyle daha ana karnın-dayken çocuğun heteroseksüel mi yoksa eşcinsel mi olduğunu anlamayı planlıyorlar. Yani daha doğmadan kökümüzü kazıyacak-lar. Bir birey olarak bize saygıları olmadığı gibi, ilgili kadına bile sormayı düşünmüyorlar. Onlara göre zaten hangi ana baba eşcinsel bir oğul ya da kız evlat ister? Oysa kazın ayağı öyle değil.

Bilimsel katiller ve eşcinsel düşmanı heteroseksistler, eşcinselliğin nedenleri ko-nusunda bir sonuca varamıyorlar. Doğrusu biz bu konuda hiç de meraklı değiliz. Kişinin kendi cinsiyetini seçmesi insanın en temel haklarından olması gerektiğini düşünüyoruz. Fakat varolan ortamda bunun mümkün olmadığı görülmekte.

Heteroseksist bir toplumda yaşıyo-ruz. İçinde yaşadığımız erkek egemen kapi-talist düzende insanlar, heteroseksüel sos-yalizasyon sürecinde (hukukun da devreye girmesiyle) kadınlık ve erkeklik toplumsal ka-tegorilerine göre yetiştiriliyorlar. Bu süreçte yaşantımızın her anında ve alanında doğru-dan ya da dolaylı olarak ideolojik bombardı-mana tutulmaktayız. Açık heteroseksist terö-re karşı direnme olanağı bulunabilse bile i-deolojik bombardımandan dolayı genç gay ve

lezbiyenler tam bir sosyo-psikolojik bataklığa saplanabiliyorlar. Bu duruma yol açan heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideoloji yalnızca kapitalist topluma özgü değildir. Asıl olarak sınıflı toplumun ürünüdür ve böyle toplumlarda giderek pekiştirilmiştir. Kadınların köleleştirilmeleri üzerine biçimlenen ideoloji, kapitalist toplumda doruğuna çıkar ve heteroseksüel erkek iktidarının sürekliliği için yeniden üretilir.

Kişi, heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon (toplumsallaştırma) sürecinin içine doğar. Bu süreçte heteroseksüel erkek egemen ideoloji tarafından davranışsal ve zihinsel olarak biçimlendirilir. Karşı gelirse, daha doğrusu karşı gelebilirse toplum dışına itilir, ezilir ve yokedilir. Çocuğun, bir insan olarak yetiştirilmesi mümkünken (verili koşullarda bunun maddi temeli yoktur) sosyalizasyon sürecinde karşısına iki toplumsal kategori (toplumsal cinsiyet=gender) dayatılır. Kız çucukları, kadınlık toplumsal kategorisine, oğlan çocukları erkeklik toplumsal kategorisine göre yetiştirilir. Yalnızca davranışları belirlenmez aynı zamanda ideolojik olarakta belirlenirler. Ve kendilerini "kadın" ve "erkek" olarak algılarlar. Toplumun bütün kurumları, erkek egemen ideolojiyi üretip dayattığı için de artık yetişenlerin başlarına anne, baba, öğretmen... dikmek gerekmez. Çünkü kendileri de bunlardan birisi olmuşlardır. Bu temel ideoloji yalnızca belli sınıfların mensuplarına ve onların çocuklarına değil tüm topluma şırınga edilir. Kişi bu havayı soluyarak büyür ve davranışının insan doğasından geldiği düşüncesiyle koşullandırılır. Böylece kapitalizm düşünsel alanda ve her bireyin bu düşünceyi pratiğe uygulamasıyla yeniden ve yeniden üretilir. Heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon sürecinde bir nokta olan okul en bildik örnektir, bununla birlikte küçük bir devlet olan aile kurumu da okuldan geri kalmaz. Toplumun tüm hücrelerine bu ideoloji girmiştir.

Bir çok durumda heteroseksist fiziksel şiddete rağmen, bir çok insan heteroseksüel sosyalizasyon sürecindeki erkek egemen ideolojinin insanı davranışsal ve zihinsel biçimlendirmesini eşcinselliğinin ayrımına vararak kesintiye uğratabiliyor. Gay ve lezbiyen bireyler bu kopuşlarını bir eşcinsel bilinciyle mi gerçekleştiriyorlar? Bilinçle gerçekleşse bile içinde yaşadığımız heteroseksist toplumda kopuşun sağlıklı ve başarılı olması mümkün mü? Doğrusu bu sorulara tekil gay ve lezbiyenlerin yanıtları farklı olacaktır. Bu-

nunla birlikte heteroseksist terörden dolayı kopuşun, genel olarak sağlıklı ve başarılı olamadığını söyleyebiliriz.

İçinde yaşadığımız sosyalizasyon sürecinde heteroseksüelliğin dışında bir seçeneğin bırakalım akla gelmesini, gündeme geldiğinde baskı, ceza ve tedaviyle ortadan kaldırılmak istendiği bilinen bir gerçek. Eğer çocuk heteroseksüel değilse sosyalizasyon denilen bu varolan toplumsal kalıplara uydurma sürecinde doğal olarak uyum sorunu çekecektir. Yaşın ilerlemesiyle bu sorun daha da şiddetlenecektir. Kendisi gibi bir arkadaşı da yoksa kişi tam bir yalnızlık ve yalıtılmışlık yaşar. Ülkemiz koşullarını ele a-lırsak kişi bu durumdan iki türlü "kurtulabilir". Birincisi işleyişin farkına varırsa profesyonel davranır. Yani kendisini gizler; bir sıtreyt gibi davranır (toplumsal latentlik). Asıl kendini yaşamak için özel ve gizli mekanlar yaratır. Toplumda ise kendinden beklenen sosyal rolünü oynar. İkinci durum ise farklılığını bü-tünüyle bastırıp yok sayar. Ama bilinen bir gerçek ki her baskı önünde sonunda bir pat-lamaya yol açar. Elbette bütün bunlar hetero-seksist toplumun bize zorla dayattığı seçe-nekler. Oysa bizler pekala kendi seçeneklerimizi hayata geçirebiliriz. Çok çok zor ama sürekli çelişki içinde yaşamaktan, hasta ve sapık muamelesi görmekten ve bir böcek gibi yaşamaktan daha onurludur.

Artık hepimiz biliyoruz: Heterosek-süel sosyalizasyon sürecini bireysel pratikle-rimizde kesintiye uğratmak yetmiyor. Bu süreci, toplumsal olarak da kesintiye uğrat-mak için eşcinsellerin bağımsız organize ol-maları kaçınılmazdır. Yanılsamalarla yetin-mek istemiyorsak kurtuluş mücadelemizi yalnızca özgürlüğün egemen olduğu anti-heteroseksist bir topluma hedeflemeliyiz. Yıkım ve kaostan korkmayalım. Ancak ken-dimiz istersek özgür olabiliriz.

HETEROSEKSİZMİN ZİNDANLARINDAKİ TUTSAK TRAVESTİ & TRANSSEKSÜELLERİ UNUTMAYALIM!

Text 3

NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET

TARTIŞMASINA ÇAĞRI

YEŞİM T. BAŞARAN

İki sayıdır "Konuşulmayan Kurallar" (Unspoken Rules) adlı kitaptan yaptığım çevirileri, dergiyi takip edenler hatırlayacaklardır. Sırbistan, İran ve Ürdün'de lezbiyenlerin nasıl yaşadıklarına, katlanmak zorunda kaldıkları baskı ve eziyetlere, bir araya gelmiş lezbiyenlerin yaptıkları çalışmalara dair, kilometrelerce uzaklardan kısa bilgiler edindik. İleriki sayılarda, başka ülkelerdeki lezbiyenlerin bildirilerini de yayınlayacağız. Fakat, bu sayı için kitabı karıştırıp "Acaba hangi ülkeyi çevirsem" diye düşünürken, her ülkenin kendi koşullarını da gözönünde bulundurarak, ters giden birşeyler olduğu izlenimini edindim. Hemen hemen

> *Ümidim,*
> *yazdıklarım, diğer arkadaşları*
> *rahatsız eder*
> *ve hep birlikte*
> *bir tartışma zemini oluştururuz.*

hepsinde lezbiyen ve gay topluluklarının kaygısı hukuksal zeminde sınırlı kalıyordu. Elbetteki işyerlerindeki ayrımcılıklar veya lezbiyenlerin günlük yaşamlarında karşılaştıkları zorluklardan da bahsediyorlar ama yapılan ve yapılması planlanan çalışmalar hep lobicilik, yani parlemento üzerinde baskı kurmak yönünde. Bu durumda, Türkiye'de yaşayan bir lezbiyen olarak aklıma şöyle bir soru geliyor: Peki ama, bir ülkedeki insanların yönetilmesi için oluşturulmuş olan yasalarda eşcinsellerden ve eşcinsellikten bahis yoksa ne olacak? Yani bizim tek kaygımız, yönetildiğimiz yasaları değiştirmek veya olumlu yönde olacağını düşündüğümüz konularda yasa yapmaları için devlete baskıda bulunmak mı olmalı? Ceza yasasında, "birisine, cinsel yöneliminden dolayı şöyle şöyle şekilde ayrımcılık yapan kişi, böyle böyle cezalandırılacaktır" gibisinden bir madde bulunsa, başımız göğe mi erecek?

Bütün bu sorulardan, eşcinsellik karşıtı yasaların varlığında, elimiz kolumuz bağlı oturalım, gibi bir anlam çıkarılmasın. Yalnızca böyle yasaların yokluğunu, sorunlarımızı çözmediğini dikkat çekmek istiyorum ki, Türkiye'de çok rahat gözlemleyebileceğimiz bir şey. Hatta heteroseksist bir toplumda, yasal zeminde ayrımcılık yapan bir yasanın yokluğu eşcinselliği yok saymak demektir ki, bu da

başka bir tür stratejik yaklaşımdır. Bu ülkede kişi, sadece eşcinsel olduğu için sınıfta, işyerinde, ailesinde, kahvede, sokata dışlanabilir, hakarete ve fiziksel şiddete maruz kalabilir; ve polis hiç bir gerekçe göstermeksizin, sokaktan ve barlardan topladığı eşcinselleri nezarethanede tutabilir, dövebilir.

Öncelikle yapılması gereken ayrım, yasaların ne olduğu ve toplumsal işleyişe ne derecede etkide bulunduğudur. Kişi su içerken, ayakkabısını bağlarken, arkadaşı ile yemek yiyip sohbet ederken, kitap okurken, vs. pek çok ediminde yasalardan bağımsız davranır. Fakat bütün bunların toplumsal düzene bağlandığı bir nokta vardır: Eğer su faturanı gününde ödememişsen sular kesiktir, yaşamın için gerekli parayı kazanamıyorsan kitap, ayakkabı, yiyecek gibi zaruri ihtiyaçlarını satın alamazsın ve para kazanma zorunluluğu kişiyi sisteme dolayısıyla yasalara bağlı kılar. Sen doğmadan önce bile belli olan bu zorunlu bağımlılık, yaşamı kavrama ve kendi yaşam şeklini oluşturma çabalarına ket vurur. Çünkü vaktinin, enerjinin, duygularının, düşüncelerinin büyük bir bölümünü sisteme satmak zorundasındır; Bütün bunların maddi olarak karşılığı vardır, ve yaptığın işin başkalarına kazandırdığı ve başkalarının sana layık gördüğü ölçüde para kazanırsın. Ortaokul vatandaşlık bilgisi kitaplarında yazar: "Birey toplumun bir parçasıdır, ondan yaşaması için gereksinim duyduğu şeyleri alabilmek adına, topluma bir şeyler vermek zorundadır. Çünkü tek başına kendisi için gerekli şeyleri üretemez." Elbette bu cümleler çok da yanlış değil, ama o zaman "Toplumun ve bireyin ihtiyaçları

> *...eşcinsel camiada,*
> *heteroseksüel kampta meşruiyet*
> *kazanmayı matah bir şey zannetmek*
> *çok moda nedense.*

nelerdir?" gibi bir soru geliyor akla, ve bir çırpıda gereksiz bulduğum işleri sıralama ihtiyacı duyuyorum: Reklamcılık, emlakçılık, bankacılık, sigortacılık, pazarlamacılık, hazır yemek üretimi, kozmetik üretimi, devlet yönetimi, askeri eğitim, askeri teçhizat üretimi, gereksiz endüstriyel üretim, komisyon kazanılan her tür aracılık vb. Yukarıda bahsi geçen ve benzeri işler

yaşamı güçleştirir, karmaşıklaştırır, beyinleri prangalanmış insan orduları üretir; bu üretim de aslan payını alanların işine geldiği ve sistemin sürekliliğini sağladığı için devam eder, gider. Yaşamını, yaptıklarını sorgulamak derdinde olmadan, "Daha nasıl servetime servet katarım?" (servetin büyüklük ve küçüklüğünün konuyla ilgisi yok) anlayışıyla yaşanan yaşam ne kişiye, ne de topluma bir şey katabilir, aksine götürür. Herhalde buna en anlaşılır örnek medya çalışanları olacak. Bir öğrenci eyleminde tepkiyle karşılaştıklarında en klasik gerekçeleri "Peki ama sesinizi nasıl duyuracaksınız?" olacaktır. Oysa orada yapmaya çalıştığı, öğrencileri haklı bulup, söylemek istediklerini topluma iletmek değil, aksine akşam haberlerinde, gündüz olanların budanmış ve çarpıtılmış halini binbir iğrençliğin arasında ekrana yansıtarak hem kanalının geleceğini garanti altına almak, hem de rating toplamaktır. Ve bütün bunlar, bilinçli olarak yapılmak zorunda olan şeyler değil, robotlaşmış, emirlere uyan bir kişinin yaptıklarıdır. Burada varmak istediğim nokta, su faturasını ödeme ihtiyacının, bireyin kendini yok saymasına varacak kadar hazin bir şekilde sonuçlandığı.

Son yıllarda gelişen "şirket kültürü" kavramı, aslında çok eski bir modelin kopyası. Bu, bireyin duygu, düşünce, enerji ve vaktini sömürmek için yapay değerler yaratmaktan başka bir şey değildir ve bu da, devletin 7 yaşındaki çocuklar için uygun gördüğü "Türküm, doğruyum, çalışkanım, yasam küçüklerimi korumak, büyüklerimi saymaktır..." başlangıcı ve arkasından gelen robotlaştırma sürecinin bir taklididir. Devletin ulaşamadığı yere, anne-baba ve patron yetişir. Siyasi iktidarın yapay değer üretme çabasıyla, ekonomik iktidarın yapay değer üretme çabası birbirinden bağımsız değildir; ve bu değerlerin korunması için yasalar ve kurumlar imdada yetişir.

Bütün bu ilişkiler örgüsü, bireyin yokluğunda ve bireye rağmen gelişir. Sistemin herhangi bir yeri ile çelişen bireyler -bu ırkından, etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden vb. dolayı olabilir- çelişme noktalarını farkedebilme ve sistemi sorgulayabilme şansına sahiptirler. Yaşam yalın bir şekilde ele alındığında, insanlar arası ilişkilerde, deri renginin bir hiyerarşi oluşturabileceği akıl almaz bir olayken, insanların siyah oldukları için öldürülmesi, hatta öldüren kişinin Amerika"nın dört bir yanından

> *"Toplumun ve bireyin ihtiyaçları nelerdir?"*
> *gibi bir soru geliyor akla, ve bir çırpıda gereksiz bulduğum işleri sıralama ihtiyacı duyuyorum: Reklamcılık, emlakçılık, bankacılık, sigortacılık, pazarlamacılık, hazır yemek üretimi, kozmetik üretimi, devlet yönetimi, askeri eğitim, askeri teçhizat üretimi, gereksiz endüstriyel üretim, komisyon kazanılan her tür aracılık vb.*

evlenme tekliferiyle dolu mektuplar alması, beyaz derili, ortalama bir Amerikan vatandaşı için kanıksanmış, kabul edilmiş, sorgulanmayan bir durum. Oysa siyah derili bir insan, bütün bu olanların anlamsızlığını daha kolay farkedip, kendisine karşı üretilmiş politikaların çözümlemesini daha kolay yapabilir; tıpkı bir eşcinselin heteroseksist baskıcı bir toplumun karşısındaki konumu gibi.

Heteroseksüel kurumlar ve ön kabullenimlerle dolu varolan yaşam biçiminin, eşcinsellerin, şöyle bir silkelenip kendilerine gelmelerine neden olması beklenirken, eşcinsel camiada, heteroseksüel kampta meşruiyet kazanmayı matah bir şey zannetmek çok moda nedense. Örneğin, medyadan eşcinseller hakkında homofobik olmayan bir program yapmasını beklemek ne derece anlamlıdır; bu tarz bir sonuç için çaba sarfetmek, sistemin içinde bir boşluk açmaya çalışıp, "Aman, kimse bana dokunmasın!" anlayışıyla yerleşmek istemi değil de nedir? Eşcinsellerin, beyin prangalama aracı olan, köleleşmiş ruhları hergün yeniden üreten medyadan bekleyecek neleri olabilir ki? Görsel medyayı, ciddi bir iletişim aracı zannetmek, korkunç bir yanılgıdır, medyanın kokuşmuş sistemle bağıntısını görememek demektir ve/veya sistemden rahatsız olmamak demektir. Böyle düşünen bir eşcinsele önereceğim en mantıklı şey bol para kazanacak bir iş bulması - böylece, sosyal statüsünün getirileri dolayısıyla eşcinsel kimliği altında ezilmeyecek(!) ve bir eşcinsel sisteme ne kadar entegre olabilecekse, o kadar entegre olacaktır- veya Danimarka'ya gitmesi - böylece de, heteroseksüel kurumlar içine girerek, heteroseksüel camiada meşruiyet kazanıp(!), eşcinsel kimliğinden duyduğu rahatsızlığı giderecektir.

Türkiye'de, eşcinsel hareketliliğin nasıl olması gerektiğine dair tartışmalar için henüz geç kalınmış değil. Ama 90 sonrası başlayan bu uyanma sürecinde, artık "Nasıl bir eşcinsel hareketlilik?" tartışmalarına başlamamız lazım. Ve bu, ÖDP gibi oluşumların çatısı altında olamaz. Çünkü eşcinsellerin, konuşmak için birilerinin onlara izin vermesine ve fırsat tanımasına ihtiyaçları yok. Ümidim, yazdıklarım, diğer arkadaşları rahatsız eder ve hep birlikte bir tartışma zemini oluştururuz. Kaos GL, Venüs'ün Kızkardeşleri, Lambda-İstanbul, Lambda-Erzurum gruplarındaki arkadaşların ve bağımsız bireylerin bu konudaki tartışmalara katkıda bulunmalarını bekliyorum.

Text 4

tamamını istiyorlar. Toplumdan soyutlanmadan, toplumdan ayrışmadan, toplumla içiçe yaşamayı arzuluyorlar. Ancak kimi farklı grup ya da bireyler olarak bazı eşcinseller yalnızca kendileri, yalnızca 'kendi cinsellikleri' için özgürlük isteme tavrı içindeler. Bu yalnızca kendisi için özgürlük isteme tavrı, içinde gizli bir ikiyüzlülüğü de barındırır; kapitalist üretim ilişkileri kapsamında uluslararası ve ülkesel anlamda sömürülenleri görmezlikten gelmeyi. Sömürülenler emekçi; işçi, köylü, memur vb.den öte eşcinsellerin kendisi de olabilir. Bedenlerini satmaya zorlanan çocuklar, bedenlerini satmak zorunda bırakılan gay'ler olabilir. Kadın eşcinselliği porno filmlerinde kullanılabilir ve eşcinseller için tüketim malları geliştirilebilir. Böylece eşcinseller bu sistemin bir parçasına dönüşürler. Eşcinsellik kapitalist bir tüketim malzemesi biçiminde özgürleşme(?) yolundadır ancak eşcinsel birey özgürlük yanılsamasıyla birlikte giderek sistemin kölesi durumuna gelmektedir.

Fazlaca ahkâm kesmemeliyim derken iyice didaktikleştim. Artık eşcinselleri özgürlük mücadeleleriyle başbaşa bırakarak susmalıyım. Bu bir geri çekilmeden çok, rahat bırakma tavrı olarak algılanmalı.

Ne diyordum? Herneyse... Ben susuyorum, Oscar Wilde şöyle diyor:

"İnsanlar kurbağaları ürkütmedikleri sürece istediklerini yapabilmeli."

Yasemin Özalp

Hatırlarsınız, geçtiğimiz sayılarda Yeşim T. Başaran "Nasıl Bir Eşcinsel Hareket" başlıklı bir yazı yazmış ve bir tartışma başlatmıştı. Bu tartışmayı sürdürmek adına, ben de bu konuda düşündüklerimi sizlere aktarmak istiyorum.

Bence yapılması gereken ilk şey bir araya gelmemiz. Bir araya gelmemiz için herhangi bir model öngörmüyorum. Bu oluşum bir yayın organı, bir dernek, bir vakıf vs. ya da bütün bunlara benzemeyen başka bir organizasyon çevresinde olabilir. Bu arada kişisel olarak partileşmeye karşı çıktığımı hemen belirteyim. Çünkü kanımca partileşmek demek yanlış haritayla doğru yöne gitmeye çalışmak anlamına geliyor. Bir araya geldiğimizde sorunlarımızı ortaya koyup, bu sorunlara ne gibi çözümler üretebileceğimizi tartışabiliriz. Eşcinsellerin çok farklı sosyo-ekonomik-kültürel ortamlardan geldiği düşünülürse, sorunlarımız ve sorunlarımıza bakış açımız da oldukça farklı olacaktır. Burada önemli olan bireysel sorunlarımız ve durumlarımızdan sıyrılıp, olaylara bütünsel açıdan bakabilmektir. Böylece buluştuğumuz ortak noktalar olacaktır ve bunlara göre hareketimizi yönlendirebiliriz. Kanımca insanlar eşcinseller yerine yeterince konuştular ve bizlere söz hakkı tanımadan bizleri yeterince yargıladılar. Artık heteroseksüellerin bunu yapmalarına izin vermeyeceğiz, ve başka eşcinseller de artık buna izin vermemeliler. Çünkü bir insan kendi mutluluğu için ne istediğini doğal olarak diğer insanlardan daha iyi bilebilir.

Türkiye'de 80'lerden beri çeşitli oluşumlarla ve çeşitli bağlamlarda gelişen bir eşcinsel hareket var. Şu aşamada sorulması gereken "Ne istiyoruz?" Kendi adıma şunu söylemek istiyorum ki, ben heteroseksüellerin kalıplarına sıkışmak istemiyorum. Yâni onların hak ya da üstünlük olarak kabul ettikleri yalancı özgürlükleri istemiyorum. Örneklendirmek gerekirse; evlenme, miras, bir takım sosyal güvenceler gibi hakları talep etmiyorum. Çünkü ben hayatımı düzenlemesi için siyasal otoriteye bu yetkileri vermek istemiyorum. Hepimizin gözlemleyebildiği ve artık heteroseksüellere bile illallah dedirten modern toplumsal ahlâkın kültür değerleriyle yaşamak istemiyorum. Bir eşcinsel olarak madem ki toplumsal ahlâka eleştirel bir gözle bakabiliyor, onun bana yapıştırdığı yaftaları reddediyorum; öyle ise neden bu ahlâkı ayakta tutabilmek için daha fazla yetki vereyim? Bir takım hukuki taleplerle ortaya çıkmak demek, efendiye "Sensiz yapamıyorum" demenin başka bir yolu olduğu gibi, başkalarına gerek kalmadan kendimize sınır koymak anlamına geliyor. Eşcinsellik bir cinsel kimlik sorunu değil, aynı zamanda bir yaşayış ve düşünüş biçimi sorunudur. Hem heteroseksist ahlâkın dışında yaşayıp hem de heteroseksüelleri bile boğan kalıpları matah birşey olarak algılayıp bunları talep etmeye kalkmak; insanı kendi kazdığı kuyuya düşürür.

Peki, ben ne istiyorum? Gündüz farklı gece farklı bir hayat yaşamamak; işyerinde, okulda, evde, sokakta kendim gibi davranabileceğim bir toplumda yaşamak istiyorum. Toplumsal kadınlık ve erkeklik rollerinin daha biz ne olduğunu anlamadan bize dayatıldığı bir sistemde yaşamak istemiyorum. Bunun için de eşcinsellerin aile, devlet, din, eğitim, medya gibi kurumları sorgulaması, ve yok etmeye ve yok saymaya dayanmayan yeni bir toplum biçimi öngörmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Farklılıkların hiyerarşiye dönüşmediği bir yaşam tarzı istiyorum. Bunun için de eşcinsellerin bir araya gelip insanlara, "Biz de varız!" demesi gerektiğine inanıyorum. İşin bir yanından tutup; sivil toplum örgütleri, sendikalar, bağımsız yayın kuruluşları ve bireylerle diyaloğa geçerek sesimizi duyurmanın zamanı geldi. Gelin bu hareketi birlikte üreterek hep beraber oluşturalım.

NASIL BİR EŞCİNSEL HAREKET TARTIŞMASINA BENDEN FİKİRLER

Barış Evren

Yeşim'in böyle bir tartışmayı başlatmasına çok sevindim. Yeşim'in çağrısına kayıtsız kalmayıp bende bir şeyler yazmak istedim. Sonuçta hepimizin düşüncelerinin aynı olmasını beklemek bir yanılgı. Ama sonuçta farklı düşünsek de bir grup altında toplanmayı başarmalıyız. Eleştiriler ve tartışmalar eminim bizi yönlendirmekte çok önemli. Ama birbirimizi anlamaya çalışmalıyız birbirimizi önemseyip, sevip müthiş bir bağla mutlaka kenetlenmeliyiz. Ama sonuçta lafla peynir gemisinin yürümeyeceği de bir gerçek. Ben gerçekten eşcinsel özgürlüğü için ne yapılıyor bilemiyorum. KAOS grubu, dergi çıkarıyor paneller düzenliyor. Ama yeterli mi, değil, olamaz da. Benim anlayamadığım neden kendi aramızda bölündüğümüz. Neden gruplar ve bireyler bir araya gelip tek bir grupta toplanmıyoruz? Sonuçta yine o gruplar olsun, insanlar kendi

düşüncelerini kendi grubunda uygulasın. Ama 5-10 kişi bir araya gelip 10-20-30… grup kurup ne elde edebiliriz? Hiç bir şey. Ama o gruplar bir grupta toplanmış olsa çok şey yapabiliriz. Bunu yapamıyoruz çünkü aptalca takıntılarımız var. Bunu aşmamız şart. Ben yüzde yüz KAOS grubunun tüm düşüncelerine katılmıyorum. Ama sonuçta ben çevremdeki eşcinsellerin bu gruba katılmalarını teşvik ediyorum edeceğim de. Çünkü ben inanıyorum ki doğru olan bu. Ben de kalkıp 10-15 kişiyle bir grup oluşturabilirim ama bu anlamsız.

Nisan 96'da KAOS GL'de yayınlanan Mustafa'nın yazısına yönelik eleştiriler, genelde olumlu veya olumsuz, güzeldi saygı ve sevgi genelde hakimdi, anlayış da. Ama doktor olan Didem'in tavrı bence çok anlamsızdı. Üstlik belli bir kültürü yakalamış. Ama sonuçta bence hala aşamadığı yargıları var. Mustafa ya da bir diğer insan neden KAOS GL'ye özgürce yazıp bu KAOS GL'de yayınlanmasın? Mustafa'nın düşünceleri onu neden bu kadar rahatsız ediyor. Onun için önemsiz olan phallus, başkası için önemli olabilir ona ne. Neden onun bu zevkini/düşüncesini anlamıyor ya da anlamak istemiyor. Bu konu onu KAOS grubundan ayrılmaya kadar itebiliyor. İşte çoğumuzun yaptığı bir şey Didem için de geçerli. Düşüncelere, zevklere bakışı tek yönlü. Oysa ben bir erkek eşcinsel daha doğrusu homoseksüel olarak onun biseksüelliğini anlıyorsam onun phallus'a yaklaşımını anlayabiliyorsam o da beni ya da Mustafa gibi bir çok eşcinseli anlamalı. Ben de phallus'a tapmasam da önemli bir organ. Ama tabi ki Didem, bu pencereden bakmadığı için bunu farklı görüyor. Neyse bu konuyu daha fazla uzatmayıp, asıl konuya döneceğim. Ama bu konuda asıl konuyla ilgiliydi bence.

Yeşim'in yazdıklarından onun nasıl bir siyasal ideolojide olduğunu anlamak güç değil. Yasalar konusunda fikirlerine kesinlikle katılmıyorum. Ülkemizde eşcinsellere yönelik yasalar yok ama olmalı. Yok çünkü bu gerçek hep perde arkasına itilmiş şu ana kadar. Yasalar çıkarılması yönünde hareket etmeyip sokaklara mı dökuleceğiz? Ya da haftada ayda bir toplanıp devlet mi yıkacağız? Yasalar olmadan yani parlementoya yönelik çalışmalar yapmadan ne elde edeceğiz? Topluma kendimizi anlatmak için ev ev mi gezeceğiz? İnsanlar eşcinsellere iş vermeyince iş yerlerini mi basacağız? Düşünsenize bir eşcinsel bile bir eşcinsele iş vermezken heterolar neden versin? Eşcinseller olarak "ben buyum" bile diyemiyoruz. "Aman ailem bilmesin", "aman sokaktaki bilmesin" diyerek mi çözüm bulacağız? Kültürlü olduğunu iddia eden çoğu eşcinsel parklara takılan yaşlı, efemine, travesti, transseksüelleri … dışlıyorsa aydınlık bunun neresinde? Çıkıyor biri bas bas "gay'im" diyor aslında homoseksüel. Eh 'gay', kulağa hoş geliyor ya!.. Ben bir eşcinsel olarak sokakta, okulda, kafede ya da başka heryangi bir yerde dışlanıyorsam bu toplumun bilinçsizliğinden kaynaklanıyor. Çünkü biz kendimizi anlatamıyoruz. İnsanlar eşcinsel denince hemen aklı fikri seks olan, götünü siktiren

bir ibneyi ya da Beyoğlu'nda orospuluk yapan teravestileri aklına getiriyor. Çünkü insanlar eşcinselleri tanımıyor. Bu da bizim hatamız. Çünkü yüzde seksenimiz, bence, eşcinselliğini gizliyor. Eşcinsel olmaktan korkuyoruz. Neden "ben eşcinselim" diyemiyoruz?

Eşcinseller olarak ASLA kendimizi heteroseksüellerden soyutlamamalıyız. Heteroseksüeller ve biz bir arada yaşamayı öğrenmeliyiz. Heteroseksüellerle aynı dünyada aynı ortamda özgür olmak için mücadele etmeliyiz. Yani heteroseksüel yaşamda eşcinsel bir yaşamımız olmalı eğer bu doğru değilse kendimizi heteroseksüellerden soyutlayacaksak nerede yaşayacağız?

KAOS Grubu genelde bildiğim kadarıyla medyayı dışlayan bir politika uyguluyor. Peki medyadan uzak olmak ne kazandırıyor? Bence medya çok önemli ama medya konusunda bilinçli hareket edildiğinde. Çıkıp bir panelde bin kişiye filan konuşabilirsin ama medya ile milyonlarca kişiye seslenebilirsin. Eğer biz eşcinseller bilinçli olursak medya bizi kullanabilir mi? Peki medyayı dışlıyoruz o zaman Türkiye'nin diğer köşelerindeki eşcinseller böyle bir oluşumdan nasıl haberdar olacak? KAOS'u, Lambda'yı, IPOTH-COC'u, LIKYA'yı ya da BET'i nereden öğrenecekler? KAOS GL gibi bir dergimiz olduğunu bilmeyen sayısız eşcinsel yok mu? Eşcinseller olarak birbirimizle nasıl iletişim kuracağız? Madem sistemi beğenmiyoruz o halde bunun için birlik olmalıyız. Sistem nasıl bizi yontuyorsa bizde sistemi yontabiliriz. Medya nasıl travestileri lanse edip rating alıyorsa bizde medyayı istersek kendi lehimize kullanabiliriz. Ama konuşmazsak medyadan, heteroseksüellerden … kaçarsak biz, biz olamayız. Kıyıda köşede kendi kendimizi yeriz. Birbirimizi anlayamazsak, sevemezsek daha çoook sokaklarda saldırıya uğrar, işten atılırız. Birlik olmazsak buna neden olanlara bu müstehaktır.

Tabi ki benim ya da başkasının konuşması için başkalarının izin vermesine ihtiyacımız yok. Ama başkalarının bizim konuşmamıza izin vermesi de önemli bir adım. ÖDP çatısı altında toplanmak ne derece doğru bilemiyorum. Ama önemli bir adım. Şu ana kadar parti tüzüğünde eşcinsellik yer alan ilk parti. Neden bu fırsatı kullanmayalım? Onlar izin verdi konuşmayalım da, kendi kendimize mi konuşalım? ÖDP'de olmalı bir güç bence.

Sonuçta bence eşcinsel hareket için tekrar tekrar belirtiyorum birlik olmak, birbirimizi anlamak, sevmek, hoş görebilmek, medyadan kaçmamak, birbirimize her zaman destek olmak çok önemli. Bence eşcinsel özgürlüğü ve hakları daha ön planda olmalı. Ama genelde sosyalizm, anarşizm ya da çıkarlar ön planda. Herkes bir grup, her grup bir lider olma sevdasında. Herkes tek bir grupla birşey yapmaya çalışsa, herşey çok daha harika olurdu. Ama galiba bir süre daha bültenlerle, dışlamayla … yüz yüze kalacağız. Son olarak tüm eşcinselleri ve diğerlerini özgürlüğümüz ve haklarımız için el ele olmaya çağırıyorum.

Can Atak-Burak Cem

*Gay'lerimizde düzenle uyum içinde. Laf çok, iş yok. Saldırı bol, hareket yok.

*Çözüm önerisi taşımayan hiç bir yazı bizim için okunacak değerde değildir. Zaman kaybıdır.

*Dünyada eşcinsel kurtuluş hareketi, feminist hareket, ırkçılık karşıtı hareket ve diğer özgürlük hareketleriyle birlikte yürümüştür. Bazı tutumlarınız Gay hareketi içindeki insanları bile dışlayıcı kırıcı nitelikte. Örnek: Mustafa.

Text 5

HOMOFOBİNİN DİĞER YÜZÜ

YEŞİM T. BAŞARAN/ANKARA

Bana mı öyle geliyor bilmiyorum ama sanki tarih on yıllara bölünmüş ve de her sıfırlı yıldan sonra yeryüzünde yaşayan tek düşünen canlı olduğu iddia edilen insanoğlunun yaşantısı başka bir köşeyi dönüyor, bu diğerlerini de etkiliyor (diğer canlıları demek istiyorum) ama hadi şimdilik konumuz bu değil diyerek onları bir kenara bırakalım. Ben öyle pek okuduklarımdan bir şey anlamam, yani çok okuyarak değil de çok gezerek öğrenebilirim ancak, ona da ne fırsatım var ne de zamanım; o nedenle sizleri hayatta geçirdiğim şu kısıtlı süre ve bakış açısıyla boğacağım bir miktar. Çok kızmayın bana, daha fazlasına gücüm yetmez çünkü. 70'ler benim için sadece bebeklik demek oldu, 80'ler ise Atatürk'le Allah'ı karıştırdığım yıllar, bu sadece baş harflerinin aynı olmasından kaynaklanmıyordu heralde. Zaten çok okumakla yol alabilen kuramcılar da o yıllarda çocuk olanların Atatürk'le Allah'ı karıştırmalarının olağan olmadığını söylemediler hiç, bunu da söylemediler ya neyse. 90'larda ailemden uzakta okuyup her yanlarına gidişlerimde Türkiye'de muhafazakarlık tanımının nasıl değiştiğini gördüm; her üç ya da bilmemne ayda bir farklılıklarını gözlemleyebildiğim ortalama Türk ailesi akrabalarıyla olan çirkef ilişkileri dışında her şeyini değiştiriyordu. Evlere girdiği ilk andan beri baş köşeyi kapan salon televizyonuna yeni kardeşler gelmişti, mutfak ya da yatak odası televizyonu gibi. Artık daha

önemliydi, televizyon izlemeyenlere eskiden olduğundan daha garip bakıyorlardı; uzaylı görseler bu kadar şaşırmazlar; nasıl olur da bir insan kolanın yeni reklamını veya akılda tutması güç şarkıcı isimlerini bilemezdi. Tüm bu değişim benim kendimi toplayıp, olanların nasıl olup da olduğunu anlamama pek fırsat bırakmadan ilerliyor(du). Hadi diyelim, bunları anlamayı da o çok okuyan kuramcılara bırakalım. Geçirdiği değişim konusunda başkalarının ahkam kesmesine fırsat bırakmak istemediğim bir konu var yaşamda, çok şükür ki... O da olmasa heralde, tümden boşuna gelecek kendi hayatım bana, siz de bilirsiniz canım, bu konuları ayrıntılandırmaya gerek yok, her zaman sizin yerinize birileri düşünür ya hani, onu demek istiyorum.

Neyse ortaokul kompozisyon derslerinde öğrendiğim giriş-gelişme-sonuç safsatasının bende yarattığı saplantı yüzünden ne kendi canımı ne de sizinkini sıkayım, benim bahsettiğim konu Türkiye'de eşcinselliğin algılanışı konusundaki değişiklikler üzerinde olacaktı. Ama lafı oraya bir türlü getiremedim; biraz önce dedim ya, okumama gerek kalmadan öğrendiğim ve okuyarak öğrenenlerin ahkam kesmesine dayanamadığım konu, bu işte... Tamam bir çok konuda algılayışı kıt ve cahil olabilirim ama bu konuyu, önce yıllarca kendi kişisel tarihinde çözümlemek için debelenmiş ve sonra onunla sokağa çıkmış biri olarak bana bu kadarcık şeyi de hak görün canım. İşte sorunu yaşayan

biri olarak sahiplenmeye çalışıyorum, kendi laf kalabalıkları arasında söndürmesin bir kaç insan diye. Yanlış mıyım?

Türkiye'de yaşantı -kimi komik insanların söyledikleri gibi Kaos'a doğru (!)- sürüklenirken, değişen şeylerin arasında eşcinselliğe bakış da vardı. Hatta ne yalan söyleyeyim bir çok şey kötüye doğru giderken, eşcinsellik daha farklı bir yol izledi, şimdi bunun sosyo-politik gerekçelerine girmeyeyim, bunu sosyologlar düşünsün; heh hee şaka şaka... Yani Batı Avrupa ve Birleşik Devletlerde daha eski yıllarda olduğu gibi gelişince büyükşehir ve üniversite kültürü Türkiye'de, ailelerinden ayrılıp bu kentlere okumaya gelen gençler suyun akışının yönünü değiştirdiler, bir çok kişi bunu planlayarak yapmadı, hatta planlayarak yol alanların çabalarından çok farklı girişimlerle geldi bu noktaya Türkiye'de eşcinselliğe bakış. İnsanlar kendi cinselliklerini tanıma fırsatı edinirken onu özgürce yaşayabilme fırsatından yoksun kaldılar, ama bir kere kendilerini tanıdıktan sonra bundan pek de vazgeçmediler. Kimi ailesiyle boğuştu, kimi arkadaşlarıyla. Ama üç yıl önce açıldığım insanların hayatlarında ilk gördükleri eşcinsel benken, geçen sene taşradan büyükşehre okumaya yeni gelmiş kuzenime söylediğimde bana "Lambda İstanbul'u biliyor musun peki?" diye sorması, sadece küçük bir örnek olmaktan çok öte. Aradan bu kadar az yıl geçmesine rağmen insanlar okullarında,

yaşadıkları yurtta eşcinsellerin bulunduğu ön bilgisini edindiler. Artık kimsenin ilk tanıdığı eşcinsel ben değilim, bunu duymayalı çok oldu. Evlerde ya da başka mekanlarda yapılan eşcinsellik sohbetlerinden nasibini almayan öğrenci kalmamıştır heralde ülkemizin büyük şehirlerinde. Sakın bana "Eeee!..." demeyin, bunun neden "Eeee!..."lik bir çözümleme olmadığını anlatacak kuramsal cümlelerim yok çünkü.

Bu yıllarda bayağı sayıda insan lezbiyenlerin erkek minyatürü, gaylerin de kadın minyatürü olmadığını öğrendi; eşcinselliğin sadece seks değil aynı zamanda aşk, başkaldırı, kendini anlama çabası, kendini gerçekleştirme çabası, kısacası kendine özgü bir varoluş olduğunu anladı. Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy ya da Huysuz Virjin dendiğinde insanların kafasında sadece beceriksiz bir karikatür canlanıyor, hayatta "bir kendi, bir de Zeki Müren" var sanan erkek eşcinsellerin sayısı eskiden az artık (valla ahkam kesmiyorum); tabi kadın eşcinseller bu kadar şanslı değiller ya, konuyu saptırmayayım. Ama bunlar daha ilk yıllar, insanların karşısına geçip "sen ne diyorsun yahu, binlerce önyargı sıralıyorsun ama ben varım işte, tek başıma bile olsam -ki

değilim- bu benim, bu benim kendi gerçekliğim; senin kafandaki şu şu vede bu önyargı tamamen asılsız, yıllarca kandırılmışsın" demek henüz atılan ilk adımlar, belki de kolay olanları; neyse yazımın konusunu düşündüm de bu belki fazla... İnsanlar da aptal değiller sonuçta, hakkında hiçbir şey bilmedikleri bir konuda gerçekliği ta kaynağından dinleyince o kadar da mızmızlık yapmıyorlar... ama mızmızlanmamaları acaba doğru noktada olduklarını gösteriyor mu (oh bee, nihayet asıl konuya girebildim, zaten ortaokulda da beceremezdim)? Göstermiyor, çünkü kişisel ve toplumsal tarihler boyunca birikmiş önyargılar, öyle semer gibi çıkarılıp atılamıyor sırttan. İnsanların konuştukları cümleler değişiyor konu eşcinsellik olunca, "canım bu da onların özgürlüğü... ne diyorsun sen, neler de söylüyorsun, benim eşcinsel bir arkadaşım var ve de hiç de senin tarif ettiğin gibi insanlar değiller, benim arkadaşım üniversitede okuyor ve iki senedir sevgilisiyle birlikte oturuyor, ay ne tatlı kızlar bir görsen, aaa geçen gün başlarına ne gelmiş biliyor musun... ay çok tatlı insanlar şu gayler, bir keresinde bir tanesiyle sabahlamıştık, bir erkeğin sana asılmadan seninle muhabbet etmesi çok farklı canım, bana

geçenlerde yaşadığı bir aşk hikayesini anlattı, ay ne değişik şeyler yaşıyorlar bilemezsin... tüm kadınlar şöyle şöyledir- saçmalama ben hiç de öyle değilim- ee ama sen lezbiyensin(?)... çok duyarlı insanlar, çok inceler, benim bayağı eşcinsel arkadaşım var... eşcinsellere de özgürlük... tamam sizi anlıyorum ama yanımda kız arkadaşınla öpüşmesen olmaz mı?- sen benim yanımda erkek arkadaşınla öpüşüyorsun ama- (?)... senin yanında dolaştığım için beni de gay zannedecekler, bir şey değil kısmetim kapanacak..." Bunları ya da benzerlerini duymuşsunuzdur hadi canım, artık insanlar erkek eşcinsellerin penislerinin kalkıp kalkmadığını ya da kadın eşcinsellerin nasıl olup da penissiz sevişebildiklerini değil, bunları konuşuyorlar. İyi mi, eskisinden iyi tabi; doğru mu, şüphesiz hayır.

Artık sohbetlerimde üç yıl öncesinde olduğu gibi eşcinsellerin öldürülmesi gerektiğini, ya da daha ılımlı olup da iyileştirilmesi gerektiğini savunanlarla karşılaşmıyorum pek, en olumsuz tavır "tamam sizi anlıyorum, çok sorun yaşıyorsunuz ama bunun özgürlük mücadeleleriyle ne ilgisi var, etrafımızda bunca sorun dururken" filanvari oluyor. Buna da şükür (!), en azından birileri birşeyleri

KAOS GL 43 / 17
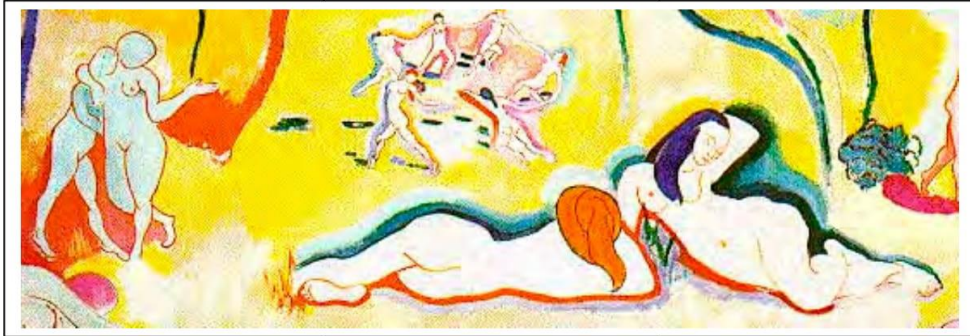
anlıyorlar ha!... Ama eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemlerinin boyutlarını anlamak "onların ne de duyarlı, iyi ve de hoş insanlar olduklarını" konuşmaktan geçmiyor. Bunlar artık eskisinden daha çok midemi bulandırıyor, çünkü bunları konuşanlar eşcinselleri, sorunlarını, mücadelelerini ve de bilmemneleri anladıklarını sanıyorlar, iddia ediyorlar. Eşcinsellere insanlar hakkında dedikodu yapma çerçevesinde yaklaşıyorlar, o nedenle ya benim durup durup "ama benim eşcinsel bir arkadaşım var, ve de.." nımnımlarını tekrarlamam. Ah gözü batasıca hoşgörü.... Öhhö öhööö... Evet... küfür için isterseniz kusura bakabilirsiniz, hiç gocunmam, bizim duyarlı olduğumuzu söyleyenler kadar mücadelemizde agresif olduğumuzu söyleyenler de var... n'apalım canım yaşadığımız acılarla hakettik bunları, hatta Aktüel ve benzerleri "gündüz gay, gece bey" gibi manşetler atmaya devam ettikçe biz de agresifliğimize devam edeceğiz, çok görmeyin yahu...

Eşcinselliğin heteroseksüellikten hiç farkı olmadığını ve de aynı zamanda çok farkı olduğunu anlamalarını istiyorum ben. Bu nasıl bir şey biliyor musunuz, bir insana Kürt olduğunu unutarak yaklaşmak ve ardından onun Kürt'lüğünü (tarihini ve şimdisini) hiç unutmamak. Bunu yaşayabildiniz mi hiç, başkasını (ötekini) kabul etmeyi ve onu anlamayı. Hiç kolay değil, göründüğü gibi değil yani. Ne var, işte insan insandır, ha Kürt, ha Alevi, ha eşcinsel... ha hepsi birden... ama Kürt, ama Alevi, ama eşcinsel... ama hepsi birden...

Ben küçük ve de safkenki anne-kız tartışmalarımda anneme yeryüzünün çok geniş, tarihin de çoook uzun olduğunu, ve aynı anda ve farklı zamanlarda insanların çok değişik kültürlerde yaşadıklarını, ve her yer ve zamanın pek çok kereler birbirlerine taban tabana zıt değerleri ve yasakları olduğunu, dolayısıyla kendi yaşadığı şimdiki zaman ve mekandaki doğrulara böyle körükörüne sarılmasının insanlık tarihine haksızlık olduğunu anlatmaya çalışırdım. Saflığım şimdi artık bu şekilde düşünmediğim anlamına gelmiyor, annem konusunda saflık etmişim. Geçelim... Eşcinseller hakkında önyargısız olmak onların asla partnerlerini aldatmadıklarına inanmaktan, kızlarının harbi, erkeklerinin de duyarlı olduğunu düşünmekten geçmiyor. Onları kabul etmek ve anlamak için hayatta yaşanan ne varsa lezbiyenlerin ve gaylerin de bunları yaşayabileceğini farketmek gerekiyor; kendimizi (kendinizi) eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemlerini hakedecek denli iyilikte olduklarına ikna etmeye çalışmam(n)ız beyhude... Aman... Agresifmiş gibi yazıyor olmayayım diye, biz mi siz mi diyeceğimi şaşırdım doğrusu. Mesela ilk olarak burada ne demek istediğimi anlamaya çalışarak başlayabilirsiniz. İster istemez siz "siz"siniz. Ama bir lezbiyen "siz" dediğinde tedirginlik duyabiliyor veya duydurulabiliyor. Çünkü insanlar seni kabul etmek için o kadar da çok "siz"li "biz"li olmak istemiyorlar. Onlar sana gayet iyi niyetli yaklaşıyorlar ya. Daha ne istiyorsun da, şımarıklık yapıyorsun... Aslında ben verilenden fazlasını istiyor değilim, verileni sevmiyorum zaten, hoşgörüyü. Ve de verilen, bu kadar benimle ilgili iken, bu konuda edilgen olmayı sevmiyorum, hiçbirimiz sevmiyoruz. Biz sizlerin hayatında bir değişiklik değiliz, biz kendi hayatımızız. Ben kimsenin bana hoşgörü göstermesini istemiyorum, ben her tür medyada yüceltilen kadın-erkek aşkının benim yaşantımda yarattığı baskının anlaşılmasını istiyorum. Bir filme sırf lezbiyen filmi diye gittiğim zamanki coşkum "ne abartı" diye karşılanmadan önce bir miktar düşünülsün istiyorum.

Bu yazının başlığının "Homofobinin diğer yüzü" olması uydurma değil. Homofobi sadece "eşcinsel insanlara ve eşcinselliğe duyulan tedirginlik" diye açıklanamaz. Homofobi, eşcinselliği olduğundan farklı anlama yönelimidir, çünkü bu yönelimden kaynaklanan algılanış nasıl olursa olsun yanlıştır. Birileri bizim "iyi" olduğumuzu düşünüp, kendini bizim hakkımızda bununla ikna ediyorsa bu yanlıştır. Bizi küçükken anneme verdiğim öğüdün çerçevesinde anlamak gerekir, işte homofobi o zaman devre dışı kalır. Ta derinlerden gelen önyargıların şekil değiştirip insanca haller alması değil eşcinsellerin özgürlük istemi. Eşcinsellerin sizden istediği onların eşcinsel olduklarını hiç hatırlamamanız ve onların eşcinsel olduklarını asla unutmamanız. Kimdi söyleyen, nasıl biriydi hatırlamıyorum ama biri "insana dair hiçbirşey bana yabancı değil" demişti. Belki de bizim isteğimiz, bu cümlenin laflıktan çıkması. Sakın bundan heteroseksüellerin eşcinsel olması gerektiğini söylediğim gibi bir sonuca varmayın, çünkü nasıl bir eşcinsel zorla heteroseksüel yapılamazsa, bir heteroseksüel de eşcinsel yapılamaz. Bir ev ödevi: siz nasıl heteroseksüelliğinizi farkında olmadan 24 saat taşıyorsanız, eşcinsellerin de neden 24 saat eşcinselliklerini taşımak istediklerini anlayın. Evet yine agresif bir cümle değil mi? İyi size yeni bir ev ödevi daha: bu cümlelerin neden agresif olduğunu da anlayın...

Text 6

Kitleselleşelim mi , kurumsallaşalım mı?

ŞAKİR
İstanbul

Doğanın sınırsız gücü karşısında insanın zaman içerisinde hissettiği acizlik ve zayıflık duygusu, bireyi karşı konulmaz bir olağanüstülük yaratma telaşı içinde bırakır. Mimarların anıtsal yapıları, şairlerin binlerce dizelik şiirleri, hekimlerin akılalmaz araştırmaları ve ameliyatları ve ressamların tablolarındaki renk cümbüşü işte bu doğanın gücü karşısında bireyin varolma savaşının gayretkeş ürünleridir. İleri derecede nevrotizmin bize sunduğu yalnızlık eninde sonunda bizi benzerlerimizle bir arada, beraber hareket edebilme güdüsüyle karşı karşıya bırakır. Hep o doğanın gücüdür bireyi doğaya bağlayan, yerleşik hayata hazırlayan ve günümüze kadar getiren. Tüm kimlik savaşları dahilinde, bizim gibiymiş gibi duran ilk bireye sıkıca sarılırız. Benzer bir dili konuşmak, ortak beden ve yaşam dili oluşturmak adına benzerimizle ortak hareket ederiz.

Şüphesiz ki bir davranış bu şeklini ortaya koyarken birlikte hareket ediyor olmak, -doğru ve yanlışlığını hiç tartışmıyorum- sınırsız bir özgürlük ve özgür olabilme yetisi sunar bizlere. Tarihe bakacak olursak marjinal diye tanımlanan tüm yaşam şekilleri, davranış biçimleri ve aslında başta farklıymış gibi algılanan ama sonrasında kabul gören pekçok fikir oluşumu, toplumu bir yerden alıp bir yere götüren her kitle hareketi için aynı olgulardan söz etmek mümkündür.

Yukarıda sözü geçen yalnızlık içerisinde karşılaştığımız benzerimizle ortak hareket eder, kendi aramızda farkında olmadan gelişen beden dilini kullanmaya başlarız. Bu birlikteliğin bireye faydası, kendi içinde olumlayamadığı yaşam şeklini, yanına aldığı yada yanında yer aldığı bireyler yardımıyla varkılmak, dünyaya (biraz abartılı oldu sanırım) özel çevresine duyurmak, içsesini tatmin etmektir. Sırf bu yüzden belki de farkında olmadan aynı şeyleri konuşuyor buluruz kendimizi. Aynı yerlere gideriz, aynı şekilde giyinmeye çaba gösteririz ve yarattığımız bu prototip ile arzulanan hayatın bir kısmını yaşarken, karanlıklar tablosunu elverdiğince pembeleştirmeye çabalarız.

Birlikte yaşadığımız kişilerin sayısı zaman içerisinde artış ve azalış gösteren seyirler izleyebilir. Henüz kitle tanımlamasını almayan bu gruplaşmalar, grupçuklar, başta binbir güçlükle adlandırabildikleri genele yabancı vücut dillerinin çok dışında içgüdüsel isteklerle karşılaşabilir. tüm marjinalliğinin içerisinde birey olmak, hürriyet telaşına kapılmadan yol alabilmek, en önemlisi de kendi gibi olmayan ve düşünmeyen kitleyle - ki bu büyük ihtimalle çoğunluktur- eşit haklara sahip olabilmek. Yani bireyi birey yapan minimum değerlere sahip olmak, farklı da olsa en doğal hakkıdır ve zaman içerisinde bunları elde edebilmek için vargücüyle çalışacaktır.

Egemen dilin her tür alt gruba, her tür azınlığa karşı geliştirdiği pekçok geçici çözüm formülü tarihin sayfalarında yerini aldı. Amerika'da zenci mahalleleri oluştu. Egemen dil hemen sonrasına zencilere, suç işledikleri, kuraldışı oldukları yaftasını büyük bir şıklıkla yapıştırmakta ve onları ikinci sınıf vatandaş konumuna itmekte geç kalmadı. Endüstri devrimi sonrasında çeliğin inşaat sektörüne girmesiyle sıhhi olmayan, küçük apartman blokları oluşturuldu. Ve bu durum Avrupa'da işçi sınıfına ait gettoları beraberinde getirdi. Modernite sonrasında ise büyük kentler sanayi bölgeleri, kültür kentleri, işçi sınıfı yaşama mekanları ve elit olmak üzere ayırımlara uğradı. Bugün de benzer ayrımcılık çabalarından hatta saydığımız örneklerin benzerlerinden söz edebilmek mümkün. Nicel bir büyüklük ama sayıca fazla olmak azınlığa böylesi sınırları önceden çizilmiş hayatları sunarken diğer bireyler şüphesiz kimliklerini ispatlayabilmek ve görünür kılmak için savaştılar. Çünkü üstün olduğunu düşünen egemen dil kendi iktidarına bir ortak gözüyle baktığı her farklı olguyu önce yok sayar, sonuna kadar ezebilmek için çabalar, haklarını gerekli ortamlar yaratılmadıkça teslim etmez. Yoksayılan birey kesintisizmiş gibi görünen haklı bir hak savaşının içerisinde bulur kendini. Çünkü; aylar önce Almanya'dan Enver arkadaşın da bizlere hatırlattığı gibi haklar verilmez alınır. Bugüne kadar yukarıdaki evrelerden geçen, egemen dilin ikiyüzlü tahakkümcü zihniyeti ile karşılaşan her oluşum benzerlerin bir arada hareket edebilme becerisine göre yol aldı, hak arama değilse de hak alabilme savaşında.

Daha önceki yazılarda azınlık psikolojisinden ve bireye getiri-götürüsünden bahsetmiştik. Marjinal algıya açık bireyin kendisi gibi olmayan ve düşünmeyen çok önceden kitleselleşmiş- başka bireyler karşısında taşıdığı yalnız olmanın getirdiği acizlik ve tekillik duygusunu kişiyi benzerlerini aramaya yönelteceğini söylemiştik. Farkındaysanız şu ana kadar üstü örtülü olmak kaydıyla eşcinsellik ve getirdiklerine girmedik. Konuyu biraz da eşcinsel birey düzleminde alımlamaya çalışırsak kurgu daha hızlı işlemeye başlayacak sanırım. Etrafınızdaki insanları biraz düşünmenizi istiyorum. Benzer yerlere gidip, benzer konuları konuşuyor, benzer şeyleri giyiyor hale gelmişsiniz değil mi? Eğer

korkularınızı atlatabildiyseniz büyük şehirlerde düzenlenen hafta sonu toplantılarına katılıyorsunuz? Eğer gerçekten istek duyuyorsanız bu örgütler içerisinde çalışmaya fikir ve proje üretmeye başlıyorsunuz değil mi? Niye yapıyorsunuz bunları hiç düşündünüz mü? Bir kitle olabilmek adına, beraber hareket edebilmek adına olabilir mi dersiniz. Yalnızlık duygusundan kurtulabilmek adına olabilir mi sizce... Peki önyargıları yok edebilmek, malum sebeplerden dolayı cinsel kimliklerini yaşayamayan insanlara ve kendinize nefes almak için daha elverişli bir yaşama mekanı oluşturma çabası olabilir mi? Ne dersiniz...

Peki neler yapıyoruz bunların hepsini bir arada inşa edebilmek için. Kitleselleşiyoruz. Tanımlama için yeterli ve öz. Bir kitle olabilmek adına çalışıyoruz. İsteklerimiz var. Heteroseksüel olmayan tüm cinsel azınlıklar adına söz sahibi olabilme savaşını veriyoruz bir araya geldiğimiz her yaşam anında. Bu bize ortak düşünebilme, birlikte nefes alabilme, hedef belirleyip o hedefe doğru hareket edebilmeyi sunuyor. Yazının başında bahsedilen yalnız olmanın getirdiği korkulardan arınıyoruz. Doğanın karşısındaki acizlik duygusunu varlığımızı, bizi yoksayan insanlara kabul ettirebilmek adına yol alıyoruz. Kitle oluyoruz. Köyünde buluşabilmiş iki eşcinsel, parkta bir araya gelmiş dört arkadaş, ya da hafta sonu toplantılarındaki bireyler birey olmaktan çıkıp da ortak bir amaç uğruna hareket ediyorlarsa bir grup haline getirebiliyorsa bir kitle oluşturuyorlar.

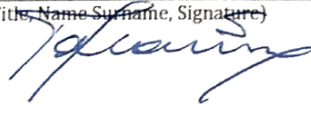Şüphesiz kitle olmak yukarı sayılan avantajların dışında büyük olanaklar sunacaktır. Eşcinselliğe, eşcinsellik olgusuna, eşcinsel yaşam şekline büyük bir pervasızlık içerisinde saldıran, alaya alan, yok sayan insanlara karşı atılacak adımlar ortak ve daha etkili olacaktır. Perinçek vakasına bakacak olursak, Ankara'dan iki, İstanbul'dan bir eşcinsel grubun imzasını taşıyan ortak tekzip yazısı aynı mekanda kendisine yayın imkanı buldu. Çoktan kabul edilmesi gereken Türkiye eşcinsel hareketinin bu üç temel bileşeninin takdire değer -gayet- yerindeki tavrı karşısında aklıma takılan bu üçlü Türkiye'deki yada Türk eşcinsellerinin ne kadarını temsil ediyor. Eylül ayında İstanbul'da gerçekleştirilen

zamanlar ötesi buluşma toplantısına şehirlerinden iştirak eden bireysel katılımcılar, dönem dönem bazı şehirlerde toplanabilme çabası verip bir türlü bunu başarıyla ger-çekleştiremeyen, eşcinsel arkadaşların bu kitle oluşumunu desteklediklerini biliyorum ya da öyle ol-masını tahmin ediyorum. Tüm şehirlerdeki kitle oluşumlarını temsil eden söz sahibi bir kitle oluşabilir mi?
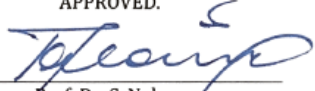
Peki kitle olmanın gerek şartlarını tamamladığımız da, eşcinsel kitle ortak hareket edebilme başarısını gösterdiğinde, sorunları çözmüş oluyor muyuz? Tanınmak için kamusal alan içerisinde yer almak, kanunlar çerçevesinde görünür olmak için kitleselleşebilmenin dışında kurumsallaşmanın da en az kitle olabilmek kadar önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Eğer varılmak istenilen hedeflere bizler yaşarken ulaşmak gibi bir amacımız varsa eşcinsel düşüncenin ortak bir çatı altında bir an önce buluşması bunun ana şartlarının belirlenmesi gerektiğine inanıyorum. Böylelikle geneli değil tümü kapsayacak bir kitle oluşumunu zaman içerisinde kurumsallaştıracak adımlar atılacak varolan hedeflere ulaşabilmek adına oluşumun gerçekçi çizgileri çizilecektir. Konunun izleğinde kurum olmanın getirilerinden bahsetmeyi gereksiz buluyor, bunun başka bir yazı kapsamında tartışılması gerektiğini biliyorum. Önümüzde ''baharankara'' adıyla yapılacak tanımlanmış ikinci Türkiye eşcinsel hareket toplantısı var. Burada ana amaç kitle olabilmenin gereç şartlarını belirleyip, ortak adlandırılmış bir çatıda eşcinsel kitleyi dolayısı ile eşcinsel hareketi toplayıp, bu hareketin yasalar çerçevesinde kurum kimliği kazanması için neler yapılması gerektiğinin tartışılmasıdır. *(19 Mart 1999)*

APPENDIX 3. ETHICS COMMISSION FORM

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ETHICS COMMISSION FORM FOR THESIS

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

Date: 12/03/2019

Thesis Title: Thematic And Discursive Construction of Homosexual Movement in Turkey through *Kaos GL Magazine*

My thesis work related to the title above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, interview, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board/Commission for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature
12/03/2019

Name Surname:	Cihan ALAN
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Department:	English Linguistics
Program:	PhD
Status:	☐ MA ☒ Ph.D. ☐ Combined MA/ Ph.D.

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

Prof.Dr. S. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)

APPENDIX 4. THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Ph.D. DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ENGLISH LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT

Date: 10/04/2019

Thesis Title : Thematic and Discursive Construction of Homosexual Movement in Turkey through *Kaos GL Magazine*

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