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SOMETHING QUEER IN ISTIKLAL

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EBRU MUTLU

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SOMETHING QUEER IN ISTIKLAL

EBRU MUTLU

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“I, Ebru Mutlu, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.”

EBRU MUTLU

ABSTRACT

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Ebru Mutlu

M.A. Program in Communication Studies

Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Levent Soysal

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Gay Pride Istanbul is an annual pride march that takes place in Istiklal Avenue, Taksim for and by LGBT people. The pride march is held at the last day of Istanbul LGBT Pride Week which is the week when people gather for panels, movies, seminars and parties. I argue that Gay Pride Istanbul is an important and unique march for LGBT people in Turkey in the name of recognition and is also a certain kind of carnival that Abner Cohen (1993) illustrated in his book *Masquerade Politics*. I also argue that uniqueness of Gay Pride Istanbul is a sort of gay pride march that does not fit to the words “gay pride march” but it is unique for LGBT people in Turkey and it is unique because it is the LGBT pride march of Istanbul. In this thesis, my own fieldnotes, photography and video archives are used to commentate on Gay Pride Istanbul. I do think that Gay Pride Istanbul is a gay pride march that exclaim the recognition of LGBT people and their rights in Turkey.

Key words: masquerade politics, pride march, spectacle, queer theory, Taksim, Istanbul.

ÖZET

İSTİKLAL'DE QUEER BİR ŞEY

Ebru Mutlu

İletişim Bilimleri Yüksek Lisans Programı

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Levent Soysal

Eylül 2012

İstanbul Onur Yürüyüşü, 2003'ten bu yana İstiklal Caddesi, Taksim'de LGBT üyeleri tarafından düzenlenen eşcinsel onur yürüyüşüdür. Yürüyüş İstanbul LGBT Onur Haftası'nın son gününde yer alır. LGBT Onur Haftası düzenlenen seminer, panel, film gösterimleri ve partilerle geçen bir haftadır. Bu tezin amacı İstanbul Onur Yürüyüşü'nün önemli ve özgün bir onur yürüyüşü olduğunu savunmak ve aynı zamanda Türk LGBT bireylerin kabulü olduğu kadar Abner Cohen'in (1993) *Masquerade Politics* adlı kitabında açıklanan "karnival" kavramına da uymakta olduğunu söylemektir. İstanbul Onur Yürüyüşü'nin özgünlüğü, çok farklı bir eşcinsel onur yürüyüşü olmasından değil; Türkiye'deki LGBT bireylerine yer veren ve İstanbul'da yer alan bir yürüyüş olmasından ileri gelmektedir. Bu tezi hazırlarken kullandığım kaynaklar öncelikle kendi saha notlarım, çektiğim fotoğraflar, videolar. Fikrimce, İstanbul Onur Yürüyüşü Türk LGBT bireylerinin kabulü, tanınması ve haklarının Türkiye'de öğrenilmesi gerektiğini vurgulayan bir onur yürüyüşüdür.

Anahtar kelimeler: masquerade politikaları, onur yürüyüşü, temsil, queer teorisi, Taksim, İstanbul.

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This study has been personal for me from the very beginning. It was an exploration to my identity and gender as much as it was an exploration about LGBT society in Turkey. I cannot count the people who helped me, challenged me and criticized me. But I'm deeply thankful to every single one of them. Especially the helpful members of Lambdaistanbul and LGBT society during Gay Pride Istanbul were always in my mind, because I didn't want to write something that would offend anyone. I'd like to thank Lambdaistanbul and LGBT society for giving me that sense of discretion

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Although it is highly unlikely that he will ever read this, but I wouldn't even think of this study if I didn't start watching Queer as Folk (1999). So, for that I thank to the creator of Queer as Folk (1999), Russell T. Davies. Especially Stuart Alan Jones' way of coming out to his mother was truly inspirational and it was the first time that I understood why a person could exist through their sexual identity.

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Istanbul, August 2012

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1. INTRODUCTION

“We were just a handful of people, weren’t we?” This question was asked to me during the first pride march that I’d ever attended back in 2010. Easily affected person that I had been, I was under the spell of an American show named *Queer as Folk* (2000) that year and I was desperately looking for the same kind of scenes in Istanbul for the last few months. When I heard about Gay Pride Istanbul, I felt like my prayers were answered. Gay Pride Istanbul was at the same week with a conference that I had volunteered before I heard about Gay Pride Istanbul, but the March was after the conference and I was able to attend. So that day, June 27th 2010, I gathered my things and left the school for the march.

I was really anxious but not because I finally had taken the courage to get into LGBT community that I had been a part of although I was too oblivious to admit it to myself, but because it was a march. Kind of events that my parents warned and forbade me through my whole undergrad years. When I arrived Beyoğlu, I took a deep breath and looked around me. I was early but so apparently so was the march. Rainbow flags were already around, people had already started throwing slogans. I told “This is it. Prepare your camera and dive into the crowd.” An hour after I dived into the crowd and was holding the giant rainbow flag with other people, a girl next to me asked that rhetorical question above “We were just a handful of people, weren’t we?” That question made me take a step back in my mind and looked at

people around me. That wasn't the usual Taksim that I had seen over the years, yet it was exactly the same Taksim with limitless diversity.

Through the years, I had watched marches in front of our family television. That day wasn't some march that I shrugged and made me change the channel. That day was the day that I was out of my home and went to Taksim to claim my identity with everyone like me. After I came back home and shocked my mother by saying that I attended a pride march at Taksim ("What if you were beaten? Weren't you afraid at all?" "No, mother. None had the courage to attack us. We were too many people."), I thought that that march mattered. It mattered not only because it was by a society that I was a part of, but also because it was something different that happened in Taksim, even by the standards of Taksim.

Abner Cohen (1993) states that every major carnival is precariously poised between the affirmation of the established order and its rejection. And this applies to Gay Pride Istanbul and LGBT movement in Turkey. Gay Pride Istanbul makes LGBT people in Turkey somewhat less invisible and Gay Pride Istanbul is possibly the biggest event that are for LGBT society. This brings the establishment, recognition that Notting Hill London Carnival achieved at its early years. Although Gay Pride Istanbul is a unique march for Istanbul, it does have certain traits that are common to the idea of a carnival. Cohen argues that Notting Hill London Carnival is borne out by histories of carnivals in Europe, the West Indies and South America. It is a fact which is hidden by the formal conception of carnival and by popular ideas about it (Cohen 1993: 3). So Gay Pride Istanbul takes its own historical traditions from Christopher Street Day Parade but it also brings its own traits to the march.

There are four main chapters on this study. First chapter explains what does gender performativity mean according to Judith Butler (1999). Butler argues that people are not born with their genders, rather they grow into those genders. For that, gender is not fixed, and that is why the compulsory heterosexual rules do not really apply to people. Butler brings the term notion “drag” and explains that genders in the heterosexual frame is already a copy of an ideal, so a person who doesn’t fit to the standards of heterosexuality do not copy the original, but he/she rather copies of a copy. I argue that compulsory performativity of our genders are important for Gay Pride Istanbul and explain it by saying that during Gay Pride Istanbul, I do not play my gender but I become more aware of my gender traits and everyone else’s.

Second chapter gives a short history of LGBT movement in Turkey and how it evolved throughout the years. LGBT movement in Turkey has its own complexities, but it also faced with universal problems like recognition, coming out of the closets and demanding constitutional rights for LGBT people.

The third chapter is where I narrate through Abner Cohen’s *Masquerade Politics* (1993). It is the longest chapter on this study, because *Masquerade Politics* was my main source to give a structural meaning to Gay Pride Istanbul. Gay Pride Istanbul is a carnival in the description that Cohen (1993) described in his book. Knowing how Gay Pride Istanbul is shaped may help us to foresee what will happen next in LGBT movement. Therefore Cohen’s *Masquerade Politics* is an important source to see ay Pride Istanbul with a clearer view.

The last chapter can be seen as a critique of pride marches in general and specifically of Gay Pride Istanbul. It is the chapter where I critique that pride marches today have a strong relationship with Guy Debord’s *The Society of the*

Spectacle (2008). Pride marches can turn into an event with no political concerns. I do argue that this is not the case for Gay Pride Istanbul. At least not when it is in the early stages of Abner Cohen's (1993) description of carnival.

2. JUDITH BUTLER AND REPRESENTATION DURING GAY PRIDE ISTANBUL

Indented text: Ten years ago I completed the manuscript of *Gender Trouble* and sent it to Routledge for publication. I did not know that the text would have as wide an audience as it has had, nor did I know that it would constitute a provocative "intervention" in feminist theory or be cited as one of the founding texts of queer theory (Judith Butler 1999: VII).

Judith Butler (1999) may not have foreseen that *Gender Trouble* would be one of the founding texts of queer theory. But her take on explaining gender and the word "drag" perfectly explains how one's gender constitutes. Butler's take on performing our genders is the exit point that I use to explain the representation during Gay Pride Istanbul.

Judith Butler (1999) says that there is no "proper" gender for everyone and she takes Esther Newton's (1979) point on her article, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*, that drag is not an imitation or a copy of some prior and true gender. According to Newton, drag enacts the very structure of impersonation by which *any gender* is assumed. Drag is not the putting on of a gender that belongs properly to some other group, i.e. an act *expropriation* or *appropriation* that assumes that gender is the rightful property of sex, that "masculine" belongs to "male" and "feminine" belongs to "female" (Newton 1979: 312). So from that point, it can be

said that a gender is not a property of a certain sex. Butler says that when heterosexuality sets itself up as the original, the true, the authentic; that norm that determines the real implies that “being” lesbian is always a kind of miming that is doomed to fail because it is not natural unlike heterosexuality. But when Newton (1979) objects that there is no “proper” gender, not only she says that gender is not a set in stone concept, but heterosexualized genders are, in fact, drags that imitate the ideal that cannot be reached. Because drag constitutes the mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn and done; it implies that all gendering a kind of impersonation and approximation. If this is true, it seems, there is no original or primary gender that drag imitates, but *gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original*; in fact, it is a kind of imitation that produces the very notion of the original as an *effect* and consequence of the imitation itself (Newton 1979: 312-313). So this imitation as effect can only become an ideal to heterosexuality which is doomed to fail.

Judith Butler (1999) explains by saying that in its efforts to naturalize itself as the original, heterosexuality must be understood as a compulsive and compulsory repetition that can only produce the effect of its own originality; in other words, compulsory heterosexual identities, those ontologically consolidated phantasms of “man” and “woman,” are theatrically produced effects that posture as grounds, origins, the normative measure of the real (Butler 1999: 313). This brings me to defining a feminine man or a masculine woman as an imitation of the real thing. According to Butler (1999), if this is true, being out of the compulsory heterosexual gender construction means that a person who is “being” a lesbian only becomes an imitation of an imitation. Butler says that a copy of an origin which is itself the ground of all copies, but which is a copy of nothing (Butler 1999: 313). That is how

we can get to the conclusion that there is no original, there is no “real” and therefore, there is not an ideal that we can try to reach yet fail at that purpose.

Judith Butler (1999) also says that the very possibility of becoming a viable subject requires that a certain gender mime already underway. The “being” of the subject is no more self-identical than the “being” of any gender; in fact, coherent gender, achieved through an apparent repetition of the same, produces as its *effect* the illusion of a prior and volitional subject. In this sense, gender is not a performance that a prior subject elects to do, but gender is *performative* in the sense that it constitutes as an effect the very subject it appears to express. So Butler (1999) explains that this is a *compulsory* performance that acting out of line with heterosexual norm brings with ostracism, punishment, and violence, not to mention the transgressive pleasures produced by those very prohibitions (Butler 1999: 314-315).

When it comes to performance and gender being performative, performing during Gay Pride Istanbul can be explain as not only performing because there is a march and it is an event where I can show myself but it is also an event where me presenting myself, is another way of recognition.

When I spoke at the conference on homosexuality in 1989, I found myself telling my friends beforehand that I was off to Yale to be a lesbian, which of course didn't mean that I wasn't one before, but that somehow then, as I spoke in that context, I *was* one in some more thorough and totalizing way, at least for the time being. (Judith Butler 1993: 310)

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1999) explains gender as the effect of reiterated acting, a performance. What we see during Gay Pride Istanbul is a different sort of the performance of our genders. During Gay Pride Istanbul, our genders become not

only about ourselves but also about a representation of ourselves to show who we are. So the quote of Judith Butler (1993) that I give above is relevant. Because the way Judith Butler mentions that she hadn't been "not a lesbian" before also applies to LGBT people who come to Gay Pride Istanbul and their time for preparation for the event.

If I may tell from my personal experience, I don't necessarily change myself or act different during Gay Pride Istanbul. My gender does not change or I don't start being somebody else once Gay Pride Istanbul is over. But during the march, I can both "be" myself, and yet endeavor to be myself at the same time (1999: 310-311). Judith Butler (1993) says that once she goes to Yale to be a lesbian, she does not "play" at being a lesbian. Because playing at being one is not to say that she is not one "really"; rather, how and where she plays at being one is the way in which that "being" gets established, instituted, circulated, and confirmed (Butler 1999: 311). But what happens when a person who is a part of the audience on Istiklal during Gay Pride Istanbul, says that there is first a sex that is expressed through a gender and then through a sexuality? Butler simply says that may then be necessary fully to invert and displace that operation of thought. If a regime of sexuality mandates a compulsory performance of sex, then it may be only through that performance that the binary system of gender and the binary system of sex come to have intelligibility at all (Butler 1999: 318).

3. ACTIVIST BY DEFAULT

“Whether you are willing to do or not, being visible, coming out is a part of political struggle. In sum, you cannot be gay without being political. You can only be a person who sleeps with a same-gender person. Settling by being a person who sleeps with a same-gender person makes you armless and vulnerable against all kinds of suppression” (cogito, Murathan Mungan 2011: 432).

Gayle S. Rubin (1993) argues that it when we live with the possibility of unthinkable destruction, that people are likely to become dangerously crazy about sexuality. She further more argues that the realm of sexuality also has its own internal politics, inequities, and modes of oppression. As with other aspects of human behavior, the concrete institutional forms of sexuality at any given time and place are products of human activity. They are imbued with conflicts of interest and political maneuvering, both deliberate and incidental. In that sense, sex is always political (Rubin 1993: 3-4).

If sexual politics wasn't important Selma Aliye Kavaf wouldn't feel the need to express her discontent about LGBT community.¹ Or she wouldn't be one of the winners of Hormonlu Domates Ödülleri.² Unfortunately, progressive political analysis of sexuality is relatively underdeveloped. And this is even worse in Turkey.

For the bulk of the gay population, being out on the job is still impossible. In general, more important and higher paid the job, the less the society will tolerate erotic deviance. Rubin (1993) argues that like gender, sexuality is political. It is

¹ Selma Aliye Kavaf is a minister who was responsible for Women and Family Affairs. She has stated that she opposes homosexuality, in her own words: "I believe homosexuality is a biological disorder, a disease. It needs to be treated."

² Hormonlu Domates Ödülleri (Genetically Modified Tomato Awards) is an award night where the publically known people and organizations are nominated based on their homo/transphobic statements. The Awards take place during the Istanbul LGBT Pride Week.

organized into systems of power, which reward and encourage some individuals and activities, while punishing and suppressing others (Rubin 1993: 11).

Gay Pride Istanbul is especially important for LGBT people in Turkey, but can it also be said that it is the first or the most unique march when it comes to pride marches in general?

According to Abner Cohen (1993), it doesn't necessarily need to be. In Notting Hill London Carnival, the volatile nature of the celebration is not peculiar to the London Carnival. Cohen says that every major carnival is precariously poised between the affirmation of the established order and its rejection. This, in general, is borne out by histories of carnivals in Europe, the West Indies and South America. It is a fact which is hidden by the formal conception of carnival and by popular ideas about it (Cohen 1993:3). Cohen further argues that carnival, as a blueprint, is a season of festive popular events that are characterized by revelry, playfulness and overindulgence in eating, drinking and sex culminating in two or three days of massive street processions by masked³ individuals and groups, ecstatically playing loud and cheerful music or as ecstatically dancing to its accompaniment. People, whether they are from London or not, are attracted to it because it occasions release from the constraints and pressures of the social order, generates relationships of amity even among strangers and allows forbidden excesses. Through interaction in primary relationships and change of role in masquerading, individuals recreate their self-identity and so are enabled to resume their demanding social roles in ordinary daily life (Cohen 1993: 3). For Gay Pride Istanbul which is

³ The term 'masque' refers to the representation of a theatrical theme by a group of people and is thus different from the term 'mask' which refers to the covering of the face and/or head. In Trinidad and Notting Hill both have 'mas', though are distinguished clearly in the minds of the carnival participants. See D.J. Crowley, 'The Traditional Masques of Carnival', *Carib. Q.* Nos 3 and 4, 1956, pp. 194-223.

first held in 1993 takes its reference points and its strongest argument from Christopher Street Parade (pride-istanbul.blogspot 2012).

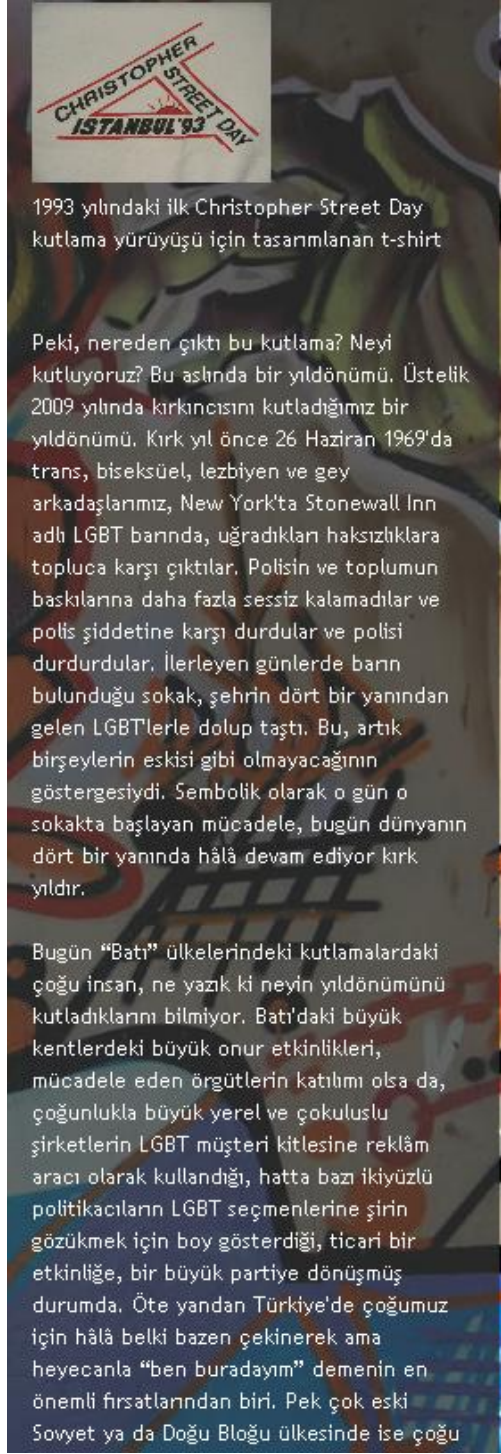


Figure 1: According to the main website of LGBT Pride Week Istanbul, The Pride Week Committee prepared a t-shirt that salutes the first Christopher Street Day Parade for the first Gay Pride Istanbul in 1993 (pride-istanbul.blogspot 2012).

Christopher Street Day Parade was first held after Stonewall riots which brings me to the as the spark that ignited a new gay liberation movement (Gross, and Woods 1999: 545). In the night of June 27th, 1969, a police raid took place at the Stonewall Inn, in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of New York City. That police raid was a breaking point for LGBTQ community in the neighborhood. The Stonewall Inn was an American bar that could existed only with bribery to the police. During those years, gatherings that included LGBT communities were illegal and for that, the police was raiding bars regularly to prevent those gatherings. That night, the people in the bar protested the police raid. The police had raided the bar, locked the doors, searched everyone and arrested some of the people that were “suspicious.” The ones that were let go didn’t leave the bar, but stayed and gathered. After a while, people started throwing pennies and beer bottles. When things completely got out of hand, more police force came and scattered the people. But this wasn’t the end of Stonewall riots (Rutledge 1992: 3).

The next day, LGBTQ community gathered next day and protested what happened the previous night. The day after, there were even more people and they were throwing slogans like “Out of the closets! Into the streets!” (D’Emilio: 2002). The crowd organized a march that took place on Christopher Street and this was the first pride march that ever happened. The people who were out at the streets, who were visible that day were gathering even more people and that march had started the LGBTQ political movement that I saw on Istiklal Avenue (cogito, Bayramoğlu 2011: 389).

At a first glance, Stonewall riots and Christopher Street Day Pride may seem irrelevant to Gay Pride Istanbul. But LGBT society, it does have a significant importance for their reasons of marching. Stonewall riots and Christopher Street Day parade are important, because it was the day that LGBT people fought back to the police. It was a sign of struggle for power and taking back what they have right to.



zaman saldırılara maruz kalan, bazen gerçekleştirilemeyen, ama denenmesi bile mücadelenin önemli bir ayağı olan bir etkinlik, onur etkinliği.

Figure 2: In LGBT Pride Week Istanbul's main website explains that Gay Pride Istanbul and LGBT Pride Week Istanbul take their origins from Stonewall raids and Christopher Street Day Parade (pride-istanbul.blogspot.com 2012).

But why was the first pride march happen in 1993 in Istanbul and not earlier?

Ali Erol (2011) explains this by saying that gay people in Turkey had two short-comings. First, there was a state of not being able to coming out of the closet and keeping to self. The other short-coming was the misfortune of the idea of being an organization. Being organized, because of social political period of Turkey, was labeled as a negative activity. Erol says that organizational sociology is a main topic in sociology. But because of September 12th⁴, the idea of organization was being tried to be out of not only political life but was also out academia and our minds. That is why including academy had to fall into the step of the political life (Erol 2011: 432- 433). And although the first Gay Pride Istanbul happened in 1993, the next Gay Pride Istanbul was not going to happen until 2003. Because after 1993, the Istanbul Governor's Office didn't give permission to have a pride march. Until 2003, Istanbul LGBT Pride Week were organized in closed locations. According to Hurriyet Daily News' interview with Rüzgar Gökçe Gözüm who is a volunteer in Lambdaistanbul and one of the organizers of Pride Week, the objective at first was to reach out to as many LGBT individuals as possible (Emrah Güler 2011).

In the first pride march in 2003 there weren't more than 30 people and it took place in Istiklal Avenue. Since then Gay Pride Istanbul had more and more people for Pride March. In 2011, Istanbul had the most people in the Pride March among other pride marches in East European countries ("İstiklal Caddesi 10 bin renk!" 2011).

And this was important for the cause of LGBT community. Because, to be fair, Pride Istanbul makes LGBT more visible. After all, I first heard about Gay Pride Istanbul, then I heard about Lambdaistanbul because of it. Before and after Gay

⁴ The 12 September 1980 Turkish coup d'état, headed by Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren, was the third coup d'état in the history of the Republic after the 1960 coup and the 1971 "Coup by Memorandum".(StarGazete.com)

Pride Istanbul, the people like Rüzgar Gökçe Gözümler encourages other people like me to participate more for the community. Before 2010, I was more of a closeted queer who couldn't care about a cause. In a way, Pride Istanbul opened my eyes and introduced me to Lambdaistanbul.

Gay Pride Istanbul is still an event that can take place with volunteer work.

Lambdaistanbul which is the organizer of the event is also a non-governmental organization and its members are the ones who volunteer for the Istanbul LGBT Pride Week. Gay Pride Istanbul is a collaborative effort among some private organizations and individuals supporting LGBT movement.

Although there are some private organizations that support Istanbul LGBT Pride Week, receiving sponsorship from major private companies and brands are not exactly on the table. It's about worrying about having a hegemonic power over the movement but it is also about losing the political power on the event. Or as Rüzgar Gökçe Gözümler says "Pride events (in Europe) are stripped of their political nature and transformed into 'carnivals.'" Because of those words, although LGBT movement is not an ethnic movement like in Abner Cohen's West Indians, it still has the some kind goals like Notting Hill London Carnival. Gay Pride Istanbul belongs to LGBT society and not to corporate brands and companies. When we look at the supporters of Gay Pride Istanbul, they are mostly non-governmental organizations just like Lambdaistanbul and Lambdaistanbul is the one that organizes and gathers all the help that Gay Pride Istanbul needs (see Appendix 1).

But what happens to the Turkish government when Gay Pride Istanbul could be even bigger and more influential in the city if it took governmental help?

Granted that it's difficult to organize Gay Pride Istanbul especially when it's become this big without financial aid from the authorities and not only from Istanbul Municipality. The bigger problem is about finding places to make Istanbul LGBT Pride Week happen. After all, not all panels can happen in Lambdaistanbul office and sometimes you will need larger spaces for more crowded events during the Week. According to Gözümlü, the places become all booked or they request unreasonable amounts of money which Istanbul LGBT Pride Week Committee clearly does not have. And not only that, there are those places that keep the Committee waiting until the last day, or change their minds at the last minute (Emrah Güler 2011).

But where does the Istanbul Municipality stand in Istanbul LGBT Pride Week?

The thing is that it does not. Although in Europe, the municipalities are supportive to LGBT organizations like Lambdaistanbul, the Istanbul Municipality does not even recognize the LGBT movement here. Because of that, Gay Istanbul Pride does not get support from the municipality or the government, and it is organized without permission of the municipality. But it doesn't mean that no individuals from the government are not part of Gay Pride Istanbul.

Just like the borough council of Chelsea and Kensington gave the enterprise their blessing and the mayor gave his patronage and planned to dignify the carnival by his personal attendance at its opening and at some of its functions (Cohen 1993: 12), politicians like Sebahat Tuncel and Sırrı Süreyya Önder who are independent deputies and Ertuğrul Kürkçü who is from BDP also joined to Pride Istanbul in 2011 ("İstiklal Caddesi 10 bin renk!" 2011). There were also speeches that

constitutional developments in Turkish law should be recognized by the government (Ibid. 2011).

Not having the blessing (or permit) from the Municipality, getting politicians from the opposite political parties in the parliament and getting used to the rejections from the artisans of Beyoğlu, Gay Pride Istanbul is a complicated carnival. But having problems or being a complex carnival is not only unique to Gay Pride Istanbul. Abner Cohen (1993) supports this claim by saying that a carnival, in fact, is always a much more complex phenomenon, characterized by contradictions between the serious and the frivolous, the expressive and the instrumental, the controlled and the uncontrolled, by themes of conflict as well as of consensus. Although it is essentially a cultural, artistic spectacle, saturated by music, dancing and drama, it is always political, intimately and dynamically related to the political order and to the struggle for power within it (Cohen 1993: 3 - 4).

4. NARRATING GAY PRIDE ISTANBUL THROUGH *MASQUERADE POLITICS*

Urban society is characterized by population density and the intense struggle for economic and political power between different interest groups. Often a group conducts that struggle in the form of a cultural movement, such as religious cult or the development of an ethnic identity. In such movements culture and politics are dynamically interconnected and study of them would shed light on both the structure of the cultural form and the political processes involved. (Cohen 1993: 1)

By saying ‘masquerade politics’ Abner Cohen (1993) refers to politics articulated in terms of non-political cultural forms such as religion, kinship, the arts, in his book

Masquerade Politics. According to Cohen (1993), the most preindustrial tribal societies the entire political system is embedded within such forms. But even in the advanced industrialized democratic societies the major part of the political system is similarly hidden. Cohen further argues that in the dynamic relations between cultural forms and political formations in some urban cultural movements, the politics was in fact built into the very structure of the celebration (Cohen 1993: IX). As I mentioned before, Cohen's *Masquerade Politics* is my main source to narrate Gay Pride Istanbul.

In *Masquerade Politics*, Abner Cohen (1993) tells the carnival stories of Notting Hill London Carnival and Renaissance Pleasure Faire. His main focus is on Notting Hill London Carnival to explain that dynamic relations between cultural forms and political formations in some urban cultural movements. Notting Hill London Carnival was first held in 1966 in the form of a revived traditional English fair. Half of the attendees were West Indians and after a few years, it became exclusively West Indian in arts, music and leadership.

The carnival site of Notting Hill London Carnival is in Notting Hill where Abner Cohen explains as "in the heart of metropolis" (Cohen 1993: 2) Notting Hill as a place, also held a special symbolic significance for the West Indians who regarded it as the nearest thing they had to a liberated territory (Cohen 1993: 3). For Gay Pride Istanbul is held in Beyoğlu, Taksim, it cannot exactly be said that Beyoğlu is a place that is nearest thing to a liberated territory. But Taksim's significance comes from its diversity. Istiklal Avenue in particular is one of the most popular places when it comes to marching in Istanbul if not in Turkey (WorldNomads.com 2011).

4.1. Notting Hill London Carnival and Gay Pride Istanbul Preparations

Abner Cohen (1993) explains that Notting Hill Carnival is a two-day celebration which is also the culmination of a whole year activities by various music and masquerading groups who, together with their supporters and followers, have, over the years, become permanent cliques of friends who interact in primary relationships that are not necessarily connected with the carnival (Cohen 1993: 4 - 5). For Gay Pride Istanbul, the preparations usually begins in February by building Istanbul LGBT Pride Week Committee (pride-istanbul.blogspot 2012). The preparations for Gay Pride Istanbul usually starts with finding ideas for seminars, panels, movie screenings and parties. The preparations also include the search for places that will host the events above. A week before Istanbul LGBT Pride Week, the committee releases the theme of the week and the calendar. But before the release, the updates and looking for volunteers to work for the week are announces on [lambdaistanbul's](http://lambdaistanbul.org) and the Committee's own blogspot page (lambdaistanbul.org, and pride-istanbul.blogspot). Once Istanbul LGBT Pride Week arrives, people who were interested with the week can join the events that they want to join. Just like West Indians in London, Pride Week Committee organizes the events according to their culture.

According West Indians in London regard carnival as a significant part, as well as an expression, of their culture in Britain. Its forms of music, dance, song, calypso poetry, masquerading dramas, the food sold in it, the sound systems pervading it – all these are West Indian through and through. There was a conscious concern about and preoccupation with the development of an exclusively West Indian culture

(Cohen 1993: 6) But what about LGBT culture? Can we say that there is a specific LGBT culture? According to Larry Gross and James D. Woods (1999) , there might be. In their article, *Being Gay in American Media and Society*, Gross and Woods (1999) identify LGBT people as a minority and therefore they have their own kind of minority identity. But unlike the West Indian identity, sexual minorities differ from “traditional” minorities even in several significant respects. In many ways they have more in common with “fringe” political, religious, or ideological groups. Like other social groups defined by forbidden thoughts or deeds, we are rarely born into minority communities or families in which parents or siblings share our minority status. Rather, lesbians and gay men are self-identifying minority and rarely recognize or announce our status before adolescence. Up until that point society simply presumes us to be heterosexual and treats them as such (Gross, and Woods 1999: 4). So coming out of the closet and being in the closet at the same time may affect one’s identity and as a LGBT society, the events that are organized are related to that culture. Including using the special lingo while preparing banners, programme contents and titles (Kyuchukov, and Bakker: 1999; also see prideistanbul.org).

Abner Cohen (1993) also argues that there is a unity representing a dominant British culture during the carnival. True that West Indian culture is represented in Notting Hill London Carnival. But Cohen also point that the mas bands and such appears within an unmistakably British – if not English – cultural framework (Cohen 1993: 19). In Gay Pride Istanbul, being a part of LGBT is one common ground for the people who attend to Istanbul LGBT Pride Week. But it is also about being Turkish and where Istanbul, in some cases, Turkey stands about LGBT and LGBT rights (prideistanbul.org 2012; also see Appendix 2).

In the early years of Notting Hill London Carnival had a common problem: bad housing conditions, extortionate rents and overcrowding. The working-class solidarity between immigrants and natives both struggling with the local authorities over housing, schools, and neighbourhood amenities (Cohen 1993: 20). According to Abner Cohen (1999), the carnival was a was an expression, as well as an instrument of that solidarity. I do think that Gay Pride Istanbul as a carnival is still at this stage. Gay Pride Istanbul still is a way of expression for LGBT people in Turkey to make their problems heard.

4.2. Lambdaistanbul and the Mangrove

During the evolution of Notting Hill London Carnival, The Mangrove was first a local restaurant then it turned into an institution for community organization, resistance and struggle. It became a dominant political symbol. Its role in the organization and development of the Notting Hill Carnival over the following two decades was crucial. It served as a centre where carnival organizers, musicians and artists met (Cohen 1993: 23). For Gay Pride Istanbul, this place was the office of Lambdaistanbul and Lambdaistanbul in general. Perhaps it's an LGBT organization in Istanbul, the preparations for Istanbul LGBT Pride Week and Gay Pride Istanbul are operated from Lambdaistanbul. In my opinion, this is not the only reason. Lambdaistanbul is the first LGBT organization in Turkey that operated the first Gay Pride Istanbul in 1993 (Lambdaistanbul.org 2012).

Although Lambdaistanbul is the organization that operates Gay Pride Istanbul. But when it comes to ownership, we cannot exactly say that it holds the ownership of Gay Pride Istanbul. Abner Cohen (1993) discusses the question of “ownership” and he says that it first led to the question of origin, of who had started the carnival. Until about the middle of the 1980s, Mrs. Laslett had been acknowledged as the founder, the initiator, the first organizer of the carnival. The memory had still been alive in the minds of those who had lived in the area at the time, and Mrs. Laslett herself was still alive and, although she was crippled with multiple sclerosis, continued to attend the celebration in a wheelchair. The masses of young carnival makers were in no doubt, though, that it was the West Indians who had started it. Latterly even first generation West Indians changed their view. They suddenly discovered that it had been a West Indian woman, Claudia Jones, who had somehow started the carnival which was ironic because it means that even the most passionate defenders about the origin can be easily mistaken (Cohen 1993: 76). But the origin for the ownership may not matter according to Cohen.

Abner Cohen argues that one seemingly reasonable answer to the question of ownership is that the carnival belongs to the carnival makers, i.e. to the people who attend the celebration. This argument would be valid if everyone who attended were active participants or performers. Because in the traditional sense of the concept all those who attended were supposed to play mas just like the band in Gay Pride Istanbul. Just like in the Notting Hill Carnival, though, the overwhelming majority of those who attended are not a part of the band. Cohen furthermore argues that a more popular answer is that the carnival belongs to the community, and this seems to be the formulation given in the consultants’ report. But he also says that It is a vague statement, however, it can mean different things: the Notting Hill black

community, or the Notting Hill black and white community, or the black community in London or the black community in the whole of Britain (Cohen 1993: 77-78). And for Gay Pride Istanbul, it can mean Turkish LGBT people, LGBT society who are a part of LGBT organizations in Turkey or LGBT society in Turkey considering people from other cities in Turkey attend to Gay Pride Istanbul.

4.3. The Place of Art and Music in Gay Pride Istanbul

Abner Cohen (1993) says that a real masquerade is a group activity, which is planned and carefully organized and choreographed by artists. The group thus formed, referred to as a ‘mas band’ or ‘costume band’, gathers together regularly for several months to prepare for their appearance and performance on the carnival days. Each masquerader is assigned a position or section within gala, in which their ‘King’ and ‘Queen’ take part in a competition for the coveted titles of ‘Queen of the Bands’ and ‘King of the Bands’ (Cohen 1993: 100-101). In case of Gay Pride Istanbul, there are music bands that mainly include drums. One of these music bands becomes the end part of the marching. There is also a second drums band that goes before the huge pride flag at the first, beginning of the march. These two bands are led and directed by two different people. They play independent from each other during the march on Istiklal, but at the end of the marching in Tünel, they both come to the same place and start playing together. Cohen (1993) points out that the mas bands provide colour, glitter, brilliance and wonder to the carnival makers. They excite the imagination by their ‘meanings’. Mas making is an art form in its own right that involves knowledge, skills, imagination and creativity (Cohen 1993:

100-101). In Gay Pride Istanbul, the drums, and the people who are the drummers dress up for the occasion and their music has the sense of a tribal unity that celebrates the march and provokes the crowd that follows the march. Just like Cohen says about the Kings and Queens of bands are like the masks of West Africa, whose exaggerated features were not the result of ‘primitive’ artistry or irrational design but were created as a thought-provoking image, the bands motivates the crowd to dance and interests the other people who are the watchers on Istiklal Avenue (Cohen 1993: 103).

4.4. “Even Though We’re Queer, Get Used to It. We’re Here”⁵ The Politics of Joking Relationships on Gay Pride Istanbul and Notting Hill London Carnival

For Abner Cohen (1993), culture and politics are dynamically related in the development and structure of the carnival, but the event, like all other symbolic forms, is not reducible to either. It is a multivocal form, an ambiguous unity of political and cultural significance, combining the rational and the non-rational, the conscious and the non-conscious (Cohen 1993: 120). One thing that applies to both Gay Pride Istanbul and Notting Hill London Carnival was the conceiving the carnival as a kind of a joking relationship characterized by both alliance and enmity at one and the same time. Cohen (1993) argues that a carnival’s potentialities for fostering criticism, protest, resistance, subversion and violence are equally great; and at the best of times the celebration is poised between compliance and

⁵ “Velev ki ibneyiz, alışın her yerdeyiz.” was one of the slogans that were repeated quite often during Gay Pride Istanbul

subversion. Carnival's possibilities for serving as an instrument for political opposition are manifold. According to Cohen (1993), what should be emphasized is that conflict in carnivals is not accidental in the sense of only being an intrusion into an otherwise peaceful, politically neutral cultural form and conflict is part of the very essence of the celebration. It is built into its very structure (Cohen 1993: 131).

Abner Cohen (1993) also argues that in democratic regimes, secular legal procedures are available for the individual to complain, criticize and bring the authorities to court. In many societies ritual is used to mystify and regularly to resolve the conflict. When no such arrangements are institutionalized men may resort to violence against the existing regime, staging a rebellion or revolution. Carnival is another cultural mechanism staged in some societies as a ceremonial rebellion to alleviate this tension. So during Gay Pride Istanbul, hearing criticisms on Selma Aliye Kavaf is not unexpected. It also means that when a person throws a slogan about LGBT expansion in Turkish Constitution, that person is there to express their problems as much as they are there to celebrate their culture. Cohen (1993) confirms that carnival is thus politics masquerading behind cultural forms. When it is true to its form, combining conflict with alliances, 'pure culture' and 'pure politics' are melted down into a transcendental aesthetic unity (Cohen 1993: 132).

5. WHY SO UNSERIOUS?

Where does Gay Pride Istanbul? It's surely not the first march in Taksim or the first pride march in the world? Does it have to be so different from other pride marches in the world? If so, is it different and how come?

In an episode of *Queer as Folk* (2000), there was a pride march episode and there were also an episode where the lead character, Brian Kinney, ruined a politician's career and saved LGBT community's rights with advertisements that he prepared and financed. At the end of both episodes, I had the cathartic thoughts and feelings about pride march and defending my political rights to survive. So, when I started reading about the pride marches in Europe and the U.S., I was disappointed. What had happened to the Stonewall riots? There was a fight over the rights to marry your same-sex partner in the United States, but my friends in the US were going to the Castro just to get hammered during Pride March. There was a march named after Christophe Street and the biggest LGBT event in Europe, yet everyone seemed so blasé about it. What had happened to the political message of pride marches? Now, they all looked like a touristic event with so many festivities, yet no political concern to carry with them. As Rüzgar Gökçe Gözümlü said, they were carnivals yet there was no political message in them.

In this chapter, I argue that this has to do with being a society of the spectacle that Guy Debord wrote about in his book, *The Society of the Spectacle* and I also confess that some elements of being the society of the spectacle also find their own place in Gay Pride Istanbul.

Given the expanse and variety of events that are identified as carnival, festival, and fest, and the near impossibility of distinction as shown and argued above, it is more convenient, and appropriate, to use these terms interchangeably (as is done in practice). More to the point, spectacle is better fit as a generic umbrella name to identify the totality of events variously named carnival, festival, and fest (Soysal 2005: 3).

Levent Soysal (2005), argues in *The City Spectacle*, spectacle is a better fit to name all of the elements that Gay Pride Istanbul contain itself. Gay Pride Istanbul is a march like the march Christophe Street when it first happened, it is also the carnival that it happened in Notting Hill. It may become The Christophe Street Day Parade in Europe in the future. But, it is an event that has different dynamics and using the word “spectacle” is inevitable.

Guy Debord (1995) argues that the spectacle appears at once as society itself, as a part of society and as a means of unification. As a part of society, it is that sector where all attention, all consciousness, converges (Debord 1992: 12). I believe that this applies to pride marches in every city. Because during pride marches, everything that is related LGBT finds their own place in the march. That is why, I think that naming pride marches as “queer spectacle” can be accurate for a pride march. Especially if that march is happening in Istanbul. Because everything that looks out of ordinary, anything that does not fit to the heterosexual normativity becomes the center of attention during Gay Pride Istanbul. There is not only sense of freedom for LGBT society but there is a sense of feeling queer for non-LGBT people in Istiklal Avenue that day.

As Debord (1992) says that becomes a world view transformed into an objective force (Ibid.). Also reality erupts within the spectacle, and the spectacle becomes real. LGBT society may not be always like the way it is during Gay Pride Istanbul but the other people on the street can be oblivious to that. This only strengthens the queer feeling in Istiklal and this reciprocal alienation is the essence and underpinning of society as it exists.

Once this happens, there is no choice but to recognise and “see” the pride march in Istiklal Avenue. You may be against it like the middle-aged man that got into an argument with a girl in 2011 Gay Pride Istanbul and you can even throw beer to the girl’s face. But all you get will be a huge group of people who stops you and the girl who tells you to “Fuck off! Istiklal belongs to us today!” (Fieldnotes: 2011)

The girl’s annoyance to the man and people’s joy after the incident can only explain with the spectacle’s enormous positivity. According to Debord (1995), the spectacle says “Everything that appears is good; whatever is good will appear.” (Debord 1995: 15) When the people in the march say “Don’t stop, yell, gays are everywhere!”, they also say that it is alright to become of LGBT society and LGBT movement. It’s also one of the things that is being emphasized every year: It’s alright to be queer, you’re not alone and today we are here. We’re one person less if you’re not with us.

Although I have to give where credit is due. Just like Debord (1995) says, I know that I put Gay Pride Istanbul on a philosophical spin and I also know that I’m not only one who does that. Debord argues that the spectacle reposes on an incessant deployment of the very technical rationality to which that philosophical tradition gave rise. So far from realizing philosophy, the spectacle philosophizes reality, and

turns the material life of everyone into a universe of speculation (Debord 1995: 17). Also when I do that, I put myself separate from the rest of the society and claim that I *am* separate from the rest of the society. Although I don't stand alone and I become a part of LGBT society, I confess that Debord is right about me and LGBT society that day. The spectacle unites what is separate, but it but it unites it only *in its separateness* (Debord 1995: 22).

Like Istiklal Avenue that day, Gay Pride Istanbul has its own diversities and the only thing that unites them is the sense of feeling “queer” in their daily lives. When Gay Pride Istanbul walks down Istiklal together, it is aware that it's different within itself just like LGBT society's place in the city, yet it is united when walking together. Just like LGBT society is a part of Istanbul whether it's recognized or not. But the question that I avoided asking during Gay Pride Istanbul has to be asked on this paper: “How is Pride Istanbul different than any other march in Istiklal Avenue?” After all, you can see a march almost every day in Istiklal Avenue. As a matter of fact, just before the pride march started, another march had ended in Istiklal in 2010. So how is Gay Pride Istanbul any more important than the other march that happened that day?

Debord asks this question by referring to Edgar Allan Poe's *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841):

But Edgar Allan Poe had already discovered the real path to truth, in a well-known argument in ‘The Murders in the Rue Morgue’:

It appears to me that this mystery is considered insoluble, for the very reason which should cause it to be regarded as easy of solution – I mean for the *outré* character of its features.... In investigations such as we are now pursuing, it should not be so much asked ‘what has occurred’, as ‘what has occurred that has never occurred before’ (Debord 1992:63).

Levent Soysal (2005) says that the city itself emulates spectacle and competes with the spectacular performances taking place on its terrain. That is why we see marches and other kinds of festivities in Istanbul every day. Soysal (2005) also argues that carnival is everywhere. And although he writes about Berlin in his article, he says that what's true for Berlin is true for most metropolitan centers such as Paris, Rotterdam, London, New York, and Istanbul. (Soysal 2005: 9).

And it's also true that Gay Pride Istanbul has familiar elements from the pride marches in Europe. Levent Soysal (2005) explains this with carnival being is neither local nor particular. According to Soysal (2005), they borrow from each other, they mimic each other, and they approximate each other. Unlike performative genres that come to world attention at the time of nation building, the carnivals of today attract attention, as they resemble other events of their kind in content and form (Ibid.). This applies to Gay Pride Istanbul because it does have bands like in Notting Hill, or it does have the closing party that every pride march in Europe has. Even more, Gay Pride Istanbul also has its own drag queens, dykes on bikes, climbing to the poles and tourists that take photo of everything that happens that day.

But what's important about it that it's how you use the mimicry during the march. In Gay Pride Istanbul, these happenings don't happen because every pride march in Europe has it. It's more about attracting attention to give its message. It's more of a political claim than entertainment. It doesn't mean that entertainment cannot be political but when a crossdresser puts on their outfit, it's because their outfit claims something. With that outfit, he/she says "I am here. If you don't recognise me in a daily life, then you will see me today." This message gives the strength to Gay

Pride Istanbul and it does have its own feeling of rebellion and joy. Also because when someone decides to give their message with their outfit, they also use their own will, identity and creativity to present their identity. That is why a pride march becomes not only rebellious or a joyful event, but also an event that has its own unique face in Taksim.

So Gay Pride Istanbul matters because I am a part of LGBT society and part of Gay Pride Istanbul. And it's more important than the march before Gay Parade Istanbul because I am the one who cares about it. I am part of LGBT society, I am one of the objects of that society and they're my rights that I'm defending. Also it's because it's happening in Istanbul, the city that I've lived in and it's different just by being on the street of Taksim on that day. Lastly, it's not about having the biggest march that influences every single person that was a witness to it, but it's about claiming your own space. It's about saying that LGBT society is also a part of the community and it matters to the city.

Although Levent Soysal (2005) says that the push for spectacular increasingly becomes the norm in worlds as presumably diverse as media, technology, commerce, politics, everyday life, and becomes just a series of events that had turned typical or invisible in the city, I argue that this necessarily should be a reason to be dispirited about it. As Gabrielle Le Roux said in Gay Pride Istanbul 2010, LGBT society needs a place to give its message and look for its rights.⁶

⁶ Gabrielle Le Roux is an artist, storyteller and feminist activist who creates travelling exhibitions of portraits drawn from life accompanied by first person narratives around different social issues. (transonurluveturkiyeli.tumblr, 2011)

6. CONCLUSION

Abner Cohen (1993) argues that a cultural movement is ipso facto also a political movement. Carnival may appear to be a only cultural performance, but Cohen (1993) also argues that it is inevitably political from the start. Because carnival as a celebration of release from the constraints of the social order it would attract those who are under endless pressure, the dispossessed and the oppressed. A carnival as a cultural movement evolves, it generates overlapping inter-personal networks of amity among the people actively involved in it and thus infuses the cultural form with moral imperatives, thereby consolidating and strengthening its central force (Cohen 1993: 154).

Gay Pride Istanbul still carries the elements of the early stages of Notting Hill London Carnival. Although LGBT politics and identities are barely recognized in Turkey, the little recognition that it gets is partly Gay Pride Istanbul and its success year by year. During my participation for the last three years of Gay Pride Istanbul, the crowd has been changing every year. The first time that I attended was a coincidental attendance. I wasn't there because of a thesis that I needed to write and I didn't have the knowledge that I have now. But in other two years, I got a chance to observe the crowd, non-governmental organizations's stance during the march and how it has changed with years. The change was not only because the crowd has gotten bigger. It was also because the themes of each march was different and they were relevant to the problems of LGBT society in Turkey.

Choosing Abner Cohen's *Masquerade Politics* (1993) to shape my argument was, sadly, not a deliberate choice in the beginning. But once I read the book, I knew that

Gay Pride Istanbul was fitting to the description of carnival that Abner Cohen (1993) brilliantly described. So I aimed to narrate Gay Pride Istanbul by *Masquerade Politics*.

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8. APPENDIXES

8.1. Appendix 1: The supporters of Pride Istanbul:

Bahçeşehir University Gri (Gender roles and identities)

Bilkent University Think Colorful! LGBTQ Students' Society

Bilgi Gökkuşuğu LGBT Students' Society

Hebûn LGBT Diyarbakır Organization

İLLET İstanbul anti-authoritarian pleasure and

resistance network of feminist women, trans, queer

İstanbul LGBT Solidarity Association

İstanbul Technical University Cins Arı LGBT Students Sc.

İstanbul University Radar LGBT Students' Society

Kadın Kapısı (Women's Door)

Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity As.

LİSTAG – İstanbul Group of Families of LGBTs

İBÜnyta Boğaziçi University LGBT Society

MorEl (Purple Hand) Eskişehir LGBT Organization

METU LGBT Solidarity

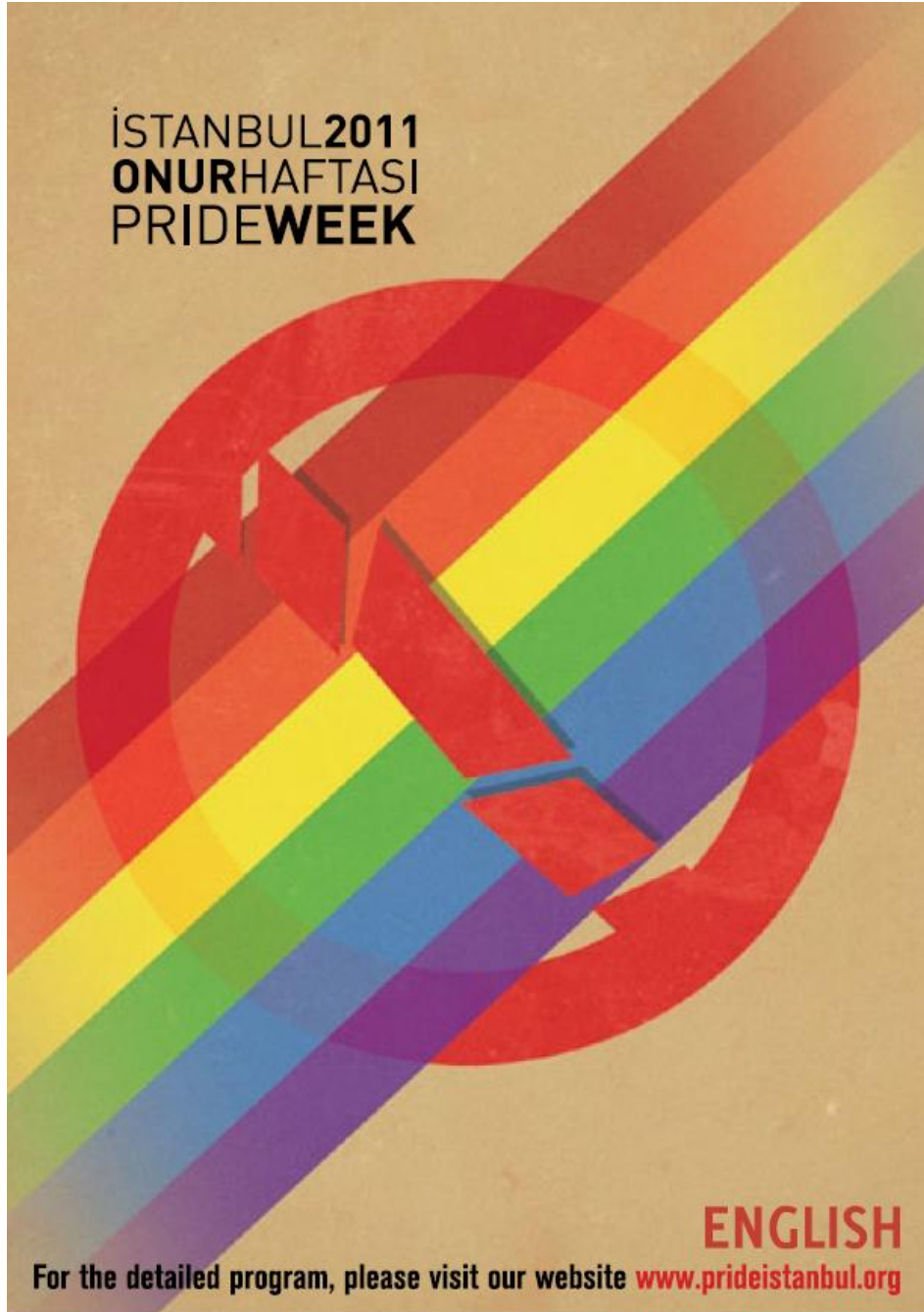
Pembe Hayat (Pink Life) LGBT Solidarity Association

Sabancı University Gender Club

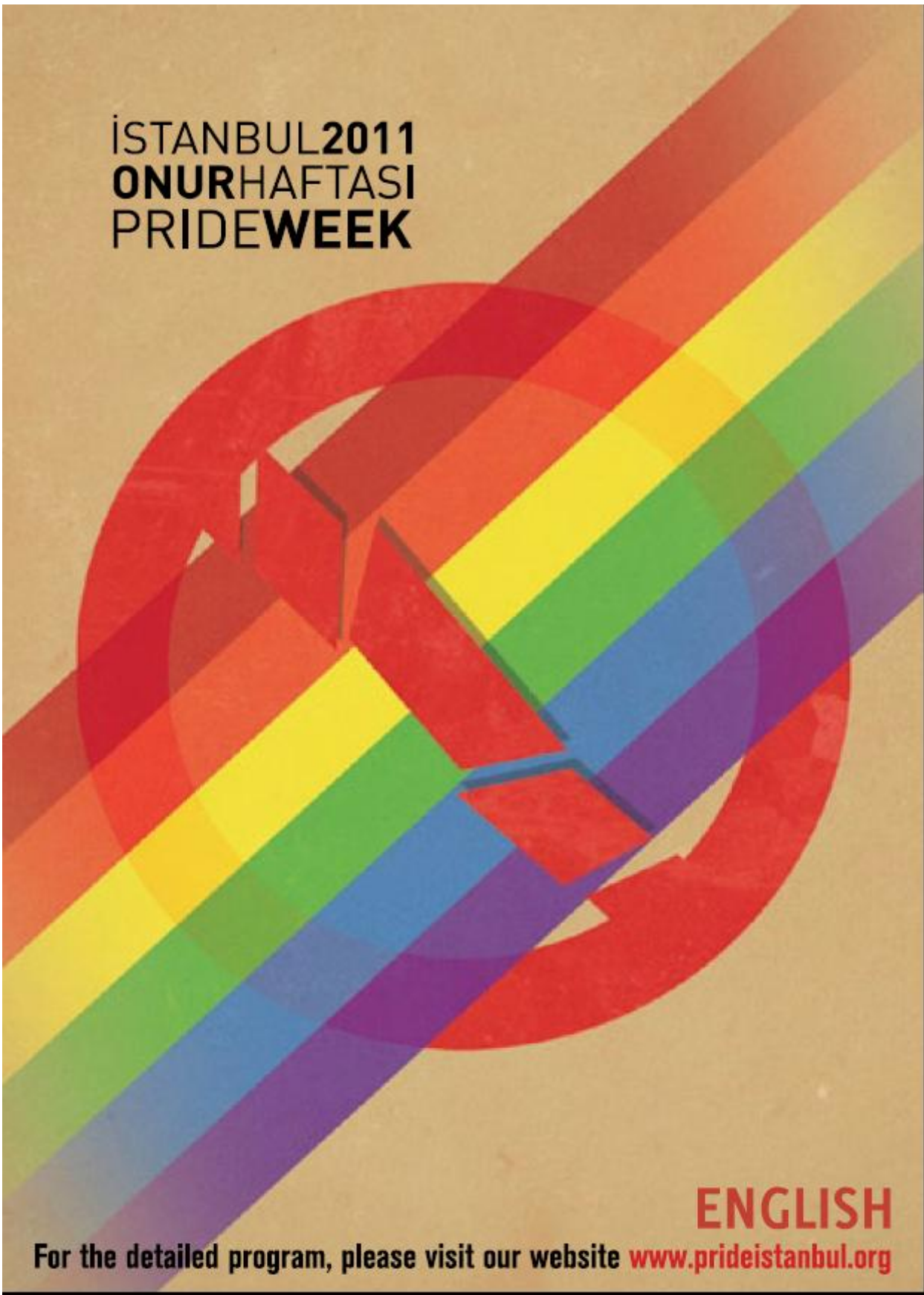
Siyah Pembe Üçgen (Black Pink Triangle) İzmir LGBT As.

Voltrans Trans Men's Initiative (prideistanbul.org, 2011)

8.2. Appendix 2: Istanbul LGBT Pride Week 2011 Programme in English:



**İSTANBUL 2011
ONURHAFTASI
PRIDEWEEK**



ENGLISH

For the detailed program, please visit our website www.prideistanbul.org

1

June 20th, Monday

**Workshop: Hysterical, Filthy and Sick:
Taboo of Menstruation**

**in Turkish only!*

Workshop

1 pm – 3 pm / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

** This workshop is intended for trans people and women*

**Panel: The Forbidden Word
in the Laws:LGBT**

**in Turkish only!*

Panel

4 pm – 6 pm / Cezayir Building – The Big Hall

Workshop: Kathak Dance - I.

Workshop

6.30 pm – 8 pm / Address: Yüksek Kaldırım st. Şimşek Han N.16/7

** Participation limited to 12 persons.
Registration for the workshop: goo@riseup.net*

Lubunya (Queer) Dinner

Meeting

8 - 11 pm / Anadolu Sokak (The street that Amargi Cafe is on)

2

June 21st, Tuesday

Workshop: Body

Workshop

1 pm – 4 pm / Çıplak Ayaklar Dance Studio

** the workshop is for women and trans people only*

Panel: Approaching our Taboos “from Behind”

Panel

4 pm – 6 pm / Cezayir Building – The Big Hall

Workshop: Kathak Dance - II.

Workshop

6.30 pm – 7.30 pm / Address: Yüksek Kaldırım st. Şimşek Han N.16/7

Panel: LGBT Politics in Sister Movements

**in Turkish only!*

Panel

7 pm – 9 pm / Cezayir Building – The Big Hall

“Hormone-fed Tomato” Awards Night

**in Turkish only!*

Awards Night

9.30 pm – 2 am / Istanbul Live



3

June 22nd, Wednesday

Picnic and the Taboo Game

**in Turkish only!*

Meeting

2 pm – 4 pm / Taksim Gezi Park

Film Screening: Taboo

Film Screening

5 pm – 6 pm / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

Workshop: Kathak Dance - III.

Workshop

6.30 pm – 8 pm / Address: Yüksek Kaldırım st. Şimşek Han N.16/7

Film Screening: IXE

Film Screening

7 pm – 9 pm / Beyoğlu Yeşil Ev

** The room is for 50 people.*

June 23rd, Thursday

**Panel: “Equality Right Now! –
Stop Discrimination against
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual
Individuals in Turkey”**

Panel

**in Turkish only!*

12 pm – 1.30 pm / Cezayir Building – The Big Hall

4

**Film Screening / Discussion:
Films from the First Ever
London Sex Worker Film Festival**

Film Screening

3 pm – 5 pm / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

English /w Turkish subtitles.

There will be a discussion with activists from Sex Work Europe after the film.

Workshop: Queer Tango

Workshop

3 pm – 6.30 pm / Çatı Dance Studio

** The workshop is limited to 30 persons.*

For registration: info@prideistanbul.org

**Anti (Homophobia Transphobia)
Student Meeting**

**in Turkish only!*

Meeting

6 pm – 8 pm / Beks Beyoğlu

Film Screening / Workshop: Porn

Film Screening

"138" 20.30 – 21.30 / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

June 24th, Friday

Forum: LGBT Taboos in the Media

**in Turkish only!*

Forum

1.30 pm – 3.30 pm / Mimar Sinan University Video Conference Hall, Fındıklı

5

Panel: Revolution Movements in North Africa and Middle East: Women and LGBTs

Panel

4 pm – 6 pm / Mimar Sinan University Video Conference Hall, Fındıklı

Film Screening / Discussion: 365 without 377

Film Screening

7 pm – 8.30 pm / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

English /w Turkish subtitles

There will be a discussion after the film with the participation of the director.

PINCET Concert / Party: Friday Mania / "Night of Frenzied Costumes!"

Party / Concert

10 pm – 4 pm / Radio Live

June 25th, Saturday

Panel: Taboos in the Family

Panel

2 pm – 4 pm / İkinci Kat

Workshop: Queer Tango

Workshop

4 pm – 7 pm / Dans Meeting

Panel: City and Taboos

Panel

**in Turkish only!*

4.30 pm – 6.30 pm / Yeşilçam Sokak

Preparation for the March

Meeting

7 pm – 9 pm / Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center

Sexy Bingo

Special Event

10 pm – 4 am / Radio Live

6

June 26th, Sunday

Workshop: Queer Tango

Workshop

1 pm – 4.30 pm / Çatı Dance Studio

Workshop: Modified Costumes

Workshop

3 pm – 4.30 pm

Pride March

Pride March

5 pm – Meeting Place: Taksim Tram Stop



Party: Farewell Gullüm

Party

9 pm – 4 am / Mute

There will be consecutive interpretation at these events

Venues

Amargi Cafe Katip Mustafa Çelebi Mah. Tel St. No:16 Beyoğlu

BEKS – Association for Sociology of Memory and Culture - İstiklal Avenue, Damşman Geçidi Han Çıkmazı Street No:1 Beyoğlu

Beyoğlu Yeşil Ev - İstiklal Avenue, Balo Street, 21/1 Beyoğlu
Phone: 0212 244 77 80

Cezayir Building - Hayriye Avenue No:12 Galatasaray (Behind Galatasaray High School, Cezayir Street – next to Fransız Sokağı (The French Street))

Çıplak Ayaklar Dance Studio - Firuzağa Mah. Çukurcuma St. No: 6/3 Beyoğlu

Çatı Dance Studio - İstiklal Avenue, Sadri Alışık Street, No:33 Blok B, Apt. no: 4 Beyoğlu

Dans Meeting - Şahkulu Mh., Serdar-ı Ekrem St., No:5, 4th Floor, Galata

İkinci Kat - İstiklal Ave. Olivio Dead-end, Olivio Building, 2nd Floor (On the street that is on the right-hand side of Barcelona Pastry Shop opposite Mısır Apartmanı (Building))

İstanbul Live - Hüseyin Ağa Mahallesi, Atıf Yılmaz Street (Ağa Camii (Mosque) Street) No:17, 3rd Floor, Beyoğlu
<http://istanbulliveperformance.com/contact>

Lambdaistanbul Cultural Center - Katip Çelebi Mah., Tel St. 28/6, Top Floor, Beyoğlu

Mimar Sinan University Video Conference Hall - Mimar Sinan Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar) University, Faculty of Architecture Video-conference hall, Fındıklı Campus

Mute - Katip Mustafa Çelebi Mah. Tel Street, No:9 (At the end of Büyükparmakkapı Street, next to the former Jazz Stop)

Radio Live - İstiklal Ave. İmam Adnan St., No:8 2nd Floor (above Yeşilçam Movie Theater), Beyoğlu

Supporting LGBT organizations:



LAMBDAİSTANBUL
LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği

Bahçeşehir University Gri (Gender roles and identities)
Bilkent University Think Colorful! LGBTQ Students' Society
Bilgi Cökkuşuğu LGBT Students' Society
Hebûn LGBT Diyarbakır Organization
İLLET İstanbul anti-authoritarian pleasure and resistance network of feminist women, trans, queer
İstanbul LGBT Solidarity Association
İstanbul Technical University Cins Arı LGBT Students Sc.
İstanbul University Radar LGBT Students' Society
Kadın Kapısı (Women's Door)
Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity As.
LİSTAG – İstanbul Group of Families of LGBTs
İuBÜnya Boğaziçi University LGBT Society
MorEl (Purple Hand) Eskişehir LGBT Organization
METU LGBT Solidarity
Pembe Hayat (Pink Life) LGBT Solidarity Association
Sabancı University Gender Club
Siyah Pembe Üçgen (Black Pink Triangle) İzmir LGBT As.
Voltrans Trans Men's Initiative

Contributing establishments and organizations:

Amnesty International
Open Society Foundation
Anadolu Kültür
Rattenbar

Contributing venues:

Anadolu Kültür
Cezayir Building
BEKS – Association for Sociology of Memory and Culture
Beyoğlu Yeşil Ev (The Green House)
Çatı Dance Studio
Çıplak Ayaklar Dance Company
Dans Meeting
İkinci Kat
Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

8.3. Appendix 3: Photography from Gay Pride Istanbul 2010, 2011, 2012

2010







2011





2012





