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MASCULINITIES
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Content

INTRODUCTION

Please welcome the 13th issue of the *Masculinities Journal* prepared at the times of COVID-19 pandemic that the world is facing. The first COVID case in Turkey has been detected on March 10th, 2020 and we all started a "new normal" in which the social, political, physical, personal, and interpersonal lives are deconstructed through the new health practices. Our "new normals" have brought social and relational troubles in addition to economic and health-related ones. Due to stay-at-home restrictions, men's violence against women has increased around the world, women's home-based labour is getting more and more exhausting. Also, LGBTQ+ people face augmented vulnerabilities during the pandemic due to the already existing prejudice and discrimination, the inability of accessing health care and de-prioritization of the LGBTQ+ people for the "urgent" cases in health care systems, the restriction of access to hormonal treatments for trans people, a risk for compromised immune systems of people living with HIV/AIDS, or the psychological problems that unsupportive family-environment of LGBTQ+ people during the lockdown. However, even in this social and health emergency context, we did not want to miss an opportunity to celebrate pride month, and we do so with rainbow colours on our cover page!

Currently in the stay-at-home days, we keep our hope alive. We try to unveil the dominance of masculinities by supporting our scholars to enrich the scope of the readers in critical studies of men and masculinities. It is our pleasure to present stimulating research from different sites of the world. In that sense, the 13th issue of the *Masculinities Journal* welcomes the readers with three research articles, one research in progress, one symposium review and one book review. The research in the current issue covers diverse topics related to

masculinities such as masculinities at war and the 68-generation in Turkey, critical exploration of the challenges that men face as feminist allies, masculinities in safe sex education, the role of troubling times in the masculinities research, and men's experiences at war

The current issue starts with Çağlar Çetin-Ayşe's article "Challenges Facing Men in Questioning Masculinities: A Critique of Men's Organizing as Feminist Allies in Turkey". In their article, Çetin-Ayşe examines the processes of how men questioning gender-inequality negotiate with their privilege and how they take a step forward to diminish gender-inequality in Turkey. Thus, Çetin-Ayşe selectively chooses men's organizations for gender equality to represent views and struggles/confrontations of both trans and cisgender men in Turkey. Eventually, Çetin-Ayşe fruitfully presents the tension between men's groups and feminist groups, the role of internalized sexism on this tension, and how they regulate their pro-feminist (as the author frame) experience within a social environment which is still privileged for them.

In their article titled as "Life, Liberty, & the Pursuit of Happiness: The Question of Race and National Belonging in Safer Sex Education", Ivan Bujan investigates the homonationalist safer sex campaigns among gay men in the USA. Bujan questions the function of (so-called) multiculturalism with the inclusion of Black gay men in the 1990's campaigns. Bujan uses an archival methodology to deeply examine and compare the 90s political, social, and cultural environment holistically. By doing so, Bujan sees the visual materials as performances of gender and political cultures of the era.

Following this, Demet Lüküslü sheds light onto discourse behind the political movement in the 1960s and the '68 generation of Turkey and uses "masculinities discourse" as a keyword to understand the social and political construction of the '68 generation. Lüküslü reaches a conlusion that it is not only the political war existing in the 60s, but it is also a war of masculinities in the Turkish political movements.

In addition to these three seminal research articles, the fourth one is a research in progress presented by L. Alp Akarçay. Akarçay deeply investigates the subjective experiences of being a trans man in Turkey and how trans men perform their masculinity in relation to societal norms about masculinity. With in-depth interviews conducted with nine trans men living in İstanbul, their research opens a new door for the further interrogation of trans men's visibility in Turkey.

The current issue also presents a symposium review by Jeff Hearn and a book review by Çimen Günay-Erkol. Hearn reviews the 2nd International Symposium on Men and Masculinities in Turkey hosted by the *Initiative for Critical Studies of Masculinities* (ICSM) and *Özyeğin University*, held on 12-14 September, 2019 in İstanbul. Hearn's overview presents how the "troubling times" are the essential part of the critical studies of men and masculinities worldwide and why there is a need to take a closer look at the enmeshed relationship between the troubling times and performances of masculinities around the world and specifically in Turkey's political environment.

In the last piece of the current issue, Günay-Erkol reviews "*Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak: Osmanlı Askerlerinin Cephe Hatıraları ve Türkiye'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hafızası*" by Mehmet Beşikçi in Turkish. Reading Günay-Erkol's review in relation to Lüküslü's and Hearn's discussions related to how wars and political troubles reconstruct masculinities, Günay-Erkol's review provide our readers with an insight about how men in war experience their masculinities.

Last but not least, we owe our deepest gratitude for the authors who see Masculinities Journal as an academic outlet for their works; the reviewers for their valuable effort for reviewing the manuscripts; and the readers who follow *Masculinities Journal*. Please enjoy the 13th issue of the Masculinities Journal and spread the word.

Beril Türkoğlu
On behalf of the Editorial Board of
Masculinities: A Journal of Culture and Society

ARTICLES

Challenges Facing Men in Questioning Masculinities: A Critique of Men's Organizing as Feminist Allies in Turkey

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Abstract:
Since 2008, a wave of men's groups as feminist allies has emerged in Turkey. Despite this promising stirring, these groups could not gain momentum and did not show continuity. Drawing on a content analysis of their texts and in-depth interviews with their participants, this paper traces the reasons behind their reduced impacts and life cycles. It identifies problematic group dynamics related to mobilizing around questioning masculinities and confronting privileges solely at an individual level. It discusses that men as feminist allies, both in local and global contexts, can create more resonant collective action by organizing around a specific issue of concern to gender equality and addressing institutional-level change.

Keywords: Men's allyship, gender equality, feminism, LGBTQ+, Turkey

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Erkeklerin Erkeklikleri Sorgularken Yüz Yüze Kaldıkları Zorluklar: Türkiye'de Feminist Müttefikler Olarak Erkek Örgütlenmelerinin Eleştirisi

Çağlar Çetin-Ayşe *
Stony Brook Üniversitesi

Öz:

2008'den bu yana, Türkiye'de feministlere müttefik olan bir erkek grupları dalgası oluştu. Umut vaadeden bu yeni oluşuma rağmen, bu gruplar pek mesafe kaydedemedi ve devamlılık sağlayamadı. Bu çalışma, bu grupların ürettikleri metinlerin ve grup üyeleri ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerin içerik analizine dayanarak, zayıf etkilerinin ve kısa ömürlerinin ardındaki sebeplerin izini sürmektedir. Yalnızca bireysel düzeyde erkeklikleri sorgulamak üzere örgütlenme ve ayrıcalıklarla yüzleşme ile bağlantılı grup dinamiklerinin sorunlu olduğu tespitini yapmaktadır. Hem yerel hem de küresel bağlamlarda, feministlerle müttefik olan erkeklerin, belirli bir toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği meselesi etrafında örgütlenerek ve kurumsal düzeyde değişiklik üzerine eğilerek yankısı daha büyük kolektif bir hareket ortaya çıkarabileceğini tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkeklerin müttefikliği, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, feminizm, LGBTQ+, Türkiye

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Introduction

Women's transformative critical voice against social systems that privilege men and oppress women can be traced back at least to 2500 years (S. M. Harris & Hughes, 2013). A subsidiary history of men's support for women's rights seems to go back centuries as well (Murphy, 2004). In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, for instance, Islamic scholars Ibn Rushd and Ibn 'Arabī advocated equal cognitive and spiritual capacities of women and men against the common interpretation of Islam of the time in which women were considered inferior to men (Ahmad, 1994; Shaikh, 2009). Men's mobilizing for gender equality, distinct from the gay rights movement, is a relatively new phenomenon (Connell, 2005a). The first examples of men's groups as feminist allies took place in the U.S. in the 1970s mostly as local consciousness raising groups and national meetings on men's issues (Gross, Smith, & Wallston, 1983; Messner, 1997). Participants were predominantly white, middle-class and college-educated. Today, diverse groups of men are organizing against gender-based violence and discrimination across the world (Connell, 2005a; Kaufman et al., 2014). However, the effects and sustainability of men's mobilization are in question (Gardiner, 2002; Messner, Greenberg, & Peretz, 2015) while conservative ideologies, intertwined with sexism and racism, globally gain strength and threaten gender equality (Evans, 2017; Inglehart & Norris, 2016).

Turkey is an exemplar of the socio-political atmosphere in which state's discriminatory discourse and policies increasingly confront advancement of gender equality. On the one hand, thanks to the feminist and LGBTQ+ struggles, there have been undeniable positive shifts in gender relations in this deeply patriarchal society (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2013; V. Yılmaz, 2013). On the other hand, under the ruling of the right wing and pro-Islamic party AKP (Justice and Development Party) since 2002, the Turkish state has resurrected the unequal gender framework by positioning women in family, explicitly claiming they are "not equal to

men" (Acar & Altunok, 2013; Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2009) and executing a systematic governmental violence against LGBTQ+ individuals (Human Rights Watch, 2016; V. Yılmaz & Göçmen, 2016). In response, feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations have significantly become robust demanding legislative and social change against gender-based discrimination (Çetin, 2016; Negrón-Gonzales, 2016). The same period also witnessed a burgeoning of men's groups that took an anti-patriarchal, anti-(hetero)sexist, pro-feminist and pro-LGBTQ+ stance (Kepekçi, 2012). Through questioning men's gender performance and criticizing oppressive forms of masculinities, they strove to end men's violence, promote gender equity, and recognize men's different sexualities and trans men. Nevertheless, almost all these groups remained small in numbers and became inactive after a few years.

Building on critical studies on men and masculinities, this paper traces the reasons behind the reduced impacts and life cycles of men's groups as feminist allies in Turkey. The remainder of the paper is divided into five parts. First, I bring together a body of literature on the politics of and the concerns about men's pro-feminist organizing. I include the insights of scholar-activists of critical race studies into the framings of oppression and collective action for social change. Second, I provide context for feminist and LGBTQ+ mobilizations in Turkey in relation to the country's socio-political dynamics. The third part describes my research methods which combine a content analysis of the texts of men's groups and in-depth interviews with their participants. As an activist who volunteered in one of these groups as a workshop organizer (from 2011 to 2014), I integrate reflexive analysis of my insider position and the role of my experiences in conducting this research project. Part four is findings and discussion. After analyzing the groups' aims and activities, I identify the problems that are linked to focusing solely on self-centered change. I conclude by positing that men as feminist allies should consider mobilizing around specific issues of concern to gender equality and aiming to improve public policy, rather than questioning masculinities and confronting privileges solely at an individual level.

Men As "Allies"

Scholarly discussion on men and masculinities mostly frames men's continuing resistance to gender equality on two intertwining levels: individual and institutional (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). Gender inequality is structural: heteronormativity, hierarchies and discrimination as the basis of gender order are systematically maintained through the regulations and violent implementations of institutions such as states, armies and schools (Bourdieu, 2001; Lorber, 2011). Men are "gatekeepers" as they play the role of local, national and global decision-makers in political and economic organizations while they simultaneously participate in everyday life with their gendered practices as family members, fathers, partners, peers, colleagues and so on levels (Kaufman, 2003). Unwilling to give up on their status and privileges, the majority of men still support, at least not actively oppose, gendered violence and discrimination (Connell, 2005a; Ridgeway, 2011). Therefore, men's engagement is considered crucial in ending gender-based violence and discrimination (Connell, 2003) both at the institutional and individual levels (Kaufman, 2003).

Feminist activists and scholars increasingly support the inclusion of men in feminism (Gardiner, 2002; White, 2008). According to Black feminist scholar bell hooks (2004), for example, men can learn to "let go the will to dominate" through "feminist thinking and practice" (p. xvii). Another Black feminist scholar-activist Patricia Hill Collins (1993) argues that the coalitions among the dominant and subordinate sides of the privilege are essential in undermining unequal power relations and creating social change. In parallel, gradually more men question their institutionalized power and privileges, recognize their responsibility in ending gender oppression and attempt to mobilize against gender inequality (Connell, 2005a; Flood, 2005; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009; Ricardo et al., 2014; Sancar, 2009). Mobilized men may pick different labels for themselves such as anti-sexist, anti-patriarchal, feminist, pro-feminist and/or feminist ally (Messner et al., 2015). For some scholars

and activists, men can only be "pro" for feminism since it depends on individual experiences of women as a political category (Flood, 1997), whereas some accept men as feminists when they "translate their [gender] awareness into positive actions" (White 2008).

On the other hand, there are feminists concerns and doubts cast on men's allyship. One of the critiques is that men in feminist spaces continue to enjoy male privilege (Macomber, 2015) while benefiting from disproportionate "praise and credit" for being an ally (Flood, 2005, p. 464)—which is also known as "the pedestal effect" (Messner et al., 2015). A lack of accountability mechanisms prevents men allies from not only realizing but also efficiently addressing their gendered power and privileges (Peretz, 2018). Consequently, gender scholars and activists warn that pro-feminist organizing may carry risk of becoming a new tool for men's empowerment by prioritizing men's shared interests, trivializing women's critique and providing new comfort zones for their participants (Flood, 2005; Meer, 2011; Messner et al., 2015).

Another concern addresses the effectiveness of consciousness raising activities that are considered as crucial means (and therefore frequently applied) in promoting men's engagement (Connell, 2003). One of the early analyses on men's pro-feminist organizing in the U.S. (Gross et al., 1983) argues that offering "to teach men how to give up positions of advantage in exchange for the long-range and intangible goals of a more humane" society has not been resonant enough to sustain men's groups (p. 78). Focusing heavily on self-centered change, moreover, may result in neglecting to understand and address structural dimensions of gender inequality. A report on global efforts of engaging men (Kaufman et al., 2014) underlines that increased gender consciousness among men does not guarantee social change toward gender equality whereas "legal reforms and shifts in social policy are critical for accelerating the pace of change and affecting permanent shifts in gender relations and gender norms" (p. 11). In a similar vein, research on men's pro-feminist organizing in South Africa (Peacock, Khumalob, & McNabd, 2006) suggests that awareness raising workshops and programs seem to contribute to positive shifts in men's perceptions.

However, work with men cannot become "truly transformational" without advocating institution-level transformations in a deeply patriarchal society, where laws and regulations continue to reinforce and maintain gender violence and inequalities (p. 79). That is why transnational alliances such as MenEngage underline the importance of policy advocacy (UNFPA, 2013).

Feminist movements also acknowledge that gendered experiences are not independent of race, class, sexual orientation and other social constructs; therefore, struggles for social justice should understand power relations with a more inclusive perspective (Collins & Bilge, 2016). This perspective, which became known as intersectionality, has disrupted organizing around the idea of women as a monolithic category and urged feminists to address the needs of women who are marginalized by race, class, sexualities and other social constructs (Crenshaw, 1991; A. P. Harris, 1990; Laperrière & Lépinard, 2016). Similarly, men as feminist allies should contextualize domination through intersecting power relations. Otherwise, they would fail to confront the complexities of gendered violence and discrimination that function in the subordination not only of women and LGBTQ+ individuals but also among men themselves (Connell, 2005b; hooks, 2000). For example, due to the white supremacist ideology in Scandinavia and Denmark, men who perform "gender-equality friendly masculinities" may continue to marginalize and oppress others based on their racial/ethnic, economic or citizenship/immigration status (Christensen & Jensen, 2014).

To further the questioning on shortcomings of men's allyship, we can draw a parallel between similar forms of ally activism (i.e. when members of dominant groups seek ways of supporting the oppressed and marginalized groups). Research on White people who organize as anti-racist allies shows that the prevailing ideology of the dominant group can be consciously or subconsciously maintained in the lives of allies (Hughey, 2012; Sullivan, 2014). Non- or anti-racist "good" people of a dominant (White) and privileged (middle) class may fail in promoting racial justice when they consider themselves being free of

racist practices and therefore different from the other whites (Sullivan, 2014). This is to say, the idea of being "good" (or, say, being "good men"—feminist allies) may create its own vicious cycle in promoting equality when it induces the allies to exclude themselves from questioning.

The National Context

The Turkish state continues to fail in executing policies to end gender-based discrimination and violence despite being both a signatory to CEDAW (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) and an official candidate for European Union (whereas the accession criteria include gender equality). The single-party rule of AKP is blamed for its discriminatory implementations that restrict daily lives of women and LGBTQ+ people—e.g. sublimating heterosexual family as the core of the idealized society, attempting to re-criminalize abortion and publicly condemning and pathologizing homosexuality (Acar & Altunok, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2016). Feminist organizations have been progressively objecting, protesting and time to time successfully repulsing the growing state conservatism—as in the case of stopping the legislative attempt to re-criminalize abortion in 2012 (Negrón-Gonzales, 2016). LGBTQ+ organizing has been contesting heteronormative constitutional and social institutions (Çetin, 2016; SPoD, 2014). Notwithstanding, women's rights and freedoms are under increasing threat under the current "anti-feminist" AKP rule while Turkey's relationship with the EU is weakening (Nas, 2016). LGBTQ+ people, particularly trans individuals, continue to suffer from social discrimination and exclusion without any legal protection (V. Yılmaz & Göçmen, 2016).

Current feminism in Turkey, like the diversity of women's struggles in the world, cannot be framed as one monolithic movement. Starting from the 1980s, feminism in the globe changed its scope

substantially because of acknowledging the diversity in women's experiences. Women of color, indigenous women, lesbians, women from the third-world countries, working class women and many more otherized groups have contested Eurocentric and US-centric notions as well as feminist mobilizations based only on the experiences of white, middle-class, straight and secular women (Freedman, 2003). In parallel, a variety of women's groups in Turkey started to contribute to the struggles for social justice from their own ideological and experiential standpoint—such as Kemalist, Kurdish, anti-militarist and Islamist women (Binder & Richman, 2011). While Kemalist women's organizations continued to follow the ideology of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (the founder of the Republic) and defend women's rights from a secular and nationalist framework, "the Kurdish and Islamist feminists raised criticism against Turkish mainstream feminists for being ethno-centric and exclusionary of other identities" (Diner & Toktaş, 2010, p. 47). The Kurdish women's movement critiqued not only the discriminative and militarist practices in the Kemalist nation-building processes but also feudal structures in both Kurdish society and Kurdish nationalism (Açık, 2013). Islamist women contested marginalization of Muslim women in feminist struggles, fought for the right of wearing headscarf in public institutions and opposed patriarchal readings of Quran (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2005; Tuksal, 2001).

The scope of feminism has also expanded by LGBTQ+ struggles (Budak, 2018). LGBTQ+ organizing in Turkey, which dates to at least the 1970s, has significantly gained power in the 2000s (Baba, 2011; Çetin, 2016). Most feminist circles before the 1990s were neither inclusive nor openly supportive of lesbians, queers and trans women, who all introduced new inquiries on gender relations and sexuality (Cingöz & Gürsu, 2013; Özakın, 2012). Efforts towards diversity and inclusiveness in the feminist struggles are increasing; however, identity and ideological differences continue to negatively affect forming further coalitions against patriarchy. For example, there is an ongoing dispute on the issue of abortion between secular and Islamist women (Unal, 2019).

Some feminist groups still reject to recognize the activism of trans women and sex workers as part of women's struggles (Berghan, 2013).

Recent research on masculinities in Turkey also hints at potential problems in men's allyship with feminism: although men in the country increasingly question gender and try to renounce patriarchal norms, they mostly fail in putting their egalitarian ideas of gender into practice (Beşpınar, 2015; Bolak Boratav, Okman Fişek, & Eslen Ziya, 2017; Ozyegin, 2015; Sancar, 2009). Fathers who embrace feminist ideas emerge; however, they keep exhibiting homophobic/transphobic attitudes and essentializing women's childcare skills (Barutçu & Hıdır, 2016). Influenced by Kurdish women's activism, men in Kurdish political movement have become more supportive of gender equality discourse; but they struggle in internalizing feminist perspectives (Mermertaş, 2018). Despite the increased visibility of LGBTQ+ people and organizing (Biricik, 2014; Şeker, 2013), traditional notions of masculinity and femininity continue to shape gay men's perceptions of gender and sex (Bereket & Adam, 2006). Academia with its growing interest on masculinities (Akşit & Varışlı, 2014) is still considered a field that reproduces traditional gender relations (Altınoluk, 2017). In short, men's support for gender equality is growing, but it simultaneously remains in "rhetoric" (Sancar, 2009, p. 304).

Within this socio-political and historical context burgeoned and dissolved a few men's groups as feminist allies in 2008 onward. Their organizing is marginal and episodic compared to the long history and achievements of the feminist and LGBTQ+ struggles. Their importance and potential role in social change, however, can be questioned not only through the idea globally becoming prevalent that men's engagement is needed in achieving gender justice, but also through this national context—in which the current political power structures are increasingly supporting heteronormative male supremacy and trying to undo the social and legislative changes that have contributed to gender equality in a patriarchal society.

Methodology And Self-Reflexivity

The scope of this study comprises men's groups in Turkey that particularly aimed at questioning and confronting gender inequality. I located five groups: Voltrans, We Are Not Men (*Biz Erkek Değiliz*), Men Talk (*Erkek Muhabbeti*), Bothered Men / Men Against Patriarchy (*Rahatsız Erkekler / Ataerkiye Karşı Erkekler*) and T Club (*T Kulüp*), which is the only active initiative today. Although these groups did not necessarily identify themselves as "pro-feminist" or "feminist allies", I find these terms applicable and useful for analyzing men's collective efforts to develop a stand against gender inequality in dialogue with feminist mobilizations. Formed by transgender men, Voltrans and T Club intersect men's and transgender mobilizing for gender equality. The other three groups predominantly consisted of cisgender men. Although none of the groups is explicitly a heterosexual initiative, heterosexuality seems to be a common sexual orientation within the latter ones. All the initiatives were centered in Istanbul except T Club, which operates through a secret Facebook group having members from all over Turkey.

The findings and discussion are based on a content analysis and in-depth interviews. After receiving IRB approval, I sent an e-mail to the groups in February 2016 to recruit participants for a research project on problems and deficiencies of pro-feminist men's groups. Between February and April 2016, I interviewed eight activists, three of whom participated in more than one group. [1] Given that the actively engaged participants in these groups were rarely double digits when they were in operation, this number forms a significant sample in this small population. However, it inevitably limits the generalizability of the findings.

Every interview was conducted online and in Turkish, lasted between 90 minutes to three hours. I transcribed the recorded interviews and coded the transcripts under four main themes nesting in each other: individual/collective and discourse/practice. I used pseudonyms to protect the participants' identities. For the content

analysis, I coded the initiatives' press releases (about their mission and work) and blog posts published between 2008 and 2015. I primarily accessed these texts through the blogs of the initiatives, and for the cases when an initiative's blog or website was not accessible anymore, I utilized an anthology of the groups' texts (Gözcü, 2013). [2] While qualitative methodology is found appropriate and useful in studying groups that can be considered novel, combining at least two data collection methods may enrich data and enhance the validity of the results (Denzin, 1970; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Accordingly, I performed the content analysis not only for analyzing the groups' discourses and activities but also for triangulation in verifying the interview data.

Following the methodological discussions of feminist scholars on producing knowledge through reflexive dialogue (Alcoff, 1991; Naples, 2003), I aimed a dialogical process and shared the draft versions of the text with the interviewees to develop the ideas presented here. Four activists joined the dialogue. During this process, one of the activists accused me taking sides because I did not interview a particular person in his group, whom it has been claimed by several interviewees to play a key role in covering up attempts of the violence case discussed below. He withdrew from the study although I explained him that I was never approached by that person and I would interview that person if he was still interested. I heard back from neither of them. Their counter voice, unfortunately, does not figure in this analysis. While finalizing this study in November 2018, I re-approached T Club and conducted an additional interview via email with one of its activists. In the end, Men Talk was represented by four activists, Men Against Patriarchy by three, We Are Not Men and T Club each by two, and Voltrans by one.

My insider/outsider position as a researcher played a significant role throughout the study. I was mostly an "insider" as a cis-heterosexual man who volunteered in Men Talk for three years. [3] My first respondents were acquaintances who helped me reach more interviewees by passing along the recruitment email to other activists. I may have built better rapport with the activists with whom I previously

worked together. On the other hand, once a member of Men Talk and now conducting this project in an academic institution, I realized my "outsider" position inhibited me from recruiting more activists from the other groups. For instance, one activist rejected to be part of this study by arguing the uselessness of academic work in real life/activism. Another activist declined to participate stating that he was exhausted of being exposed to (cis-)academic scrutiny as a trans man.

The prominent Turkish feminist scholar Serpil Sancar (2009) argues that "manhood is a 'position of power' which holds the rights to speak over other positions, and by this means, which stays out of being questioned" (p. 16, *translation is mine*). Inviting men to reflect on their experiences in men's organizing and the reasons behind their groups' dissolvement resulted in talking about 'other men'. This, paradoxically, created a space that is critiqued in this article—a space that enables men to position themselves different/better than other men. I am solely responsible for creating this space: this methodological contradiction may be alleviated if I could bring more participants into the conversation. Bearing its limitations in mind, I hope this article would be interpreted as an attempt to *pursue the conversation* on the promises and shortcomings of men's mobilizing as feminist allies in Turkey.

Men's Pro-Feminist Organizing In Turkey

Influenced by feminist and LGBTQ+ struggles, men's questioning of masculinities started to be visible in the 1990s, mostly in socialist movements and anti-militarist struggles in Turkey. Selçuk, a 51 years-old, cis heterosexual man, who has partaken in the conscientious objection movement, indicates that they (anti-militarist men) were questioning gender in their meetings, but those discussions remained only as "heart-to-heart talks among friends" throughout the 1990s. One of the first men's groups that can be framed as feminist allies, We Are Not Men, was going to be founded in 2008 with the support of feminist

women. After the rape and murder of Italian feminist artist and peace activist Pippa Bacca, [4] a group of men who were anti-militarists, anarchists and LGBTQ+ activists prepared a demonstration to speak up against the atrocities that they were part of because of their gender. They soon apprehended and implemented the idea of men's organizing around questioning masculinities and struggling against men's violence. Feminist women played a direct role in the establishment of Men Talk too: the group was formed in 2012 by young male university students under a women's NGO named Social Development and Equality Policies Center. The activists from the other men's groups also acknowledge the guidance and the impact of women in their questioning and organizing processes as "feminist friends," "feminist educators," "partners" and "mothers who establish egalitarian relationships in the family".

İbrahim (54, cis, heterosexual man) talks about the pain and distress of having tried to "put on the identity of manhood." As he grew up, being made fun of by other kids "because he was not man enough or because he was like a girl" became his primary source of fear. Collapsing into an emotional "uncertainty", he inquired if he was not a man, if he was gay and what he was. (I suffered from similar uncertainty throughout my own adolescence, which was more than two decades later than his.) İbrahim states that collectively questioning the boundaries of manhood and attempting to emancipate from them corresponded to the realities in his life. Barış (30, cis, heterosexual man), correspondingly, points out a common characteristic of the participants of men's groups: being displeased with how manhood and gender inequality manifest in both their lives and society. Such discomforts and uncertainties together with a need of questioning gender prompted them to participate in men's pro-feminist mobilizing with a strong but ambiguous desire "to do something".

Table 1. Names, active years, main objectives and thematic emphases of the men's groups as feminist allies in Turkey

Name	Active Years	Main Objectives	Thematic Emphasis*
Voltrans Transmen Initiative	2007 - 2014	Acting in solidarity through the gender transition process; sharing experiences; "Investigating gendered norms of trans men and break them if need be"; Increasing the visibility and recognition of trans men.	Trans men; operation; therapy▲; body identity; transformation; feminism; (organized) struggles; (transgender) policies; LGBT.
We Are Not Men	2008 - 2011	Questioning masculinity and its borders; Searching for exit paths/ emancipating from masculinities; Speaking up/struggling against the atrocities that men are part of.	Women; murder; harassment; rape; violence; sex/uality; domination; honor; gay; homophobia.
Men Talk	2010 - 2015	Questioning masculinities, sharing experiences; Holding workshops to engaging male university students for gender equality, developing workshop methods; Documenting academic and activist work on engaging men nationwide.	Women; gender regime; violence; patriarchy; sex/uality; feminism; struggle; LGBTI; heterosexism; pornographyΩ.
Bothered Men *(after 2013):* Men against Patriarchy	2012 - 2014/2015	Creating "a network for men who are against patriarchal system"; Organizing men through questioning their social position; Sharing (gendered) experiences.	Women; masculine domination; abortion (ban); struggle; state patriarchy; (gender) role; heterosexism; sexism; masculine violence.
T Club: Transmasculine Culture Production Platform	2013 - still active	Creating a network for trans masculine people; Supporting trans masculine individuals to act with solidarity and share information.	LGBTI; rights; struggle; state; health▲; feminism; transphobia; education; information.

Source: Author.

* Most frequent themes in the texts of the groups (except "man," "masculinity" and "gender")

▲ Themes that only appear in the texts of trans men's groups

Ω Theme that does not appear in the other groups' texts

Table 1, created based on the content analysis, shows the active years, main objectives and thematic emphases of the groups. The table reveals distinct (and clearer) motives for mobilization such as "solidarity", "sharing information" and "networking" in trans men's organizing. Playing an important role in increasing visibility and recognition of trans men in both the LGBTQ+ movement and society, Voltrans and T Club aimed more at creating a support group/network for trans men and trans masculine people, than at questioning and confronting men's gendered power and privilege. In line with their aims, they mostly organized meetings to share information and experiences about the issues of rights, health and transition process for trans men. However, Kenan (30, trans, heterosexual man) remarks that trans men's groups in Turkey also met the participants' needs to question gender and masculinity while intending to provide a critique of male domination (see also Dutlu & Özgüner, 2014). Despite being less prominent in trans men's mobilizing, all the groups share two common objectives: (1) "interrogating" the self, masculinities and gendered norms, and (2) "speaking up" against gender inequality and men's complicity in it. Predominantly cis men's groups aimed to build a stance against men's overall silence when it comes to gender inequalities. The group participants tried to address their own complicity in gender-based violence. They voiced a desire to change themselves by undermining their own privileges and power.

Despite understanding gender inequality as systemic and articulating a holistic struggle against patriarchy, the groups (especially predominantly cisgender ones) formed their activities mostly, if not solely, around the idea of self-questioning. They primarily conducted workshops to discuss masculinities and raise awareness about gender issues. In these meetings, participants shared their personal experiences and scrutinized how their daily lives were intertwined with gendered power and privileges. In contrast to women's and LGBTQ+ organizing, the groups concentrated less on problematizing and raising voice against structural aspects of gender inequality. This is a significant finding considering the national and political dynamics in Turkey, where even

the already-adopted legislation and policies to promote gender equality are under state-level attack.

The Gap Between *Questioning* and *Challenging/Changing*

Bearing in mind the groups' short life spans, can concentrating on individual-level change prove to be politically meaningful and sustainable mobilizing practice for men as feminist allies? One of the limitations in this framework is that men's questioning of their gender performance does not necessarily correspond to their renouncing of gendered privileges and power position. The interviewees indicate that questioning masculinities together with other group members helped them clarify the social problems related to gender and change their gendered behavior. For instance, Devrim (28, cis, heterosexual man) became aware of his sexist attitudes especially regarding his lack of participation in domestic labor. Ahmet (26, cisgender, heterosexual man) made peace with his emotions and started to take other people's emotions seriously. However, resembling the discussion of the pedestal effect, the interviewees also address possible dangers of men's organizing if it functions as a tool of "comforting men's conscience" whereas the participation is exploited as "an indicator of being purified." Without intending to exclude themselves from the critique, the interviewees talk about the disparity between group participants' discourses and behaviors. They exemplify these disparities as micro-power disputes in organizing (such as taking space in discussion; or trying to form authority over other group members), manifestation of internalized sexism (such as using sexist swear words and disparaging feminist women) and reproduction of gendered violence (such as bullying and perpetrating sexual assault).

Occurrence of personal inconsistencies may be neither surprising nor unique to men's groups. Nevertheless, being a part of pro-feminist mobilizing is considered as a promise of a continuous confrontation with

one's gender performance. When ignored by other members, problematic performances of gender/masculinities contradict and undermine the groups' collective action. First, unaddressed inconsistencies between a participant's discourse and behavior can rupture another participant's confidence in the group, as well as men's pro-feminist organizing in general. For example, when Nihat (32, cis, non-heterosexual man) began to feel uncomfortable with "the density" of the heterosexual population in the group and the increasing heteronormative conversations, he shared his feelings and criticism with the group members. The group ignored to acknowledge Nihat's feelings. The person who was considered the group's leader dismissed Nihat's criticism because the (so-called) leader had homosexual experiences in which he was "even passive". [5] Nihat also claims that the group was unwilling to confront the gap between their public feminist stance and internalization of this stance; and this was an important reason why he left his group and became distant to men's allyship:

> There is this pro-feminist narrative outwardly. But beneath […] you can see the narration of men's rights… the narration of "we suffer too" and secretly "these feminists are being too much." […] One pal, for instance, [said] "What do the feminists do about the issue of harassment? They have done nothing. They actually do nothing but pretend to do something." As if he himself does something. Or, they say "these women seem to be very free women but when they turn 30, they begin their wedding plans, they look around to pick up a man and make kids; we know those feminists." Or, "we actually establish egalitarian relationships in many aspects, but we can suffer too, why can't those be spoken, they do not allow us." [They think] there is a feminist stick above our heads. Like, we always live with the fear of that stick although we are good men. I remember one pal saying, "I am afraid of feminists."

Similarly, Ahmet and Barış note the discomfort they felt in their groups due to a lack of internalization of feminist perspectives and the absence of accountability mechanisms. Ahmet states that some participants thought that they did not have to account to feminists (although they declared their respect to feminist groups). In reference to the discussions in Turkey on taking women's statements on violence as fundamentally credible, which is considered as an essential feminist principle against men's violence (see Yılmaz, 2015, note 16), Barış narrates the following:

> On the surface, there was not any problem, everyone seemed to act politically correct. [But] there were small incidents. [...] In a meeting in which we were discussing taking women's statements on violence as fundamentally credible, for instance, a participant said "yes, a woman's statement is fundamentally credible, but," [pointing at another participant] "I would not take it seriously if you were accused."

Transgender men's organizing too can be negatively affected by internalized sexism and problematic performances of masculinities. Kenan mentions his reservations in establishing an ongoing partnership with feminist groups because some participants of his transmasculine initiative are weak in questioning masculinities and patriarchy:

> "I mean there can be many things from arguing over a woman to [claiming] 'I am more man than you.' Internalized transphobia plays a role here. There is a rivalry [between the participants] which I can call as a masculine rivalry. See, how I can say...this can be related to possessing a man's appearance later in life. From [saying] my beard is bushier, to [saying], his [gender change] request was approved by the court whereas mine was rejected... There is this issue of violence turning on each other. [...] While this is the situation, although there are

> people among us who question masculinities, we cannot reach to a point to collaborate with feminist organizations."

Second, if left unaddressed, the reproduction of violent and discriminatory performances of gender causes a loss of legitimacy in the eyes of the public. One of the most dramatic examples is a case of violence against a woman in which Men Against Patriarchy was involved. I was first doubtful about addressing this issue in this article because I am acquainted with the woman as well as the men who took the side of the woman. However, as a person who defends the principle of taking women's statements on violence as fundamentally credible, I find it politically wrong to disregard this issue.

A participant of Men Against Patriarchy perpetrated violence against his female partner in various ways (detention, sexual assault, insult and threatening); subsequently, the woman exposed the man to the initiative with the help of another participant. The group failed both in criticizing the perpetrator and publicizing the woman's revelation. The texts published by the woman (which were later supported by a text of three men from Men Against Patriarchy) states that the perpetrator was defended by some other participants—or his situation was interpreted from a palliative perspective; moreover, the voice of the opposition in the group was suppressed. This whitewash disturbed some participants who became inactive or left the group. For Ahmet, the real reason behind the group's dissolution was that they did not handle the entire process appropriately and transparently. In other words, the group's sustainability was deeply shaken not because of one participant's behavior but due to the collective attempt to cover-up the violence perpetrated. Following the woman's online exposé, the statement published by Men Against Patriarchy contains an apology; however, it rejects the claims of cover-up. [6]

Another case of sexual harassment recounted by İbrahim gives credence to Ahmet's perspective: when a participant of We Are Not Men was accused of sexual harassment, the group neither ostracized the perpetrator nor overlooked the case. Rather, they considered tackling

this issue as part of their mobilizing's *reason d'être*. Taking the accusation seriously, they held meetings to question how they can improve self-criticism and accountability both individually and collectively. They tried to help the perpetrator face his agency and the consequences of his actions. The issue resulted in neither the group's dissolution nor losing public legitimacy. Selçuk thinks We Are Not Men dissolved later because of "micro-power disputes" as some members tried to create their own power domains to gain control over the group. The group neglected to address the emerge of these micro-power clashes that could be questioned in relation to masculinities and men's power position. Remained ignored, the disputes led to initial divisions and the group's dissolvement eventually.

These examples indicate that men's groups as feminist allies may become prone to dissolution when sustained efforts of self-criticism and self-reflexivity on gendered power wane in their framing of questioning masculinity. Men who organize against the prevailing gender order might believe that their actions are now free from reproducing gendered violence because they reject sexism in an organized manner. If the same belief is shared by most of the group, the group itself may turn into a space which creates a new type of man: one who allegedly questions masculinities but continues to reproduce unequal gendered structures—like the case of anti-racist White allies whose self-acknowledgement is inadequate to stop them to reproduce racism (Hughey, 2012; Sullivan, 2014).

Another potential problem of organizing largely around self-questioning is related to the fact that gender is not only an individual performance, but it is also an institutional phenomenon. As discussed above, previous research states that the changes in men's perceptions and practices remain limited, fragile and superficial without "public policies that reinforce gender equality" (Kaufman et al., 2014, p. 11). Consequently, gender activists argue that men's attempts of questioning gender and challenging dominance need to move "beyond the comfort of consciousness-raising and therapeutic models" (Messner et al. 2015, 41). Pro-feminist men's groups in Turkey rarely addressed gendered

governmental structures, laws, legislations and policies. This is not to say that the groups were unaware of the state's role in gender oppression or the link between individual practices/privileges and institutionalized gender inequality. I already stated that trans men's mobilizing particularly focused on rights and health issues of trans men. We Are Not Men criticized the collaboration between men's violence and institutions such as state, jurisdiction, education and political parties. Men Against Patriarchy was initially organized under the name 'Men Against the Abortion Ban' to protest AKP's efforts of banning abortion. However, other than preparing or participating in a few demonstrations, the groups omitted to speak (or even search ways to speak) against institutional and structural forms of gender inequality.

Based on his experiences in Men Talk, Devrim argues that organizing against the broad frame of patriarchy through questioning masculinities was unrealistic and distracting in terms of mobilizing. Their discursive attempt to touch upon as many subjects as possible related to masculine domination resulted in not having a focus and tangible goals as a group. This possibly hindered his group from yielding concrete results. Consequently, Devrim lost his motivation as an activist and became skeptical about the potentials of men's allyship. Considering the examples of well-known and long-running men's organizations such as White Ribbon Campaign [7] or the groups focused on fatherhood in Sweden (see Holmgren & Hearn, 2019), Devrim thinks that mobilizing around a specific issue and setting clearer aims would attract more men who are interested in the issue. This could foster sustainability and efficiency of men's organizing.

However, it is important to note that men's allyship in Turkey, unlike the organizations that Devrim exemplifies, was based on voluntariness. The groups produced work without receiving any funds from national or international organizations (except 'Men Talk,' which operated under a feminist NGO, and T 'Club,' which has considered to become an NGO). Some groups, such as We Are Not Men in which anarchists predominated, even politically rejected such collaborations. Nonetheless, İbrahim points out that organizing mostly around

questioning masculinities negatively impacted We Are Not Men as well. The group participants got stuck on gender-binary discussions, which eventually led to the loss of "the charm" that brought them together.

Finally, while questioning the self, the groups seem to have a lack of endeavor to take account of diverse men's experiences on gender and power. Barış complains of men's silence on the frequent deaths of blue-collar men due to so-called work accidents in Turkey. For example, 301 mineworkers were killed in Soma in 2014 (Pamuk, 2014). Although all the casualties were men, none of men's groups made a statement in this regard. Is their neglect related to the fact that the groups (excluding the trans men's initiatives) were formed mostly by, in Nihat's words, "middle class" participants who either had a bachelor's or a higher degree, or who were university students? The groups paid a little or no attention to many other social dynamics such as religious affiliation, ethnicity/race and disability. For example, although the groups comprised of participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds, they did not address the intersections of race and gender. Or, they did not discuss possible strategies and contradictions for Muslim men to be pro-feminist. According to the interviewees, the lack of connection with people from different social settings and movements for social justice may also have caused their groups' activities remained limited to the intelligentsia, followed by an introversion and dissolvement.

Conclusion

Feminist struggles in Turkey not only have raised a critical awareness of masculinities among men, but also encouraged them to organize against the prevailing gender order. At the end of the 2000s, men began to form groups that can be framed as feminist allies. They tried to question gender inequality and challenge their own privileges and power. In a society where heteronormative male supremacy is on the rise at the state level, the groups contributed to

getting the idea into circulation that men can be (pro)feminists and can struggle against patriarchy. However, their mobilizing lost its momentum only in a few years. [8]

This study argues that the groups, especially predominantly cis men's groups, mobilized around questioning masculinities and confronting privileges at an individual level; and this approach towards allyship seemed to be not enough to sustain the groups. The idea behind the groups' concentration on individual-level change seems that men's questioning of masculinities may help them acknowledge how they consciously or unconsciously enjoy gendered power and privileges. This recognition is hoped to be followed by actively facing, opposing and subverting men's own complicity in gendered violence and discrimination. However, there has been a gap between questioning masculinities and taking an active stance against the prevailing gender order. First, men's questioning of masculinities and confrontation with their privileges did not prevent them reproducing forms of gendered violence and discrimination. In line with the recent studies that argue men's increasing commitment to gender equality mostly remain unfulfilled in Turkey (Barutçu & Hıdır, 2016; Beşpınar, 2015; Mermertaş, 2018; Sancar, 2009), men's pro-feminist mobilizing in the country suffered from inconsistencies between their participants' discourses and behaviors, especially without accountability mechanisms in place. When left unaddressed, the inconsistencies posed a conspicuous threat to the groups' sustainability. Second, the groups largely neglected both to take account of interlocking structures of power and to tackle institutional-level problems that they organized against. Individually denouncing gendered power and oppression has been enough to neither disrupt institutional privileges that are available to men, nor to change the discriminatory laws and regulations that women and LGBTQ+ individuals suffer from (Kaufman et al., 2014; Peacock et al., 2006; UNFPA, 2013). This study, therefore, suggests that men's groups as feminist allies should consider integrating self-reflexivity, accountability, intersectional praxis and policy-related advocacy efforts in their mobilization. Rather than organizing around self-questioning with

potentially limited impact, they may focus on specific issues of concern to the groups they ally with and address institutional level changes, such as improvements in laws and regulations, to foster social change.

As a final note, I would like to acknowledge that this study is biased as it is rooted in my own belief in the importance of men's mobilizing in the struggles for egalitarian societies. My agenda includes contributing to the proliferation of men's groups as feminist allies while raising awareness on possible gaps between discourses and actions of group participants—including myself. The discussion is also restricted in generalizability as it draws on the perspectives of a small number of activists of diverse groups, almost all of which do not exist anymore. Despite its limitations, I hope this study will be part of a necessary dialogue for developing strategies for existing and future men's allyship, not only in Turkey but across the world.

Endnotes

[1] Their ages (at the time of the interview) range between 26 and 54 whereas their age of participating to a men's initiative for the first time varies between 22 and 48. The interviewees have minimum three years of experience in men's organizing.

[2] The following initiatives' blogs were accessible at the time of research: Voltrans (http://vol-trans.blogspot.com/), We Are Not Men (http://bizerkekdegilizinsiyatifi.blogspot.com/), and T Club (http://transsicko.blogspot.com/).

[3] After partaking in a five-day workshop of Men Talk in 2011 (when I was 25), which was aiming an awareness about gender inequalities among young male university students, I became a volunteer at the initiative until the group dissolved in 2014.

[4] Pippa Bacca appeared in a performance to promote "world peace" and "trust among humans." Wearing a bridal gown, she had the intention of hitchhiking from Milan to Jerusalem; however, she only made it as far as Turkey. See *Bianet*,

http://bianet.org/archives/search?utf8=%E2%9C%93&q=pippa+bacca&sec=english (accessed April 1, 2019).

[5] In Turkish, there is common (and heteronormative) reference to homosexual male intercourse: the active participant *enters;* and the passive participant *receives*.

[6] See the woman's exposé and other texts (signed as "Woman"), https://buseferlikboyleolmasin.wordpress.com/, and the response of Men Against Patriarchy, dated October 3, 2015, http://ataerkiyekarsierkekler.blogspot.com/2015/10/ (accessed April 1, 2019). The texts are in Turkish only. Men Against Patriarchy deleted previous texts published on their blog and announced that they were inactive since the summer of 2014.

[7] The organization started in Canada in 1991 and has spread to the world. See their official website, http://www.whiteribbon.ca/ (accessed April 1, 2019).

[8] A social outrage emerged after the murder of a 19-year-old woman, Özgecan Aslan, in February 2015. Similar to the case of the Pippa Bacca murder, some men collectively published statements and organized several protests across the country condemning men's violence. At least two separate groups of men held meetings in Istanbul to discuss if they could form new initiatives. None of these attempts, however, transformed into a new men's group. Some interviewees think that such organizing is not of public consequence in the current atmosphere of warfare and political oppression. Some of them find it surprising that no men's group is bursting out in this very atmosphere. However, their shared opinion is that, in parallel to struggles for gender equality in the world, new men's groups will emerge in Turkey eventually.

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"Life, Liberty, & the Pursuit of Happiness:" The Question of Race and National Belonging in Safer Sex Education

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Abstract

Since the first wave of the ongoing AIDS crisis in the USA, there has been a variety of approaches in HIV prevention directed towards diverse audiences: women and men of multiple races and sexual orientations, teenagers, and drug users. However, since gay men's organizations have traditionally acquired the most funding in the HIV sector, the majority of promotional materials has been centering a representation of young, male, and white figures. This paper touches upon the emergence of the so called "nationalist" genre in safer sex advertising to tackle questions of race, sexuality, and national belonging. Drawing on close analysis of archival ephemera, the paper argues that the visual cultures of this genre correspond with the gradual rise of homonationalist politics in the early to mid-90s that has had a mission to support a creation of an obedient homosexual citizen–consumer. The paper supplements the study of homonationalism by suggesting that public health campaigns oriented towards homosexual audiences have also had a major role in supporting and advertising the politics of inclusion in a white heterosexist majority. When AIDS organizations were faced with inability to tackle the question of race in regards to high rates of HIV among populations of color, they turned to implementing multicultural politics to engage racial politics.

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However, as the visual analysis of the campaigns shows, the representation of cultural difference merely replicates the visual politics of white gay male cultures, whose proximity to racial and gender normativity is expressed through appropriating the aesthetics of archetypal straight masculinity. Hence, the coinciding promotion of gay male citizenship in the HIV sector amid its attempt to animate the question of race, reflects the impossibility of the multicultural project: while AIDS organizations demonstrate their racial, gender, and ethnic sensibility by including diverse bodies in their HIV programming, they mobilize white male homosexual citizenship modeled upon traditional "heroic" masculinity. By its definition, such a model is not only exclusionary to racial and gender difference, but also beneficial for the maintenance of the U.S. nation-state and its racist, militant, and expansionary goals. The paper argues that multiculturalism in the HIV sector also appears in the service of homonationalism because instead of diminishing racial power hierarchies, it merely resignifies white middle class racial and gender normativity as "diversity." Incorporation of "cultural minorities" into state-sponsored health protection suggests that the question of race is only skin deep, hence ignoring the problem of political classification systems that produce racial inequalities on a systemic level. Drawing on the statistics that propose that Black communities have been most vulnerable to the virus since the early 1980s, the paper concludes that multiculturalism in the HIV sector is only one system of power that maintains Black death as a fundamental part of Black life and by that reproduces the power hierarchies that sustain status quo.

Keywords: HIV prevention, safer sex, multiculturalism, homonationalism, heroic masculinity, gay clones, anti-Black racism

“Yaşam, Özgürlük ve Mutluluk Arayışı”: Güvenli Cinsellik Eğitiminde Irk ve Ulusal Aidiyet Meselesi

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Öz:

ABD’de sürmekte olan AIDS krizinin ilk dalgasından bu yana, HIV’in önlenmesiyle ilgili farklı kitlelere – çeşitli ırklara ve cinsel yönelimlere sahip kadın ve erkeklere, ergenlere ve uyuşturucu kullananlara –yönelik çeşitli yaklaşımlar ortaya çıktı. Ancak HIV sektöründe en fazla fon elde eden çoğunlukla gey erkek örgütleri olduğundan, tanıtıcı materyallerin çoğunluğunda genç, erkek ve beyazlar merkezi konumda temsil edildi. Bu çalışma, ırk, cinsellik ve ulusal aidiyet meselelerini ele almak üzere, güvenli cinsellik reklamlarında “ulusal” tabir edilen türün ortaya çıkışına değinmektedir. Arşiv materyallerinin detaylı analizine dayalı bu çalışma, bu türün görsel kültürünün, itaatkâr bir eşcinsel yurttaş-tüketici yaratılmasını destekleme misyonuna sahip homomilliyetçi politikaların 1990’ların başı ila ortasında kademeli yükselişe geçişine denk düştüğünü ileri sürmektedir. Bu çalışma, eşcinsellere yönelik kamu sağlığı kampanyalarının onları beyaz heteroseksist bir çoğunluğa dâhil etme politikasını destekleme ve özendirme konusunda da önemli bir rolü olduğunu ortaya koymak suretiyle homomilliyetçilik çalışmalarına katkıda bulunmaktadır. AIDS ile ilgili çalışmalar yürüten örgütler farklı ırklardan gruplar arasındaki yüksek AIDS oranları ile bağlantılı ırk meselesini halledemedikleri noktada, ırk politikaları ile angaje olabilmek için çokkültürlülük politikalarına başvurdular. Ancak kampanyaların görsel analizi göstermektedir ki kültürel farkın

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temsili, ırk ve toplumsal cinsiyet alanlarında normatif olana yakınlığını arketip heteroseksüel erkeklik estetiğini sahiplenerek ortaya koyan beyaz gey erkek kültürünün görsel politikasının kopyası olmaktan ibarettir. Bu nedenle HIV sektöründeki gey eril yurttaşlığın özendirilmesi ile sektörün ırk sorununa eğilme çabasının bir araya gelmesi çokkültürlülük projesinin imkânsızlığının yansımasıdır: AIDS konusunda çalışan örgütler bir yandan HIV programlarına farklı bedenleri dâhil ederek ırk, cinsiyet ve etnik hassasiyetlerini ortaya koyarken, diğer yandan geleneksel "kahraman" erkekliği model alan beyaz eril homoseksüel yurttaşlığı tedavüle sokarlar. Böyle bir model, tanımı gereği hem ırk ve cinsiyet farklarına karşı dışlayıcıdır hem de Amerikan ulus devletinin ve onun ırkçı, savaşçı ve yayılmacı hedeflerinin devamını sağlar. Bu çalışma, HIV sektöründeki çokkültürlülüğün, ırk temelli iktidar ilişkilerini zayıflatmak yerine beyaz orta sınıf ırk ve cinsiyet normalliğini "farklılık" olarak yeniden kodlamanın ötesine geçmediği için, homomilliyetçiliğe de hizmet ettiğini savunmaktadır. "Kültürel azınlıkları" devlet destekli koruyucu sağlık programlarının bünyesine katmak ırk meselesinin ele alınışındaki yüzeyselliği, dolayısıyla da sistemik düzeyde ırk temelli eşitsizlik yaratan politik sınıflandırma sistemleri probleminin göz ardı edildiğini gösterir. 1980'lerin başından beri virüs karşısında en kırılgan grubun Siyahlar olduğunu ortaya koyan istatistiklere dayanan bu çalışma, HIV sektöründeki çokkültürlülüğün, Siyahların ölümünün Siyahların yaşamının asli unsuru olarak kalmasını sağlayan iktidar sistemlerinden yalnızca bir tanesi olduğu ve böylelikle de statükoyu sürdüren iktidar hiyerarşilerini yeniden ürettiği sonucuna varmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: HIV'in önlenmesi, güvenli cinsellik, çokkültürlülük, homomilliyetçilik, kahraman erkeklik, gey klonlar, Siyah-karşıtı ırkçılık

Introduction

The HIV prevention campaign "Life, Liberty, & the Pursuit of Happiness" (1990), a collaborative effort between the San Francisco AIDS Foundation (SFAF) and the Haight Ashbury Free Clinics takes a "bold and controversial" message to promote condoms to young gay men under 25 years of age (SFAF 1990). The billboards that were installed across bus shelters in San Francisco portray two bare-chested attractive men with a U.S. flag draped below their waste. Both gazing into the camera, one of them has an arm around the other. With his free hand, he holds a condom, gesturing to the spectator a safer sex practice (see fig. 1). The phrase from the Declaration of Independence (1776) that addressed the "unalienable rights" given to *all* human beings, in HIV prevention speaks to the audiences of young gay men, "a group which recent surveys suggest is practicing unsafe sex at a significantly high rate" (SFAF 1990). As Les Pappas, the SFAF Campaign Development Coordinator, explains, the campaign that relies on the American flag conveys an explicit safer sex message to the targeted audience, such as: "You are a valuable part of this community. You're entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" (SFAF 1990). A portrayal of a healthy gay male body as a national body is a common occurrence in HIV prevention during the first wave of the AIDS crisis and its aftermaths. Hence, the questions: while promoting condoms to young gay men under 25 in the context of national belonging, why is the representation predominantly white? What can the visual cultures of safer sex campaigns tell us about larger socio-political climate they were made in?

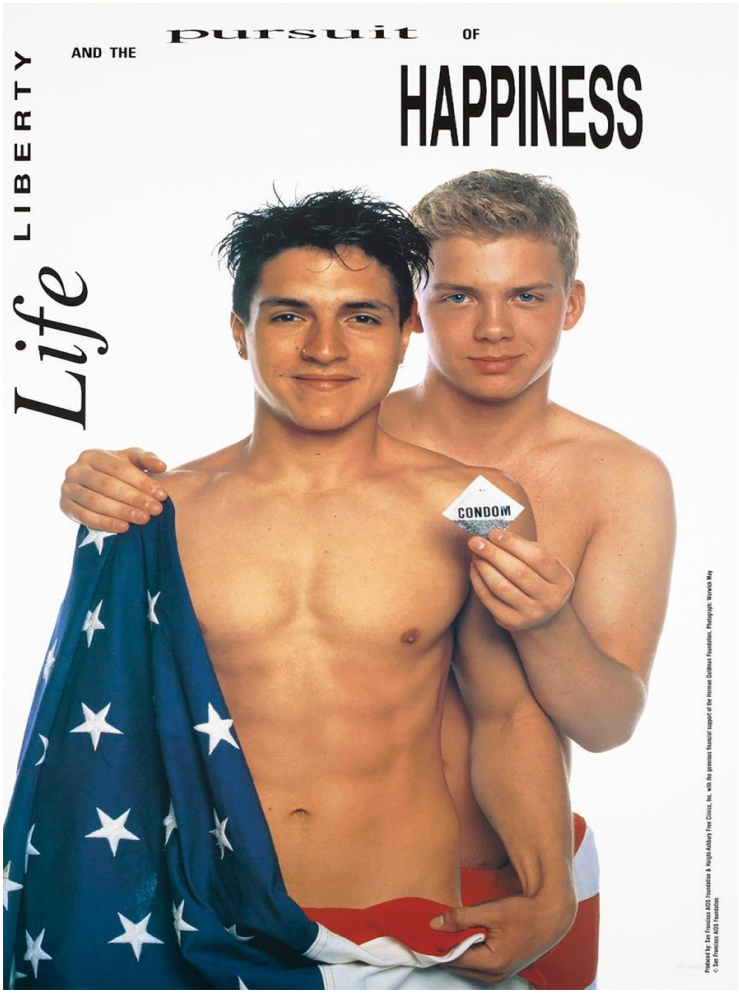

Figure 1. "Life, Liberty, & the Pursuit of Happiness" (1990). Color lithograph by Warwick May. Credit: Wellcome Collection. Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0)

Drawing on visual analysis of multiple HIV prevention campaigns, this paper touches upon the emergence of the so-called nationalist genre in HIV prevention and intertwines it with questions of race, sexuality, and national belonging. [1] Patriotism and its attachment to exclusively white male bodies appear in multiple HIV prevention campaigns and in a variety of cultural projects during the first wave of the AIDS crisis and continues in the era governed by biomedical HIV prevention PrEP, a pill

that successfully prevents the contraction of HIV when taken daily (Black AIDS Institute, 2016).[2] Beginning in the early 1990s, references to wars and emblems of nation-state were a strategic way of infiltrating gay men into the historical narrative of the U.S. nation-state, as well as being a reaction to the homophobic politics of the time. As we will see, the visual cultures that use figures from military and marine life do not only give gay men a space in the national history, but also place them in the role of heroes who conquered the disease and settled into "normalcy." Correspondingly, these archetypal masculine figures appear in public health campaigns in the service of enhancing white gay liberal politics.

Gay liberalism or homonormativity as a concept stands for a set of juridical rules that enables gays and lesbians to access the recognition of citizen rights, as scholar Lisa Duggan (2003) argues, however it does not contest dominant heteronormative institutions or the U.S.'s imperial agenda, but instead operates in tandem with them (p. 50). This marriage between gay populations and the nation-state represents the core of U.S. homonationalism. Drawing on scholar Jasbir Puar's (2007) study, such exclusionary "homonormative nationalism" or "homonationalism" consists of a variety of institutional processes that grant gay men and women freedom to consume goods, services, and relationships, such as marriage, in exchange for being complicit in perpetuating state violence in support of homeland security and nationalist values are in return granted (p. 2, 38). Homonationalism is not a new process and can be detected in different temporal eras within U.S. history.[3] What is common among all types of homonationalism in U.S. history is their reinforcement of whiteness and maleness.

This paper suggests that public health has had a major role in supporting this system of power, but also that homonationalism predates the AIDS crisis. Namely, a desire for heterosexual male figures, including sailors, marines, and soldiers has been a defining part of male homosexual cultures since before the development of homonationalist politics in the 1990s. Heterosexual masculine aesthetics were an intrinsic quality of so-called gay clone cultures that developed in the 1970s. During the post-Stonewall era, an archetypical gay clone

represented "a new kind of gay masculinity" that, according to scholars Martin P. Levine and Michael Kimmel (1998), challenged gay men's stigmatization as "sissies" and "failed men" (p. 5, 20). Since it was predicated on a white male ideal, it is not unusual that a "clone" followed protocols of racial exclusion and an adoption of the kind of racism and sexism that defines traditional heterosexual masculinity (Levine and Kimmel, 1998, p. 1).

Although "cloning" of a masculine norm, subsequently adopted in HIV prevention, has been applicable mostly to white men, the paper argues that the HIV sector also utilizes "cloning" as a strategy when attempting to solve the question of race. Specifically, cloning is related to implementation of multiculturalism in the HIV sector, and its focus on race as merely a skin deep category, instead of a larger cultural and political classification system.[4] Although initially multiculturalism had been tasked with establishing racial equality on the institutional level, this paper demonstrates that this policy merely re-created a hierarchy of acceptable differences that are measured based on an individual's proximity to racial, class, and national normativities (Ferguson, 2012; Hong, 2012; Melamed, 2006). Visual cultures geared towards bodies of color do expand problematic representation, but merely reinstate white male norm in the center at the same time; multiculturalism promotes white middle class values, while populations that do not exist in proximity to desired normativities continue to remain out of focus, as the statistics regarding health disparities among Black communities and communities of color in the U.S. testify.

A Note on Method: Visual Cultures "as" Performance

Multiculturalism and its "merely a skin deep" politics is only one of multiple visual strategies that (re)center white gay men's voices in the history of AIDS. Considering the immense value of safer sex archival ephemera, this paper is a part of a larger project that reimagines how one studies visual cultures of the disease. Geared towards undoing white gay men's primacy in AIDS studies, the project

analyzes HIV prevention programming in the context of so-called "medicinal" visual cultures. Given the efforts of historical AIDS activism to gain access to the treatments, as scholar Eli Manning (2014) argues, it is no surprise that HIV medications and prevention methods are prominent figures in the history of AIDS-related cultural production.[5] While there have been a myriad of cultural projects that set up the contours of what has come to be known as AIDS-related art and activism, it draws on critic Theodore (ted) Kerr's (2019) insight that "the bulk of AIDS cultural production lies far outside what currently will ever appear in most exhibitions about the epidemic," including state public health messaging and pharmaceutical advertising, fundraising calls, multiple reports, and archival correspondence that remain under-studied and under-theorized (Kerr 2019, p.16).[6] Correspondingly, this paper is a product of archival research about safer sex messaging that occurred across archives in New York City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, as well as multiple digitalized archives across the Internet.[7]

Composed of staged erotic imagery that is paired with educational information, safer sex posters were initially directed towards sustaining health of queer communities amid the governmental negligence (Escoffier 1998). Following a performance studies approach to the visual cultures of HIV prevention, I analyze safer sex posters and banners "as" performance.[8] Although these visual objects are not a performance in its cultural definition, I follow scholar Joshua Chambers-Letson's (2013) suggestion that photographs represent "scenes of encounter [that] perform[] *for* the spectator, creating an affective relationship with the spectator that invites him or her to *perform in response* to the photograph" (p. 137).[9] A performance of safer sex posters lives in the dialogic relation among imagery, information, and the spectator's reaction, whether fear, anxiety, or sexual arousal (Cooter and Stein, 2010, p. 173). In addition, performativity of safer sex is also noted if we think of the set of techniques through their disciplinary character. Thinking about HIV prevention as an instance of disciplinary institutions, such as schools, hospitals, prisons, and the military, researchers Alain Giami and Christophe Perrey (2012) claim that individuals are called to

"abandon their "natural" or "spontaneous" behaviors and […] replac[e] them with behaviors guided by the imperatives of public health" (p. 355). Such calls are deeply connected with the liberal gay politics that promotes a certain kind of a gay men through visual cultures in public health.

Biopolitical Transition and "A New Gay Man"

Throughout the 1980s, governmental inaction reflected a necropolitical agenda directed towards gay men (Butler, 1995, p. 346). As scholar Achille Mbembe (2003) argues, necropolitics subjects life to the power of death (p. 39). Necropolitics interacts with philosopher Michel Foucault's (2003) notions "biopower" and biopolitics, a form of power which dictates who may live and who must die based on biological predispositions, and accordingly distributes people into a variety of populations and groups. In other words, necropolitics is a form of power that predisposes some factions of the population suitable for the reproduction of life, and other factions deemed for death. With the approval of successful HIV antiretroviral therapies in the mid-1990s, the production of homosexual death has been transformed into the protection of life. Following scholar Dagmawi Woubshet (2015), the success of antiretroviral therapy influenced the public perception of AIDS as a manageable condition, while the new discourses about the return to normalcy "displaced AIDS […] as a demarcated past against which a new normative gay identity could be forged" (23). This moment represents a biopolitical shift that not only enabled gay men's newly achieved "normalcy," but also engendered a new type of liberal gay politics and culture that was oriented towards celebrating the values of the heterosexist majority, including marriage, family, and military service. Correspondingly, this biopolitical shift has informed a prototype for "a new gay man" who fully participates in national life and the protection of the state.

For instance, the campaign "Condom Brigade" (1998) made by Southern Arizona AIDS Foundation features partially dressed white gay

men in national uniforms. While the two smaller images on the left portray affectionate semi-nude soldiers and marines, the central visual depicts two naked men embracing, while the U.S. flag covers their genitalia (see fig. 2). Similar intertwinement between HIV prevention and the imagery and language of war is seen in a poster "In the War On AIDS, Your Best Bet is to Take Cover" (undated) by the Michigan Department of Public Health AIDS Prevention Program. The messaging parallels AIDS with war, and condoms with weapons: "If war is hell, then AIDS is war. The good news is that you have a strong defense in the form of a correctly used latex condom. Like tough armor, consistent use of a condom can form a strong shield. And like camouflage, it can't be seen in the dark" (see fig. 3). This messaging is an instance of a so-called "military metaphor," quite a common practice in public health. While originally such metaphors equated the body's immune system as a defense against the invasion of alien bodies with warfare (Lupton, 1994, p. 65), in this case it uses the disease and prevention method to relate a safer sex message.

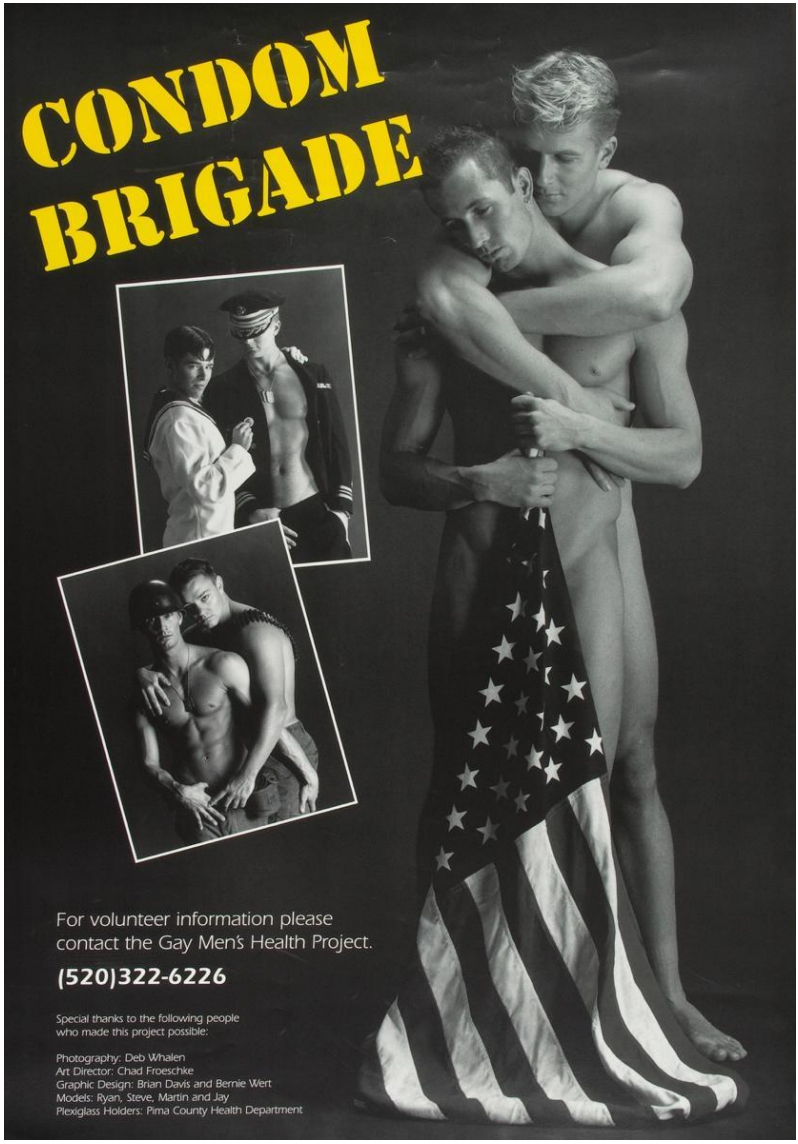

Figure 2. "Condom Brigade" (1998). Credit: AIDS Education Collection; Department of Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation; River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester. Courtesy of Southern Arizona AIDS Foundation.

Figure 3. "In the War On AIDS, Your Best Bet is to Take Cover" (undated). Credit: AIDS Education Collection; Department of Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation; River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester. Courtesy of Michigan Department of Public Health AIDS Prevention Program.

Producing patriotic types of posters goes back to the World War I, when visual cultures had a task to warn soldiers and marines about the high rates of syphilis, gonorrhea, and tuberculosis (Helfand, 1990, p. 5; Lupton, 1994, p. 65; Sontag, 1990, pp. 98-99). As Helfand (1990) argues, "[p]atriotism, along with fear, was the chief theme used by artists in creating the earliest poster images that would be taken seriously by both servicemen and the general public" (p. 5). Unlike the posters at the time that were quite misogynist because they equated women with venereal infections, visual cultures geared towards gay men in the 1990s intertwine patriotism and sexed up male bodies. Although separated by several decades and by different targeted audiences, these two types of visual cultures have one major thing in common: they reinforce the aesthetics of healthy traditional masculinity.

Regarding homosexual imaginaries, replicating traditional masculinity has been redeployed prior to the first wave of the AIDS crisis. A so called "gay clone" subcultures that emerged during the post-Stonewall era in the 1970s drew on the aesthetics of heterosexual working class occupations and appearance, including mustaches, muscular bodies, right Levi's jeans, and leather boots (Dean, 2002; Levine and Kimmel 1998; Mercer 1994; Meyer 1995). Although they emerged with the liberal politics of the early 1990s, we could claim that post-Stonewall gay male cultures reflected the inception of contemporary homonationalist tendencies noted in the sexual fetishizing of heterosexual male aesthetics. In addition, whereas Levine and Kimmel (1998) suggest that may people abandoned clone culture with the proliferation of AIDS in the 1980s (p. 8), I argue that the crisis and its aftermaths were an occasion to create a new rendition of this gay male aesthetics. Unlike the gay clone that was sexually adventurous, "a new gay man" that emerged during the 1990s was an instance of a new(?) gay clone, an archetype of redemption for the "irresponsible" past. As scholar Dion Kagan (2018) argues, "a new gay man" is "a white, bourgeois, domesticated image of gayness [with a figure that] adopts a more palatable role as the best friend of heterosexual women and willing aid to the narrative priorities of reproductive futures" (p. 21, 46). Such a

figure does not represent a threat to the heterosexual majority, but instead embraces its values, including white masculinity, monogamy, family, and commitment to health.

Alongside soldiers and marines, superheroes have also been used in HIV prevention as archetypical figures to send out patriotic messages in the service of commitment to health and nation. For instance, SFAF's multimedia campaign "The Rubbermen" (1990) that began at the annual San Francisco Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Parade and Celebration was comprised of bar cards that featured educational and flirtatious guidelines on how to "be a Rubberman," as well as a safer sex calendar for 1991. The Rubbermen calendar serves as a pledge: "As an Honorary Rubberman, I hereby commit to being a condom ambassador–using them [every time] I have sex and encouraging everyone I know to do the same" (SFAF 1990). The statement in the calendar defines the Rubbermen as a dedicated group of (new) gay men who have made a commitment to use condoms. This commitment "has the power to transform ordinary men into modern heroes…it has the power to save lives" (Rubbermen '91). The back of the calendar includes six photographs of predominantly white, average-looking, "family guy" type male volunteers who promoted the campaign while dressed in masks and capes would pass out condoms at bars and clubs across San Francisco. Posing for the camera during a volunteering event, each man is dressed in a white T-shirt with a large "R" in the middle, complemented by a cape (see fig. 4). The message is that anybody can be a superhero if they obey and nurture public health recommendations.

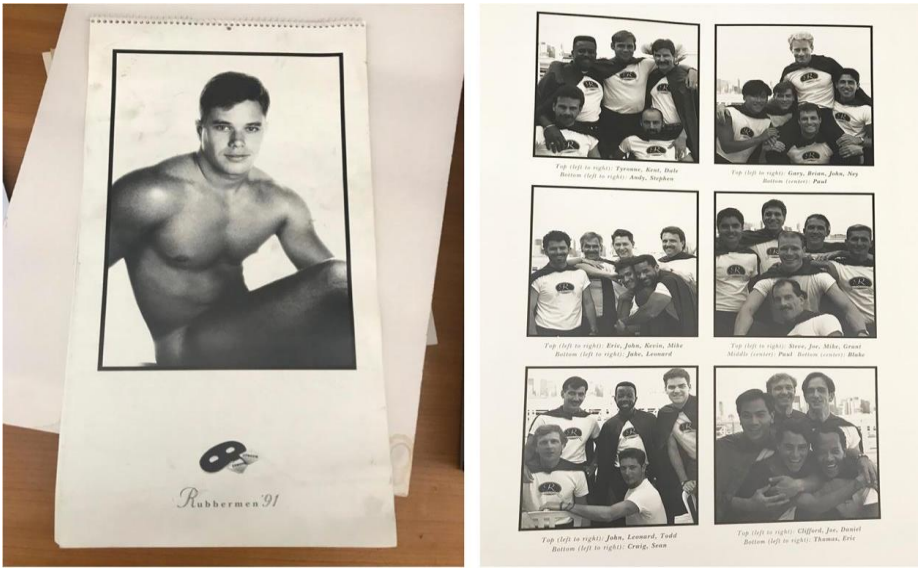

Figure 4. Safer sex calendar "The Rubbermen" (1990). Credit: Steve Speier – Chuck Frutchey Papers (1980-1993), GLBTQ Center, San Francisco Public Library. Courtesy of San Francisco AIDS Foundation.

"The Rubbermen" campaign is reminiscent of the visuals and discourses used in the campaign "PrEP Heroes" (2015) that promotes a pill that protects from HIV contraction. Made twenty-five years after "The Rubbermen," this campaign, organized by New York City's Housing Works Community Healthcare in 2015, represents a group of nine PrEP users who share their stories to raise awareness about HIV prevention. Photographed by celebrated photographer Mike Ruiz, a group of predominantly male models, with the exception of one trans model of color, are dressed in various costumes reminiscent of a sort of dystopian milieu. Covered in body paint and wearing props such as angel wings, satyr horns, football shoulder shields, and, spikes of silver armor, the models stand strong as if they are ready to take flight or go to battle (see fig. 5).

Figure 5. “PrEP Heroes” (2015). Courtesy of Mike Ruiz.

On the campaign’s website, there is a link to individual interviews with the models, who are all publicly known photographers, producers, porn actors, and dancers, “to highlight the heroism of those who protect themselves as well as their community from HIV exposure through diligent use of treatment and medications” (Housing Work 2016). Based on the statement that appears on the campaign’s website, PrEP Heroes are successfully protecting themselves and others from the virus by using “a secret weapon” as a “choice” and “commitment.” Although the visuals suggest comic-book superheroes, the text proposes that PrEP Heroes are simply “our friends, our co-workers, our partners, and our family members” who choose to become superheroes through their “diligent” use of a treatment that gives them a kind of power (Housing Work 2016). Their gym-toned and conventionally masculine bodies appear as if they were an effect of PrEP. Although divided by almost three decades, both “The Rubbermen” and “PrEP Heroes” rests upon the

aesthetic of traditional masculinity, the language of "personal responsibility," and "commitment;" all characteristics of proper citizenry and a driving force for gay liberalism.[10] As the phrases in the campaigns suggest, one can achieve a fit body and have sexual health under control by free will. While health is attributed to responsible citizens, illness is attributed to irresponsible people who get what they deserve, a division that comes down to the question of access to health care, socio-economic status, and race.

As literary figures, comic book superheroes were originally developed in response to social transformations brought about in the post-WWII era, while the genre has recently been revived amidst the rise of U.S. nationalism, followed by the 9/11 (Chambliss and Svitavsky, 2013, p. 17; Weltzien, 2005, p. 231; Hassler-Forest, 2012). Superheroes, just like warriors, soldiers, or marines, are usually an allegory of an "all-American" masculinity and heroic manhood–loyal, likeable patriots who fight the villains to protect American values, including truth, justice, and freedom. As scholars Julian C. Chambliss and William L. Svitavsky (2013) argue, the American superhero responded to a post-war American imagination that had been increasingly shaped by "an urban life amidst ethnic diversity and technological change" (p. 17). As at the time white masculinity was in crisis and the world was witnessing the subsequent rise of the civil rights movements, superheroes represent the symbol of strength and victory of white masculinity over "otherness" in the service of protecting so-called American values. Due to the larger implication that superheroes carry in the domain of preserving national pride, a gay male superhero that has transformed his lifestyle is in service of the U.S. nation-state, corresponds with the politics of homonationalism that is driven by inclusion in all-American, white, traditional values. Put differently, turn to superheroes genre corresponds with a homosexual biopolitical transition: these figures appear to be used in the service of constructing a new gay man who "conquered" AIDS and reestablished his heroic status, i.e. health and citizenry.

Only Skin Deep: Multiculturalism in HIV Prevention

The aesthetics of white heterosexual masculinity in the HIV sector reflects a glaring lack of diversity. When AIDS organizations were faced with a lack of services for people of color, including a lack of outreach to minorities, a lack of recruitment for employees and volunteers of color, as well as in overwhelmingly white board structures, they turned to the politic of multiculturalism. Paving the way for multiple AIDS organizations, San Francisco AIDS Foundation (SFAF) and the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) were two of the first organizations that began implementing programs and policies in sexual education that accounted for "minorities." Starting in 1989, GMHC incorporated multiculturalism as a part of its "strategic plan" in an attempt to identify strategies that would assist in overcoming barriers based on inadequate programs oriented towards communities of color.

GMHC defined multiculturalism as "the understanding, sensitivity, respect and support for various cultures, through the implementation of […] programs, services, education, advocacy, internal and external communications, employment, volunteerism, technical assistance and all aspects of human resources" (Gay Men's Health Crisis). For example, as a response to GMHC's problematic lack of racial diversity in staff and volunteer structures, in November 1989 the organization formed the People of Color Resource Committee (POCRC) that would serve people of color at GMHC, and diminish racism and the overwhelmingly white structure of the organization. With similar aspiration, approximately in 1985 SFAF founded the Third World AIDS Advisory Task Force (TWAATF), the first organization in San Francisco to focus on the needs of people of color affected by AIDS. With a mission to tackle the problems of race in safer sex campaigns, TWAATF began challenging safer sex's consumer model of prevention oriented strictly towards white gay men (Brier, 2009, pp. 47-48).

Historian Jennifer Brier (2009) observes efforts to tackle the question of race undertaken by SFAF in the mid-to-late 1980s as "a

particular moment in the history of liberalism in the post-1960s era" (p. 48). Although practiced in the HIV sector since the late 1980s, the concept of multiculturalism has its roots in the post-World War II liberation movements. Scholar Grace Kyungwon Hong (2012) argues that including cultural minorities in state-sponsored programs through multiculturalism is a result of the decolonization, civil rights, and Black Power movements that posed challenges to a weakened post-war white masculinity. As a part of "the liberal race paradigm," multiculturalism recognizes racial inequality as a problem, and, as Melamed (2006) argues, ensures programs "for race reform centered in abstract equality" that gets "absorbed into U.S. governmentality" (p. 2). Minorities were integrated into mainstream society through programs that would enable them equal legal protections under the law.

Although through multiculturalism people of color gain institutional and representational access, as scholar Roderick Ferguson (2012) asserts, the emergence of "minority culture" was not an example of power receding, but of its redeployment: "the arrival of this new object did not usher in a season of unbridled liberation but provided the building blocks for a new way to regulate" (p. 111). Liberal U.S. state ideologies are invested in non-heteronormative formations so they could regulate, control, and capitalize on them. The state institutions saw post-World War II minority insurgence as "a site of calculation and strategy," as "positivities that could be part of their own "series of aims and objectives"" (Ferguson, 2012, p. 8). Following Ferguson, Hong (2012) suggests that "the affirmation of previously degraded forms of subjectivity became a part of the apparatus of power" (p. 94).

As an attempt to resolve the question of race, there have been numerous campaigns that have used multicultural aesthetics. For example, a brochure "Man to Man" (1988) comes in several "replicated" forms. On the front cover of each brochure, a black and white photograph portrays a smiling male face. Although designed in the same style, on each different front cover, there is a model of a different race. Within the brochure, next to information on how to prevent HIV

contraction, there is a picture of a model gleefully holding a condom, showing it to the viewer (see fig. 6).

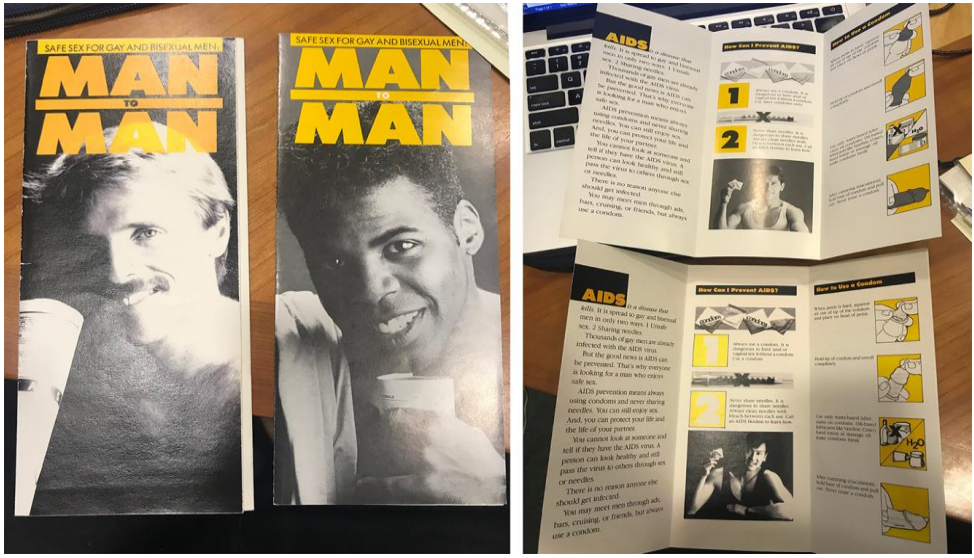

Figure 6. "Safe Sex for Gay and Bisexual Men: Man to Man" (1988). Credit: AIDS History Project — Ephemera Collection, 1973, 1981-2002, GLBTQ Center, San Francisco Public Library. Courtesy of San Francisco AIDS Foundation.

A similar visual politics was employed in GMHC's bilingual campaign "He Plays Hard… And He *Always* Uses Condoms!" (1992) that includes "hunkily multicultural guys in a locker room" (Span 1992). The posters gather three attractive men of different races dressed in tight sportswear, hanging out at the gym, an inevitable trope in the lifestyle of a young gay clone in the making. One of the men who seems to be sitting is turned away from the other two with a rather content expression of his face; he knows he is being watched and he approves their gaze. While the other two men behind him have obvious erotic interest, one of them whispers to the other's ear the poster's caption: "He Plays Hard… And He *Always* Uses Condoms!" (see fig. 7).

Figure 7. "He plays hard…" (1992). Courtesy of GMHC.

Comparably, earlier versions of such aesthetics are the posters by the Health Education Resource Organization (HERO), Baltimore titled "You won't believe what we like to wear in bed" (1986). Both posters portray two handsome men undressing, one taking his top off and the other gazing into the camera as he is unbuttoning his trousers. Identical tableau in both posters differs merely by men's racial background (see fig. 8). Although it was implemented at the time when condoms were a pivotal prevention tool, multiculturalism and cloning continue to be practiced in multiple campaigns that promote PrEP across the internet and social media platforms.

Figure 8. "You Won't Believe What We Like to Wear in Bed" (1986). Credit: National Library of Medicine Digital Collections. Courtesy of Jeff McElhaney.

While these safer sex campaigns deploy the imagery of diversity on one hand and the imagery of clone aesthetics on the other, the suggestion is that the problem of race is only skin deep. A letter debating the brochure "Safe Sex for Gay and Bisexual Men: Man to Man" (1988) sent to the Scientific Advisory Committee Members of the SFAF by Lyn Paleo, speaks to this point. The letter specifies, "There will be four different versions of this brochure. The text will remain the same, but the race of the models will be different in each" (Paleo, 1988). Such an approach, which does not account for culturally specific contexts, is a characteristic of multicultural politics that simultaneously places racial and cultural difference as its focus, but embraces a color-blind approach at the same time. Put differently, the theory of multiculturalism has been

used for nearly four decades to suggest that racism can be defied merely by visual representation.

Following scholar Ann DuCille (1996), in this type of advertising the world population's heterogeneity stops at the level of the skin. In DuCille's (1996) study on dolls with diversified complexions but white features, the scholar argues that "toymakers have got around the problem by making the other at once different and the same. In this sense, Mattel's play with mass-produced difference resembles the nation's uneasy play with a melting pot pluralism that both produces and denies difference" (p. 38). On the one hand, the cloning of racial difference has been made complementary to the goals of diversity that portrays the current system of power as benevolent, and on the other hand, the same system capitalizes on the inclusion of racial difference as a way of maintaining its power.

As we can see, the inclusion of race in HIV prevention geared towards men of color merely replicates the aesthetics of white gay male culture, who in turn appropriate or "clone" white heterosexual masculinity. Following scholar Laura Azzarito (2009) "multiculturalism's focus on 'difference,' its emphasis on acknowledging and celebrating diversity […] works as a form of regulation and discipline to the dominant norm, discourses of 'sameness'" (p. 192). Incorporation of "cultural minorities" into state-sponsored protection by appropriating white and male aesthetics suggests that "we are different but we are all the same" "implicitly maintain[ing] a colour-blind orientation that sets back to socio-educational, educational, economic, and racial struggle needed to pursue equality" (Azzarito, 2009, p. 192). Although multicultural politics allegedly deals with the question of race, copying racial and gender normativities appear in the service of maintaining a traditionally white and male standard. According to Azzarito (2009) "the Anglo-American culture becomes a superior bodily norm to other cultures, while represented "acontextual" and "taken-for-granted way of being human" (p. 186). An acontextual politics celebrates diversity, while at the same time producing and sustaining monocultural educational discourses that erase difference and homogenize diverse bodies

(Azzarito, 2009, p. 183). By intentionally omitting cultural context and history that shape the particularity of one's identity, multiculturalism deployed in these campaigns rewards proximity to racial and gender norms.

If the cultural context in these types of campaigns were more accurately depicted, multiculturalism would fail as a color-blind project: an approach that assumes that the problem of race can be solved through body politic erases the ongoing systemic racism that AIDS organizations were tasked with addressing. As Melamed (2006) argues, although multiculturalism was initially coined to enhance community-based racial reconstruction and signified a protest against white supremacy, this politics that promotes inclusion and diversity for justice on the part of historically marginalized groups has become a policy rubric for business, government, civil society, and education (p. 15). A turn to multiculturalism has not shifted the monopoly of white gay men in the overall AIDS project and certainly has not touched upon the socioeconomic problems that communities of color face. Although the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reports often cite socioeconomic status as an underlying factor in the pervasive disparities in health observed for racial minority populations, little consideration is given to the social history and prevailing social climate that is covered in racial discrimination.

Instead of forging individual behaviors as an initial category that mediates the transmission of HIV, a focus on the racialized economic and political state violence would significantly shift our understanding of how the epidemic and the virus work (Geary, 2014; Gossett, 2014; Shavers and Shavers, 2006; Watkins-Hayes, 2014). Treating systemic impoverishment, racial segregation, and mass incarceration as conditions of possibility that "allowed the HIV virus to establish itself and emerge as an epidemic," Geary (2014) argues that "the state has structured the ways in which black Americans have been made vulnerable to HIV exposure and infection far beyond the capacity of any individual or community mitigation or control" (pp. 23, 2). Ignorance continues to reproduce the division between healthy and unhealthy

bodies, a binary in which health and disease are characterized as a personal choice. Narratives in campaigns that invite their targeted audiences to make a right choice or commit, disregard larger socio-economic systemic issues, which produce the conditions of one's vulnerability to HIV that go well beyond one's individual behavior. As scholar and archivist Che Gossett (2014) argues, the rhetoric of "individualizing neoliberal logic of choice and responsibility" that public health officials utilize in their reports on HIV rates forecloses the possibility of systemic analysis (p. 43). The focus on behaviors and narratives of choice is used against poor, gender non-conforming, and trans communities of color, including sex workers and drug users, who are not seen in any of the campaigns that promote multiculturalism.

AIDS, Anti-Blackness, and America

As this paper has shown, the incorporation of multiculturalism in safer sex advertising theoretically supports life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness of all, but at the same time operates on firmly set hierarchies between the less and more deserving of health. On a larger scale, the conditions that intentionally produce one's vulnerability to the virus partake in creating radical conditions of erasure. As statistics by CDC demonstrate, socioeconomically vulnerable communities of color have been continually exposed to disproportionate HIV rates.[11] Specifically, as during the early crisis years in the 1980s, poor Black populations continue to be deprived of basic health needs and medical protection today. Fostered by the U.S. nation-state and supported by the public health sector, and the pharmaceutical-industrial complex, the lack of care towards Black people's exposure to the conditions that create vulnerability to the virus as an ongoing necropolitical strategy.

Following Mbembe (2003), necropolitical agenda is seen in the state's production of death, reserved for those communities who do not comply with the demands of racial, gender, and national normativity. Structural inequalities that uphold high HIV rates among Black

communities are thus a part of a larger problem of anti-Blackness that has been present in legal, social, and political structures for decades. In other words, the public health system is only one example of the overall historical anti-Black sentiment in the USA, while other "anti-black enterprises" include, as Gossett (2014) argues, from "lynching, Jim Crow-era racial apartheid and terrorism, to contemporary militarized police violence against black people crystallizing in 'stop and frisk' orders and reminiscent of slave patrols [and] outright police assassination of black 'citizens' such as Amadou Diallo, Oscar Grant[, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Stephon Clark, Terence Crutcher, Alton Sterling, Philando Castile, Eric Garner, Laquan McDonald, Breonna Taylor,] and so many others" (p. 32).

The lack of access and distribution of HIV treatments and prevention methods thus counts towards the conditions that manipulate the mobility, prosperity, and progress of Black people. As during the early crisis years, poor Black people continue to be deprived of basic health needs. In such conditions, the structural inequalities maintain Black death as an integral part of life. As scholar Rinaldo Walcott (2013) argues, whereby death is a universal outcome of life–ahead–everyday state violence as practiced by police forces and institutional anti-Black racism makes death as integral part of "black peoples' everyday livability" in the present (pp. 143-144). The ones predisposed for death are subjected to conditions of life bestowing upon them the status of "living dead" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 40). The current structural inequalities that uphold high HIV rates constitute what literary scholar and historian Saidiya Hartman (1997) calls "the aftermath of slavery"–the material residues of slavery present throughout legal, social, political and emotional structures that characterize the conditions under which Black life presently exists. These anti-Black institutional spaces work towards erasing a collective Black body from history and consciousness, while multiculturalism is an instance of a system that contributes to this intent.

Conclusion:
Multiculturalism in the Service of Homonationalism

To conclude, the turn to multiculturalism has not shifted the monopoly of white gay men's organizations in the overall AIDS project. White homosexual men have undergone the biopolitical transition and become an integral part that sustains a national life, while Black queer life is still exposed to socio-economic and cultural disparity, and struggle. As we have seen, although multiculturalism in the HIV sector has been deployed as a strategy to address these problems, this system purely re-centers whiteness and maleness; regardless of the "diverse" representation that is of immense importance in the HIV sector, the safer sex campaigns that cater to audiences of color rest merely upon proximity to gender and racial normativity. Similar to homosexual men, who signify "the most exemplary […] incorporation of previously despised subject formation" into the systems of power (Hong, 2012, p. 93), race has undergone similar principles of inclusion. In such a consideration, the alleged anti-racist commitment of AIDS organizations merely replicates the white standard, thus making the race and racial relations "the political unconscious of sexuality" (Reddy 2011: 17). To expand on such a claim, it could be said that the analyzed campaigns geared towards populations of color are examples of multiculturalism that exists in the service of national belonging. Put differently, campaigns that portray bodies of color while "cloning" a predominantly white standard represent a space where the two seemingly disparate missions of the AIDS organizations–multiculturalism and homonationalism–meet. Such a strategy has been used to erase cultural differences and to sustain the status quo, while writing over socioeconomically vulnerable bodies of color with lack of care, disregard, and exclusion.

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Endnotes

[1] In the U.S.-based HIV sector, there have been a variety of approaches in advertising protection from AIDS directed towards diverse "at-risk" audiences. However, since organizations oriented towards gay men have had acquired the most funding in the HIV prevention sector, majority of promotional materials has been dedicated to their sexual health (Román, 2000, pp. 7-8). Following Stonewall Riots in 1969, gay men acquired "a formidable store of cultural and social resources to use in the struggle to shape policies towards AIDS treatments, research, and prevention" (Escoffier, 1998, p. 2). Unlike the usual visual cultures of public health that would focus on danger and death, safer sex messaging geared to gay men promoted "a beautiful body" to "sex-up" life, instead of exposing its limitations (Cooter and Stein, 2010, p. 196; Gilman, 1995, pp. 115-172). Such visual cultures were replicating aesthetics of ads for gay saunas and sex clubs, found in publications targeted specifically to gay men (Brier, 2009; Fiahlo and Katz, 2013). As historian Jennifer Brier (2009) argues, eroticizing prevention methods has developed from gay men's initial resistance to the use of condoms, which were initially marketed for straight audiences. Accordingly, there was a need to incorporate condoms into existing gay men's practices and venues.

[2] Since its approval by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), PrEP has been sparking multiple controversies. As the Black AIDS Institute (2016) illustrates, socioeconomically vulnerable Black people do not have full access to information about or to the prophylaxis itself. Instead, the largest bulk of PrEP prescriptions between 2012 and 2014 occurred in urban neighborhoods populated by predominantly white middle class gay men.

[3] Whereas Puar (2007) argues that homonationalism is tied to the liberal gay agenda that developed with the post-9/11 re-emergence of American nationalism, scholar Scott Lauria Morgensen (2010) ties homonationalism to settler sexualities during Native American genocide. Scholar Hiram Pérez (2015) furthermore observes that colonization and cosmopolitanism are sites that precede homonationalism in the function of U.S. expansionist politics.

[4] Scholar Wende Elizabeth Marshall (2005) argues that limiting race to the skin level "works to efface the social production of health and shroud the relationship between capitalism, poverty, race and disease" (p. 2517). Scholar Dorothy Roberts (2013), argues that race was historically considered a scientific and biological fact to naturalize white supremacy: "[a]pplying taxonomic methodology to human bodies, eighteenth-century European naturalists classified human beings into races in order to make European conquest and enslavement of foreign peoples seem in line with nature" (Roberts, 2013, p. 151). As a taxonomic method, race was thus used to distinguish white bodies—the embodiment of rationality, self-containment, and health–from non-white bodies that were equated with disease, dysfunction, and pathology (Lupton, 1995, p. 11, 131; Marshall, 2005, p. 2517).

[5] Medicinal cultural production began with the proliferation of safer sex programming and protests to resist the greed of pharmaceutical companies in the late 1980s. For instance, safer sex campaigns that highlights the importance of having sex with condoms and of being on PrEP, includes posters, brochures, pamphlets, photography, pins, T-shirts, billboards, literary works, drawings, and installations modeled upon post-Stonewall gay and lesbian cultures. In addition, starting with protests by the collectives ACT UP and Gran Fury, the medicinal cultural production continues to the moment when the FDA released antiretroviral therapies (ART) in 1996, and PrEP in 2012.

[6] As collector William H. Helfand (1990) argues "many [safer sex] posters are worth keeping, either for their artistic qualities or for their timeliness as evidence of commercial or social attitudes. For those concerning health matters, particularly public health issues, they reflect problems of importance to governments or to private groups who provide posters as part of educational campaigns" (p. 1). Whereas in the 21st century posters are no longer a primary medium for distributing safer sex information, digital banners that appear across the world wide web are equally valuable visual documents. As curator Alex Fiahlo (2013) argues, "[w]hereas in the past a ubiquitous AIDS poster would be "plastered" across the city, nowadays an image […] can be equally ubiquitous online" (p. 30).

[7] As preliminary research for this project, I have visited the GLBTQ Center at the San Francisco Public Library, the Dr. John P. De Cecco Archives & Special Collections of the GLBT Historical Society, the Archives and Special Collections of the UC San Francisco Library, the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at USC Libraries, the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the New York Public Library, and NYU's Special Collections at the Fales Library.

[8] Whereby performance in its cultural definition usually involves an audience and a stage, we can also think of "a wide range of representational and communicative behaviors" as performance (Chambers-Letson, 2013, p. 6). As approached by scholars in performance studies, performance can be an object of study, an analytic lens, and a method of inquiry and intervention (Fuentes, 2019, p. 11). According to scholar Richard Schechner (2013), while something "is" performance, a variety of objects can be analyzed "as" performance. Whereby something "is" a performance based on the definitions in cultural history (e.g. music, dance, or performance art), performance studies nurtures a tradition where visual cultural forms (e.g. a painting, a novel, a photograph) as well everyday political, economic, and social events (e.g. a protest) are conceptualized "as" performance. Schechner (2013) argues that "to treat any object, work, or product "as" performance […] means to investigate what the object does, how it interacts with other objects or beings, and how it relates to other objects or beings" (p. 30). Expanding on Schechner, scholar Diana Taylor (2003) lists civil disobedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity as examples of events that can be analyzed "as" performance (3).

[9] Chambers-Letson draws on philosopher Roland Barthes's study of a photograph. For Barthes (1981), two major elements of a photograph are "the studium" and "punctum." While the studium refers to a photograph's obvious meaning, available to everyone, punctum refers to the special effect that a photograph may have. The punctum emerges from a way of looking at a photograph that "rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces" the spectator (Barthes, 1981, pp. 26-27). In other words, the punctum denotes a spectator's intimate, affective attachment to the photograph. Drawing on Chambers-Letson's (2013) interpretation of the punctum as an element that makes the encounter with the image performative (p. 153), we may claim that

the erotic imagery of safer sex production has puncturing and thus performative effects.

[10] Rooted in consumption, this gay politics is part of the overall contemporary neoliberalism that creates an environment where citizens have an illusion of a free choice and authenticity (Lupton 1995). Neoliberal system has a dual function: on the one hand, it regulates bodies through more apparent forms of regulatory activities–carried out through administrative, legislative, and institutional means, and on the other hand, it regulates citizen-consumers through less apparent self-governing (Lupton, 1995, p. 9). Such rule of the neoliberal governance is not domineering, repressive or authoritarian, but rather a part of multiple institutions and agencies directed at enhancing personal freedoms and individual development (Lupton and Peterson, 1996, p. 12). As a result of such governance, the neoliberal subject has an impression of individuality and free choice, which is inexplicably also related to the possibility to consume. In public health, the rhetoric of personal responsibility places a focus on the individual's actions, who is then held accountable for utilizing the provided resources.

[11] Although comprising only 13 percent of the U.S. population, Black Americans have suffered 42 percent of 37,832 HIV diagnosis in 2018 (CDC 2020). Since the beginning of the epidemic in 1981, an estimated 270,726 Black people with AIDS have died, including an estimated 7,053 in 2017 (CDC 2015; CDC 2020).

Masculinities at War: Rethinking Turkey's 1968[1]

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Abstract:

The study of Turkey's 1968 offers an interesting case, since not only was Turkey a devout NATO ally, as a neighboring country of the Soviet Union during the Cold War era, but also because Turkey consequently found itself experiencing extremes leading to political polarization and violence in the late 1960s and 1970s. The 1968 generation in Turkey first emerged as a student movement focusing on reform within the university system, but towards the end of the 60s, it evolved into a revolutionary movement, eventually fighting for the use of revolutionary violence after the military intervention of 1971. This paper argues that the dominant discourses of the period, such as the myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist, and developmentalist discourses, and the martyrdom discourse meld perfectly with a masculine discourse and underlines the importance of introducing masculinity studies for a deeper understanding of Turkey's 1968. 'Masculinity' is indeed a keyword for rethinking the 1960s and 1968 generation in Turkey, as well as rethinking the Turkish

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political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place. In light of the works of Raewyn Connell, who argues that "gender relations are a major component of social structure as a whole, and gender politics are among the main determinants of our collective fate", it is argued in this paper that Turkey's 1968 cannot be understood without "constantly moving towards gender (1995:76)". The paper discusses how the Turkish 1968 student movement did not only instrumentalize a masculine discourse but also that it is possible to observe a war of masculinities. Turkey's 1968 generation's masculinity was constructed in relation to the colonial masculinity of the United States as symbolized by the demonstrations against the Six Fleet of the US navy in Istanbul.

Keywords: 1968 generation, political discourses, masculinity, political violence, Turkey

Erkekliklerin Savaşı: Türkiye'nin 1968'lerini Yeniden Düşünmek

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Öz:

1968'lerin Türkiye'sini çalışmak, yalnızca Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca Sovyetler Birliği'ne komşu iken NATO'nun sadık bir üyesi olması açısından değil, aynı zamanda 1960'ların sonunda ve 1970'lerde Türkiye'nin kendisini sıklıkla politik kutuplaşmaya ve şiddete yol açan aşırılıkların ortasında bulması bakımından ilginç bir konudur. Türkiye'de 1968 kuşağı ilk olarak üniversite sistemi içerisindeki reformlara odaklanan bir öğrenci hareketi olarak ortaya çıkmış, fakat 60'ların sonlarına doğru 1971 askeri darbesinin ardından devrimci şiddeti kullanarak devrimci bir harekete dönüşmüştür. Bu çalışma; gençlik efsaneleri, emperyalizm karşıtlığı, yenilikçi ve ilerlemeci söylemler gibi dönemin baskın politik söylemlerinin ve şehitlik söyleminin eril söylem ile mükemmel bir uyum içerisinde olduğunu tartışır ve eleştirel erkeklik çalışmalarının Türkiye'nin 1968'lerini daha derinden kavrayabilmek adına ne denli önemli olduğunun altını çizer. Aslında 'erkeklik,' eril söylemin önemli bir yer işgal ettiği Türk siyasi kültürünü tekrar gözden geçirilmesi kadar, aynı zamanda 1960'ı ve Türkiye'deki 1968 kuşağını tekrar düşünmek için de bir anahtar kelimedir. Bu çalışmada "toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin bir bütün olarak sosyal yapıların ayrılmaz bir bileşeni" olduğu ve "toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarının müşterek kaderimizin temel belirleyicileri arasında" olduğunu ortaya koyan

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Raewyn Connell'ın çalışmaları ışığında, Türkiye 1968'inin "sürekli biçimde toplumsal cinsiyete doğru yönelmeden" anlaşılamayacağını iddia eder (1995:76). Bu makale, Türk 1968 öğrenci hareketinin yalnızca eril söylemi nasıl araçsallaştırdığını değil, aynı zamanda hareketin içerisinde bir erkeklikler savaşını gözlemlemenin de mümkün olduğunu tartışmaktadır. Türkiye'nin 1968 kuşağının erkekliği, İstanbul'daki ABD donanmasının Altıncı Filosu'na karşı yapılan gösterilerle sembolleşmiş olan ABD'nin sömürgeci erkekliğine istinaden inşa edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 1968 kuşağı, politik söylemler, erkeklik, politik şiddet, Türkiye

There is a rich literature on student movements in the 1960s in the West, but it seems important to study that period in different geographies in order to see the bigger picture, as well as to better comprehend the different colors of youth movements all around the globe. The study of the 1968 generation in Turkey offers a very interesting case since it led to political polarization and violence in late 1960s and 1970s. Turkey's 1960s ended with a military intervention, the military coup of March 12th, 1971. At the end of the military regime, almost all of the leaders from the 1968 generation were killed, either in executions, operations, or torture cells. With the end of the March 12th military regime and the declaration of amnesty in 1974, the surviving members of the 1968 generation were all released from prison. Since the leaders of the movement were all killed, it was the time of "apostles", using Gün Zileli's (2002) words, and there was a fragmentalization of the movement continuing the "struggle" even more strongly joined by the members of the 1978 generation. Thus, "social movements continued to rise, parallel to its reactionary opponents. The surmounting clashes between leftist revolutionary movements and its reactionary-fascist opponents determined the political fate of the country (Alper, 2009, p. IX)". The result was the military coup of September 12th, 1980, leading Turkey into an authoritarian military regime.

Even though there are many important biographies[1], memoires[2], and interviews[3] by the members of the 1968 generation in Turkey written *a posteriori*, the original documentation of the period is still an unresearched area. The existing literature in the social sciences on the 1968 generation in Turkey aims to contribute to the discussions on the history of the left in Turkey and social movements' literature[4]. In this paper, however, I aim to refer to the existing literature as well as focus on the original documentation of the period based on my research of books and brochures, personal archives, periodicals, and audiovisual material present at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam[5].

This paper argues that 'masculinity' is a keyword for rethinking Turkey's 1968 as well as the Turkish political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place.[6] Masculinity Studies in Turkey is a developing field and there is a promising literature demonstrating the importance of introducing masculinities in the analysis of modern Turkey (see Sancar 2009; Özbay 2013, 2016) and this paper aims to contribute to that literature with a special emphasis on the 1960s. During that period, there was the melding of the different discourses (myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and martyrdom) with a masculine discourse. As Raewyn Connell (1995:76) argues, "[g]ender relations are a major component of social structure as a whole, and gender politics are among the main determinants of our collective fate", and accordingly, this paper argues that Turkey's 1968 cannot be understood without "constantly moving towards gender". An analysis of Turkey's leftist student movement demonstrates how masculinity can be read as a keyword of the period and that the movement finds itself in the middle of a war of masculinities.

The paper starts with a brief discussion of Turkey's 1968 by focusing on the student profile of the 1960s and continues with the dominant discourses of the 1968 student movement and underlines how the masculine discourse successfully melds into the other dominant discourses and that Turkey's 1968 cannot be understood without underlining the dominance of this masculine discourse. Then the paper discusses masculinity as a keyword for analyzing Turkey's 1960s and underlines a war of masculinities, a war between that of the 1968 student movement and of the US imperialism.

Turkey's 1968

Student profile of the 1960s

The 1968 generation in Turkey first emerged as a student movement demanding reforms in the university system, but with the end of the 1960s, the movement evolved from a student

movement into a revolutionary one, and finally to one arguing to use revolutionary violence after the military intervention of 1971. Starting with 8 April 1968 rectorate building at Middle Eastern University, the wave of university occupations began in June of 1968 at Ankara University in the Faculty of Language-History-Geography on June 10th, 1968, and spread to their Faculty of Law and Sciences on June 11th, and then to the Istanbul University Faculty of Law on June 12th, 1968. In other words, the 1968 movement started as a student movement and thus recruited its members mainly from 'university students', which is why it becomes indispensable to study the profile of university students of the period in order to understand the dynamics of the movement.

An in-depth study of the profile of university students from the period shows that only a minority of young people had the 'privilege' to study in a university. In the 1968 academic year, for example, the percentage of university students in the same age category was only 6.5%. When the university student category is analyzed according to gender, we see the dominance of the males: 19% of the university students were female, whereas 81% were male.[7] There is also the dominance of a certain class within the university student category; that of students coming from civil or military bureaucratic middle-class families. In short, among the characteristics of the university student profile, we see the dominance of the males coming, for the most part, from civil or military bureaucratic families.[8] That brings about the dominance of the male category within the 1968 student movement, which in turn, makes the research on the 1968 generation a male-dominated one. However, it is important to underline that, recently, research on the 1968 generation also began to focus on the 'women' of 1968 and female members of the generation have begun to tell their own memoirs of 1968 in Turkey and create their own social memories.[9] The memoirs and anecdotes of these women underline the male dominance during the period enables a feminist account of Turkey's 1960s.

Dominant discourses of Turkey's 1968 generation

In order to understand Turkey's 1968 and underline its specificities, this paper will discuss the dominant discourses of Turkey's 1968 generation. The paper argues that masculine discourse melds perfectly with some other dominant discourses of the movement as it will be discussed below ("myth of youth", anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and "martyrdom"), and as a result, the movement reaches/gains a certain momentum in the late 1960s. Hence, it is argued that a multi-layered analysis of these discourses is necessary in order to understand the 1968 generation as well as the political culture in Turkey.

In Turkish political culture, since the nineteenth century, there is what I call the "myth of youth" (Lüküslü 2009), in which young people play an active role in the political space. If youth, as a social category, is indeed a construct of industrialization, urbanization, and modernity (e.g. Levi & Schmitt 1996), then the emergence of youth as a social category in the history of modern Turkey dates from the nineteenth century modernization movements of the Ottoman Empire. That era witnessed the emergence of 'modern' Western-style schools, where the generation underwent a 'modern' form of socialization (e.g. Fortna 2002; Sakaoğlu 2003; Somel 2001. Interestingly, this modernization process constructed youth as a political category whose ultimate objective was to save the Ottoman Empire from collapse and restore its glory (Georgeon 2007; Zürcher 1984, 47-9). I refer to this definition of youth as a political category, as the "myth of youth", and argue that it has been a key component of Turkish political culture since the nineteenth century. Although the empire's young generation accepted its political mission, it also believed that the way to save the empire was to rebel against the Sultan Abdulhamid II and his oppressive regime. Hence, the Young Turk movement and the revolution of 1908 were in fact products of the modernization process. Likewise, those who founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923 were all members of the last generation of the empire and had inherited this myth of youth, which therefore became the

symbol of the young republic. The Republic's first generation (1923–1950), a restricted group of those privileged enough to have received an education, was constructed according to the principles of the Republic and Kemalist ideology, and is seen as the "vanguard" (Neyzi 2001) of the Republic.

We observe that in the 1960s, youth acted in line with this myth of youth and was mobilized in order to save the State. On December 27–29th, 1968, forty-seven revolutionary organizations from different universities and cities organized a protest march between two cities, Izmit and Istanbul, against the foreign capital, common market, and assembly industry. Following this protest, a brochure was published in March 1969 by the Istanbul Technical University Student Union and Istanbul Technical University Technical Schools' Student Union. The brochure demonstrates vividly the dominance of the myth of youth. In this 31-page brochure, we see that the students say 'no' to the Sixth Fleet of the US army, foreign capital, common market, and assembly industry, and underline that they were children when the Marshall Plan[10] was signed, but now these days are over since they are the 'young' of this country and say no to this plan of exploitation (see Illustration 1).

This rejection of the economic and political role imposed on Turkey by the United States to be a loyal and docile ally, brings one of the dominant discourses of the 1968 generation in Turkey: the anti-imperialist discourse joined with anti-Americanism in the spirit of the Cold War era. Saving the nation passes through an anti-imperialist discourse during this Cold War era and reaches an anti-American momentum, in particular, with demonstrations against the Sixth Fleet of the US navy in Istanbul and the protests against the US Ambassador to Turkey, Robert Kommer[11], during his visit to the Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara on January 6th, 1969. Needless to say, this anti-imperialist and anti-American discourse of the 1968 generation in Turkey is in strong solidarity with Vietnam and Palestine, and there is a reflection of the Vietnam War and the Palestine issue in Turkey. This anti-imperialist discourse thus seems to give the 1968 generation in Turkey a transnational aspect, while it also enables us to create a link

with the 'local' rebellions and revolts in Anatolian history against tyranny. In the brochure of the Istanbul Technical University published in March 1969, we see this reference to the Anatolian folk culture. In the brochure, famous folk literature composed of epic narratives about outlaw heroes like the epic of Köroğlu are being rewritten to talk about the current situation in Turkey. For example, Köroğlu's epic address to the *Bey* of Bolu in a harshly critical manner is rewritten to address NATO (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği, 1969, p. 8-9).

In line with this anti-imperialist discourse, it is possible to observe the dominance of a modernist and developmentalist discourse in the brochures of the 1968 generation in Turkey[12]. It is argued that imperialism is an important obstacle for the development of the country and that for the country to develop, Turkey needs to be totally 'independent'. Indeed, the Turkish 1968 shares a characteristic of the Third World student movements of the period. Emin Alper (2009, p. 92), discussing the 1960s student movement in a global perspective, argues that "unlike the Western student movements' anti-nationalist, anti-modernizationist characteristics, student movements of the Third World are strongly nationalists (nationalism with a leftist version) and are in support of modernization, development, and industrialization discourses". A brochure published by the Hacettepe University Faculty of Medicine students discussing health issues in Turkey demonstrates how the students saw a strong link between imperialism and the development of the country. In this report, published after a field trip to eastern Turkey, it is underlined that health problems in Turkey are directly linked to other issues in Turkey. The brochure notes:

> We believe that before any action towards the development of the country can be taken, our country needs to gain full independence, because all of these actions are incompatible with the profits of the imperialists and compradors.
>
> There appears the task of the revolutionaries: To work for the full independence of Turkey…, which is indeed the

> prerequisite for the resolutions of so many of our problems (Ertürk, 1970, p. 12, my translation).

With the death of Vedat Demircioğlu, the first 'martyr' of the 1968 generation in Turkey, through an operation by the police at the Istanbul Technical University dormitory after demonstrations against the Sixth Fleet, begins a discourse of 'martyrdom'. The number of 'martyrs' in the 1968 generation will rise, and as already stated with the March 12th, 1971 military intervention which Çimen Günay Erkol (2016, p. XI) calls as a coup "which traumatized the climactic 1968 spirit in Turkey" and "which punished 1968 radicalism grievously and put the brakes on the rise of socialism in Turkey", all of the leaders of the movement will be either killed in operations, in political executions, or in torture cells. As stated by Hamit Bozarslan (2011), 'martrydom' is indeed one of the keywords for understanding not only the Turkish case but also the Middle East. These deaths, as well as the torture endured in prisons during the military regime, should be seen for this generation as "pursuing the politics of certainty, in which death is the mysterious but unambiguous point of reference upon which to build a moral word and a sense of community (Spencer, 2000, p. 134)". It is, in fact, through these martyrs and the martyrdom discourse that the state violence and political bravery of the victims/martyrs are transferred into the political imagery. In the brochures published, it is possible to see this transfer of the martyrs into political imagery. The names of the martyrs are continuously stated and commemorated and there is also the production of folk poem for them (see in particular *Dosttan Dosta Deyişler*).

Thus, all of these discourses discussed above meld with a masculine one and it becomes the duty of the young of the country to change the situation. The illustration below (discussed earlier in the text) states that as children, the members of the generation could not say no to the Marshall Plan but now as the young of the country, they say no to the plan.

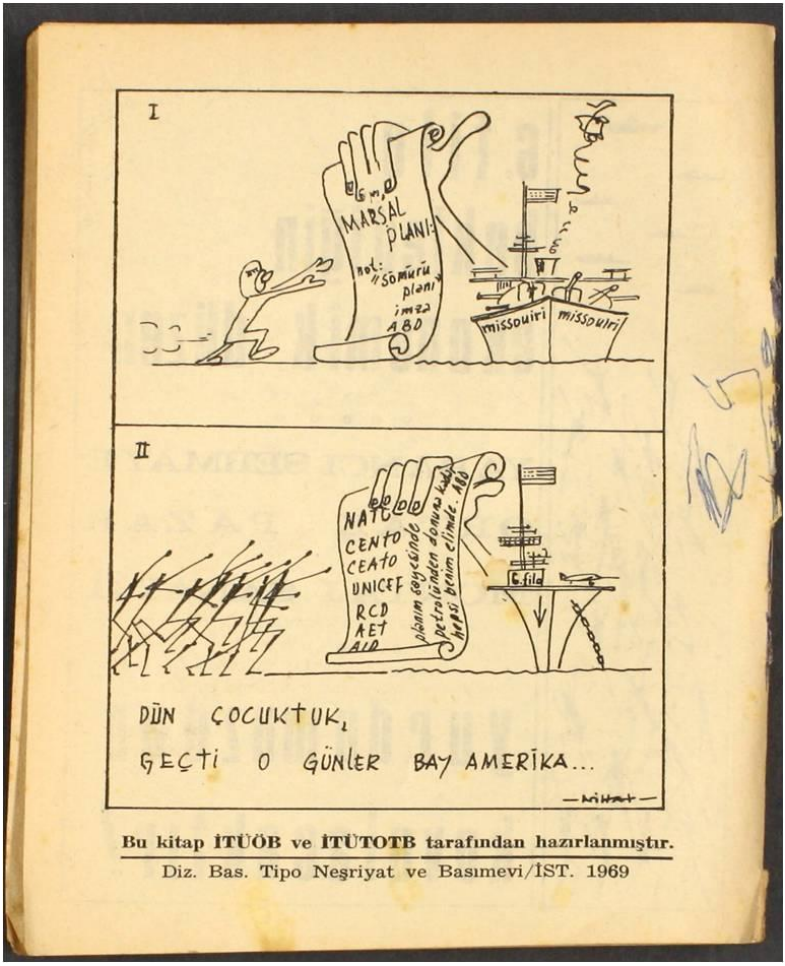

İllustration 1

Yesterday we were children, those days are gone Mr. America. (İTÜÖB, İTÜTOTB, 6. Filo Beklediğin Ekonomik Düzen Yurdumuzdan Kovulacaktır, p.2)

Masculinites at war:
Masculinity as a keyword for studying Turkey's 1968

Before discussing how masculinity can be used as a keyword to study Turkey's 1968 and the 1960s in Turkey and that the movement finds itself in a war of masculinities, it is important to underline that Turkey's political culture was (and continues to be) a predominantly 'masculine' one. Tanıl Bora and Ulaş Tol (2009, p. 826) argue that politics in Turkey has been "male politics" not only because of the fact that it is in great majority men doing politics but also because of the dominant mentality underlining that politics is a man's job and that politicians masculinity had always been shaped around "proving oneself, challenging other, and showing the efforts for showing what they are not [showing all the efforts to show that they are not weak and womanly for example]". The study by Funda Şenol Cantek and Levent Cantek (2009, p. 80) on the history of political humor in the early republican era demonstrate that in Turkish political humor, there is a tradition of caricaturizing male politicians as women and this portrayal always has a negative connotation symbolizing being 'incapable, weak, and wrong'. It seems that today's political culture continues to use this male discourse and associate the opponent with characteristics such as not being manly or brave. In Turkish political culture, politics is seen as a space in which men prove their manliness and that on one side there is "honest, righteous, and brave politicians" while the other those "acting like a bellydancer, curling or twisting" (Bora and Tol, 2009, p. 827).

As already discussed, the university student profile of the period was a dominantly male one with only 19% female students. That dominance can also be seen in the student movement, which later on transformed into a revolutionary movement. As already stated, the female members of the generation have currently begun to write about the 1968 generation and constitute their own social memories. A female member of the 1968 generation, Jülide Aral, comments as follows on the question "Was there equality between men and women in the movement?": "Were we equal to men? In theory we were. However, the

dominance of men was undeniable. They were there in committees, in the administrations, and there were only a few women, and they were in lower positions (Mater, 2009, p. 116)". In a similar manner, Şule Zaloğlu Perinçek, also argues that the members of the 1968 generation were also members of the patriarchal society, and thus interiorized the existent gender regime and division of labor. She explains, for example, that men were the ones who were developing the theories, writing articles and making decisions about the fate of the movement, whereas women were active in jobs such as typing, preparing tea, or cleaning the office (Yazıcıoğlu, 2010, p. 186-187).

Çimen Günay-Erkol (2016, p. 10) underlines that during the period "masculinity was the primary constituent both in Turkish Marxism and anticommunism" and that "both camps celebrated traditional masculine concerns and phallic potency, creating similar ideals of masculine toughness". As a female scholar studying the documentation of the period, the dominance of the masculine discourse struck me and made me realize the importance of 'masculinity' as a keyword for understanding the period.[13] While reading the documentation of the period, I observed that, especially with the transformation of the student movement into a revolutionary one and the fragmentation of the left, a pyramid of hierarchy among men was created, even among the leftist groups, at the top of which were characteristics like bravery, heroism, and honor, and at the bottom of the hierarchy, alongside the opponents, resided characteristics like traitors, opportunists, and collaborationists. There were also those 'outsider' categories used for the people on the right. 'Dog' was often used as a metaphor for the rightists, alluding that they were the servants of imperialism. In fact, we observe that a local "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 2001) was being created hegemonic masculinity of the 1968 movement, and at the top of which were characteristics like bravery and honor.[14] It is important to highlight that the 'mythical' figures of the 1968 generation in Turkey were all portrayed and "remembered" by their bravery and honor: Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan were executed; İbrahim Kaypakkaya was tortured to death, and Mahir Çayan

and his comrades were killed in an operation by the 12 March military regime, all of which were demonstrated as examples of bravery combining discourses of martyrdom and masculinity.

For understanding how Turkey's 1968 generation's masculinity is being constructed, it is important to underline the existence of an anticommunist propaganda during Cold War era in Turkey, as it is the case in other ally countries of the US. The peculiarity of the Turkish case is that the "inveterate enemy" is the neighboring country, the Soviet Union (Öztan, 2012). The anticommunist propaganda uses a masculine discourse against the left. In their article "Anticommunist Fantasies," Aylin Özman and Aslı Yazıcı Yakın (2012, p. 125) demonstrate how this anticommunist propaganda is defining communism as a system in which there is a common sharing of women and that the following anecdote is well known in Turkey: "The husband comes home. While taking off his coat he sees on the hat stand in the entrance another man's hat. He puts back on his coat and leaves the house; communism had come".

Against such anticommunist propaganda, the 1968 movement melds different discourses (already studied) with a masculine one and argues that what they try to do is, in fact, save the country, threatened by the dominance of US/imperialism. A good example demonstrating the melding of different discourses with a masculine one can be seen in the discourses of the movement against the Sixth Fleet. The Sixth Fleet of the US was one of the main forces constituting the backbone of the US military presence in the Middle East during the Cold War era and it regularly visited Turkish ports throughout the 1960s. Following the tension between Egypt and Israel, and the Six Days War in the summer of 1967, and the explicit support of the US of Israel, "the Sixth Fleet became the central symbolic figure of imperialism, around which the main demonstrations and clashes would take place (Alper, 2009, p. 312)". In the brochures of the student movement and in the slogans used, it is interesting to see the melding of the anti-American (anti-imperialist) discourse with, specifically, the developmentalist and the masculine discourse. In the brochures it is argued (aside from the other arguments) that the American soldiers were turning the country into a "brothel".

That is why it is the task of the youth of the country (the myth of youth discourse) to protest and stop the Sixth Fleet's visits to the country.

This example not only shows how different masculinities are at war but also helps us to deepen our analysis on hegemonic masculinity, since local masculinities are being constructed in relation to each other and in relation to the global hegemonic masculinity, and thus helps to reflect upon global inequalities. Earlier scholarship has demonstrated that European societies have used "gendered concepts and stereotypes to legitimize and perpetuate their colonial governance and their exercise of command and subordination (Sabelli, 2011, p. 138)". "Colonial masculinity" (Sinha, 1995) defines the East with an Orientalist approach and constructs a certain hegemonic masculinity over it. Spivak (1988), in her influential essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," underlines the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized man and explains that the colonizer plays the role of "white men saving brown women from brown men". This raises the question of power and hierarchy between "white" men and "brown" men. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 842) argue, the "locally hegemonic version of masculinity can be used to promote self-respect in the face of discredit, for instance, from racist denigration" and can only be understood in relation to its adversary. That is why "dominant, subordinated, and marginalized masculinities are in constant interaction, changing the conditions for each other's existence and transforming themselves as they do" (Connell, Masculinities, p. 198). Needless to say, these masculinities that need to be discussed in relation to each other, serve to enforce the gender inequality and gender hierarchy, as demonstrated in the Turkish example.

Even though this paper is limiting itself to focus on the war of masculinities between the colonial masculinity and local Turkish masculinity of the 1968 student movement, this war is extended to wars between the student movement and what the student movement calls as the collaborators of US imperialism, security forces and the rightist anti-communist movement as well as a war of masculinities between different leftist fractions, especially with the 1970s .

Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that for rethinking Turkey's 1968, masculinity is a keyword. The masculine discourse is one of the dominant discourses of the 1960s and it melds perfectly with other dominant discourses of the period. This melding of the masculine discourse with the myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and martyrdom discourses enabled the 1968 generation to gain a certain momentum in late 1960s. The paper aimed to demonstrate the importance of introducing masculinity studies for studying the 1968 movement, as well as for studying Turkish political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place. 'Masculinity' as a keyword enabling us to study how different masculinities are at war and how those masculinities are being constructed in relationship to each other in political life. Thus, masculinity becomes a keyword for understanding Turkey's 1968. The student movement which evolved into revolutionary movement found itself in a war with the colonial masculinity, imposed by United States' hegemony and that Turkey's 1968 cannot be understood without understanding this war of masculinities.

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[1] See Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Bizim Deniz* (Ankara: Doruk Yayınevi, 1998); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Mahir* (İstanbul: Su Yayınevi, 1999); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *İbrahim Kaypakkaya* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *İki Adalı. Hüseyin Cevahir-Ulaş Bardakçı* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2010).

[2] See Oray Çalışlar, *'68 Anılarım (*İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1990); Hasan Cemal, *Kimse Kızmasın, Kendimi Yazdım* (İstanbul, Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999); Sezai Sarıoğlu, *Nar Taneleri. Gayriresmi Portreler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Gün Zileli, *Yarılma* (*1954–1972*) (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000); Gün Zileli, *Havariler* (*1972–1983*) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002).

[3] See Cüneyt Akalın, *Düşler ve Gerçekler. Tanıklıklarıyla Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de 68* (Ankara: Sarmal Yayınevi, 2000); Bedri Baykam, *68'li Yıllar. Eylemciler* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998); Bedri Baykam, *68'li Yıllar. Tanıklar* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Fırtınalı Yılların Gençlik Liderleri Konuşuyor* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2004); Nadire Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir. 68'de Ne Oldu?* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009).

[4] See Fulya Gürses and Hasan Basri Gürses, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Gençlik* (Istanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 1979); Alpay Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Gençlik Hareketleri* (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1992); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Türkiye'de Devrimci Gençlik Hareketleri Tarihi* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1993); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *FKF Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2004); Emin Alper, "Student Movement in Turkey from a Global Perspective 1960–1971" (PhD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2009).

[5] The collections on Turkey are so unique- especially for that period- because many of those material are either impossible to find in Turkey or are spread-out through inaccessible individual collections. I would like to thank the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam for providing me the opportunity to do research in the institute with a five-month postdoctoral

research fellowship between September 2011–February 2012. For details of this research see Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'nin 68'i: Bir Kuşağın Sosyolojik Analizi* (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2015).

[6] For a pioneer study aiming to rethink male identity and culture in the Middle East see Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds. *Imagined Masculinities. Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (Saqi Essentials, 2006).

[7] The statistics of national education discussed in *Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planlarında (1968-1988) Gençlik*, (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), 22.

[8] For the studies aiming to understand the university students' profile of the period see, Nermin Abadan, *Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Serbest Zaman Faaliyetleri. Ankara Yüksek Öğrenim Gençliği Üzerinde Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1961); Özcan Köknel, *Türk Toplumunda Bugünün Gençliği* (İstanbul: Bozak Matbaası, 1970); Özer Ozankaya, *Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Siyasal Yönelimleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966); Leslie Roos, Jr., P. Noralou Roos, and Gary R. Field, "Students and Politics in Contemporary Turkey," in Students in Revolt, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969); Nephan Saran, *Üniversite Gençliği* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975). For an analysis of these research see Demet Lüküslü"60'lı Yılları Gençlik Kategorisi Üzerinden Okumak." In Modernizmin Yansımaları: 60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye, edited by R. Funda Barbaros & Erik Jan Zürcher, 212–230. Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2013; Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'nin 68'i*, 34–43.

[9] See Ayşe Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in* Kadınları (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010); Oya Baydar and Melek Ulagay, *Bir Dönem İki Kadın. Birbirimizin* Aynasında (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2011); Gülfer Akkaya, *Sanki Eşittik. 1960–70'li Yıllarda Devrimci Mücadelenein Feminist Sorgusu* (Istanbul: Kumbara Sanat, 2012).

[10] Marshall Plan, refers to the Marshall Aid, offered to European countries in 1947, which aimed, in accordance with American interests, to revive the European economy (as a strong trading partner) and to strengthen Europe politically against Soviet expansion westward.

[11] Robert Kommer was appointed as the US Ambassador to Turkey in December 1968 and since his arrival in Turkey, there were protests against him since he was known to be a CIA agent who had worked in Vietnam.

[12] For an in-depth study of the modernist and developmentalist aspect of the Turkey's 1968 see, Kerem Ünüvar,"Öğrenci Hareketleri ve Sol," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce. Sol* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 818-819; A. Bağış Erten, "Türkiye'de 68,"in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce. Sol*, 844-845.; Emin Alper, "Student Movement in Turkey from a Global Perspective"; Demet Lüküslü, "60'lı Yılları Gençlik Kategorisi Üzerinden Okumak." in Modernizmin Yansımaları: 60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye, edited by R. Funda Barbaros & Erik Jan Zürcher (Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2013), 212–230.

[13] See the list of brochures analyzed in the references section of the article.

[14] It is important to note that a similar discourse also affects Kurdish politics' discourse on manhood as well. Nazan Üstündağ argues that the 'ontological war' of the State againts the Kurds produced two forms of Kurdish masculinities: martyrs and betrayers. See Nazan Üstündağ, "Pornografik Devlet, Erotik Direniş: Kürt Erkek Bedenlerinin Genel Ekonomisi", in *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, ed. Nursel Yeşim Sünbüloğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 517.

RESEARCH-in-PROGRESS

An Analysis of Trans Men's Conceptions and Navigation of Masculinity

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Abstract:

The trans body in transition is a complex negotiation, a continual self-examination consisting of building and rebuilding of the self in relation to the transitioning body and to the social, cultural and linguistic structures of gender norms and binary differences. Ways in which trans men embody masculinity while renegotiating their transitioning bodies cannot be fully understood without considering the sociocultural parameters that define cisgender (not transgender) male characteristics, bodies, and masculinities which trans men knowingly or unknowingly may aspire to embody. Physiology or physical differences may become a salient factor in the perception, embodiment or selection of a normative masculinity. There may also be a sense of loss and a mismatch between the performative masculinity and the emergent masculinity, shifting as trans men relate to and/or choose to subvert the conceptions of the dominant societal characteristics of masculinity. This paper aims to gain insight on the specific social and affective factors that impact trans men's definitions, performance and navigation of their own masculinity. The author will share findings from a qualitative study conducted using semi-structured interviews with trans men of different age groups. The research is driven by the following questions: What meaning do trans men ascribe to normative constructs of masculinity while

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constructing their body and in what ways does this meaning attach to and apply a given masculinity to the trans male body? What salient linguistic practices do trans men orient themselves towards to exercise or exert their own conceptions of masculinity? In what ways trans men's self-identification and assertion of their masculinities dependent or independent of relational and social meanings, characteristics and perspectives ascribed to masculinity?

Key words: Trans men, performativity, masculinity, gender identities, embodiment

Trans Erkeklerin Erkeklik Kavramları ve Uygulamarının Bir Analizi

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Öz:

Geçiş halindeki trans beden karmaşık bir müzakeredir; cinsiyet normlarının ve ikili farklarının sosyal, kültürel ve dilsel yapılarına ve geçiş sürecindeki bedene ilişkin inşa ve yeniden inşadan oluşur ve bir süreklilikle kendini değerlendirmeyi içerir. Trans erkeklerin yeniden müzakere ettikleri geçiş sürecindeki bedenleri ile, bilerek ya da farkında olmayarak, erkekliği hangi yönlerde cisimleştirdikleri, cisgender (trans olmayan) erkek özellikleri, bedenleri ve erkeklikleri tanımlayan sosyokültürel etkenler göz önüne alınmadan tam olarak anlaşılamaz. Fizyoloji veya fiziksel farklılıklar, normatif bir erkekliğin algılanması, yapılandırılması veya seçiminde belirgin bir faktör olabilmektedir. Trans erkekler hakim toplumsal erkeklik özellikleri ile ilişki kurarken ve/veya bunları değiştirmeyi seçerken, performatif erkeklik ve ortaya çıkan erkeklik arasında bir kayıp ve uyumsuzluk hissi olması olasıdır. Bu çalışma, trans erkeklerin erkeklik tanımlarını, performanslarını ve kendi erkekliklerinin uygulamalarını etkileyen belirli sosyal ve duygusal faktörler hakkında ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Farklı yaş gruplarındaki trans erkeklerle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler kullanılarak yapılan nitel bir çalışmadan elde edilen bulgular paylaşılacaktır. Araştırma şu sorulara dayanmaktadır: Trans erkekler bedenlerini inşa ederken normatif erkeklik yapılarına ne anlam atfetmektedirler? Bu anlam belirli bir erkekliği hangi yönlerden trans erkek bedenine dahil

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edip uygulamaya koyar? Trans erkekler kendi erkeklik anlayışlarını uygulamak ve ortaya koymak için hangi belirgin dil pratiklerine doğru yöneliyorlar? Trans erkeklerin erkekliklerini tanımlamaları ve ortaya koymaları erkeklikle bağdaştırılan ilişkisel ve sosyal anlamlara, özelliklere ve bakış açılarına hangi yönlerden bağlı ya da bağlı değildir?

Anahtar Kelimeler: Trans erkekler, performativite, erkeklik, cinsiyet kimlikleri, cisimleştirme

Introduction

This paper explores the specific social and affective factors that impact trans men's definitions, performance and navigation of their own masculinity. Findings from a qualitative study conducted using semi-structured interviews with nine trans men of different age groups will be shared. The study examines the meanings trans men ascribe to normative constructs of masculinity and the ways in which trans men's self-identification and assertion of their masculinities dependent or independent of relational and social meanings, characteristics and perspectives ascribed to masculinity.

Through interview excerpts about their own descriptions of masculinity, manhood and (transitioning) body, this paper illustrates how trans men relate to societal constructs of masculinity. The interview excerpts show how physical differences often become a salient factor in the perception, embodiment or selection of a normative masculinity. Some excerpts show a clear mismatch between the performative masculinity and the emergent masculinity as trans men relate to and/or choose to subvert the conceptions of the dominant societal characteristics of masculinity.

Methodology

The interview participants are trans men who reside in Istanbul, Turkey. Trans men that took part in the study received individual face-to-face or online invitations via trans group networks. Even though the study charted no strict criteria in the recruitment of interview participants, it aimed to select a diverse population, particularly in terms of hormone replacement therapy (HRT) status, medical procedures undertaken, age, sexual orientation, educational and socioeconomic background for the purposes of configuring an analysis to gain insight on the extent to which the variations in participants' social location, their intersecting identities and HRT status and/or medical processes undertaken are intertwined with their conceptions, navigation

and lived experiences of masculinity. Even though the challenge of finding and recruiting participants willing to take part in the study limited the recruitment of a larger number of participants and thus a wider collection of data towards this aim, it did demonstrate a variety mainly in participant HRT status, medical procedures undertaken, age, educational and socioeconomic background. It is also worth noting the specific geographical and sociocultural context of the study as significant elements that play a crucial role in the way they influence the formation, negotiation, expression and experience of masculinity.

From May to July, 2019, nine interviews were conducted with people who identify as trans men. The length of the recorded interviews varied, generally lasting for about thirty minutes with the shortest lasting twenty minutes and the longest lasting an hour. All interviews were audio recorded except for one due to participant request. Most of the interviews were conducted in cafes. Participants were given an overview of the study, filled out consent and basic background information forms before we began the interview.

The average age of the participants is 34. Eight participants are from Turkey and one is from Saudi Arabia. Three of the participants have not started HRT (the intake of testosterone to create masculinizing effects) while six are at different stages of HRT. Four have not had surgeries and five have had some or all of their surgeries. Pseudonyms for each participant are used throughout the paper for confidentiality.

The interviews were administered in three segments and included an introductory part as an extension to the background information form focusing on the participants' historical transgender experience. This was followed by a section on medical and legal transition processes and experiences. The next part consisited of transgender life experiences and ended with reflections on masculinity. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed. As eight of the nine interviews were conducted in Turkish, the transcripts were translated into English. All nine English transcripts were coded to identify categories and themes which were then interpreted.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Theories on masculinity with a particular focus on local hegemonic masculinity discourses are utilized to situate the study within existing masculinity studies and to provide a theoretical framework for analyzing how trans men relate to societal constructs of masculinity. The study also draws on theories of gender as a social construction with a particular focus on performativity, affect theory and transgender issues to analyze the ways in which trans men's embodiment and assertion of their masculinities are dependent or independent of relational and social meanings, characteristics and perspectives ascribed to masculinity.

Masculinity

Masculinities and femininities are dynamic processes and constructions of practices that change over time (Connell, 2015). Masculinities are patterns of social actions related to men's positions, irrespective of male anatomy, within the gender order and relations of a particular social context and can vary in different social settings (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 2015). The interplay of multidimensional social, psychological and historical processes, relations and factors shape how the various ways in which men identify with hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity positions one group of men as legitimate and subordinates all other men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Within contemporary Turkish society, studies (Şenol & Erdem, 2017; Boratav, Fişek & Ziya, 2017) point towards social events and processes such as circumcision, military service, holding a job, marriage and becoming a parent as key transitions in men's lives that influence and determine constructions of hegemonic masculinity. All these processes produce discourses, values, ideals and characteristics that shape many cisgender men's subjectivities and masculinities. One prominent characteristic is observed in the ways

rigid gender based division of labor shapes unequal relations between men and women, prioritizing men's needs and decisions (Sancar, 2008). Many of the participants in this study defined masculinity not only through the prism of their own navigational and negotiational struggles as bodies that transition, but also through the affective processes that mediate the integration of socioculturally specific expressions and expectations ascribed to masculine bodies with the subjective selection or subversion of normative characteristics of masculinity. In their own descriptions of what being a man means to them, some of the trans men focused on the social while others focused on the bodily experience. Some identified factors such as the exhibition of a serious demeanor, physical strength and relational protection in their descriptions, evoking hegemonic masculinity constructions and definitions that are aligned with key social events such as marriage and becoming a parent in the integrative processes of normative masculinity. Others expressed inhabiting a unique bodily experience that sees and compares itself as significantly oppositional in nature to cisgender men's bodily experience as a key defining factor that shapes trans men's own descriptions and negotiations of masculinity. It was found that trans men's associations and relationship to hegemonic masculinity provided significant variations depending on the way factors such as HRT status, medical procedures undertaken, age, sexual orientation and educational background interacted with the expressions and expectations of masculinity.

Masculinity and Performativity

The theory of gender performativity is the reproduction of gender norms that "act on us" and which we repeat regulating how bodies are read in space and time (Butler, 2009). Trans men may aspire to repeat gender norms in order to effectively reproduce bodies that are read as masculine. In other words, trans men might consciously regulate how their bodies are seen and read, producing something that they are not acculturated to, something that is not acted on them.

Considering the fact that passing (to be perceived as the gender a person is presenting) is linked to the social and how this societal recognition may function as the most fundamental concern, in what ways do affective factors shape trans men's definitions, performance, and navigation of their own masculinity? Normative constructions of masculinity manifest as prescriptive characteristics attributed to and displayed in male bodies and masculine behaviors. Aaron Devor (1989) stated that the internalization of the dominant gender schema informs not only a person's own identification of their gender identity but the gender that is attributed to them by others and is mostly dependent on how successfully a person conveys the gender cues they intend to convey and the gender impression management methods they employ. Similarly, West & Zimmerman (1987) have noted that we "do" gender and the doing arises in social and interactive circumstances informed by "normative conceptions and activities appropriate for one's sex category." A person needs to be identified by others as either masculine or feminine in order to achieve gender (1987).

Table I. Background information for each participant

Name Pseudonym	Age	Education	Occupation	Sexual orientation	Gender expression/ presentation	Marital status	Other
Can	18	University student	N/A	Gay/ Homosexual	Masculine	Single	
Levent	37	MA candidate	N/A	Heterosexual	Masculine	Single	
Ilhan	37	MA	Publishing copyrights, International relations	Heterosexual 95%	Men's clothing, short hair, binder	Single	
Berk	35	BA	Manufacturing, Planning	Heterosexual	Masculine	Single	
Kaya	40	BA	Software company manager	Heterosexual	Masculine	Single	
Bahadır	38	Highschool graduate	Textile	Heterosexual	Transsexual man	Single	
Ergin	25	BA	Unemployed	Heterosexual	Masculine Trans man	Single	Blind
Çağan	22	BA	Translator	Pansexual	Masculine 80% Man	Single	
Bilgehan	53	Primary school graduate	None	Heterosexual	Masculine	Single	

Trans/Man: Self-Identification as Masculinity

Following Lal Zimman's approach (2015), it was decided to include each interview participants' HRT status and gender presentation as these factors indicate trans men's embodiment of masculinity. Table I demonstrates how most of the trans men described their gender presentation as masculine. Trans men's self-definition of their identity reveals their relationship to normative masculinity. Some trans men express discomfort identifying with the word *man,* citing that their socialization, gender incongruencies and transition experiences are significantly distinctive than the socialization and lived gender experiences of non-trans men. Ilhan (37) embraces the term trans as a way to select a masculinity that is less normative, but more descriptive of his experience. Ilhan identifies himself as a trans man, but says the word transgender feels more close to him. When asked about why he chooses to self-identify himself as a trans man instead of as a man, whether he has a certain criteria of comparison, he expressed that he was not sure, but said: "I'm not a man. There are things I don't like in the word man and in the perceptions of what a man is. There are things I don't like in the word woman. Trans feels more real. There's transition there". It is worth noting that even though Ilhan did not state specific reasons why he feels distant with identifying himself with the word *man* or explain the negative perceptions of being a man or a woman evoke for him, it seems that defining himself within the sociocultural parameters attached to the word *man* constricts his in-flux social and perceived reality. Adopting a critical and subversive approach, Ilhan measures his association and dissociation and rejects rigid sociocultural binary definitions attributed to men and women by finding meaning in unpacking his relationship to his non static identity. Ilhan's definition seeks to subvert his relationship to normative constructions of masculinity.

Others said that it is the biological sex characteristics that distinguish them from non-trans men and that these are determining factors in identifying with the word *man.* Berk (35) self-identifies as a

man and added "completely as a man. I was always a man. I always felt this way. I was born with certain defects." Even though in his self-identification biological characteristics are a determining factor, his internal sense of feeling seems to override bodily sex characteristics. I asked Berk whether he employs a certain criteria of comparison. "To be a man does not mean to be with a woman. Masculinity means seriousness, to emit trust, love and to be protective of and show respect to a woman. Masculinity is not about having a penis." Berk's definition reflects his understanding of manhood as a social rather than a biological state. Cultural underpinnings of normative masculinity are evident in his further analysis of his self-identification as man. It seems that one must internalize and perform certain characteristics and behavior determined by the sociocultural paradigm of normative masculinity, according to Berk, in order to accomplish a masculine identity.

Levent (37) self-identifies as a trans man. His further assessment reflects the presence of underlying normative biological characteristics as significant factors in determining one's gender: "I'm honest with myself. I was born with female genitalia and I'm going to transition. It is not fair to call myself a man." Levent's description echoes normative constructions of masculinity attached to masculine bodies and that the attainment of a masculine body is only possible through surgical procedures illustrating the particular ways that the early dominant pathologizing medical discourse (Stryker, 2006; Whittle, 2006)–which has shaped how transgender people have defined themselves throughout history–interacts in the negotiation of masculinity.

Kaya (40) stated that he does not accept the word trans, "my body could have defects, but these can be fixed." Viewing the body as having flaws that need to be repaired is a common theme found in Berk and Levent's narratives as well. When I asked him how he defined a trans man, Levent said "a trans man is born in the wrong body, the body should be corrected." The notion of being in the wrong body has long been a customary way for many trans people to explain their subjective body experience. As Prosser (1998) postulates, the medical discourse of being in the wrong body remains the narrative employed by transsexuals

to authenticate the transsexual subjective experience of a "pre-transition (dis)embodiment" and to gain access to hormones and surgery. From a psychological perspective, viewing the body as having defects may hinder self acceptance and risk self worth as this discourse provides a limited framework that is driven mainly by felt and lived societal pressures to look a certain way in order to be perceived by others as male; and may lead to unexamined perceptions of the necessity for medical interventions as sole solutions to the relationship with the self and the body. To elaborate further, as Roen (2011) states, critical examination of the wrong body discourse is necessary for transpeople in order to avoid establishing an investment in sex reassignment surgery as the only answer.

Bilgehan (53) self-identifies as a man. He expressed that he did not want to identify himself as trans and said, "the only thing different is my body." Bilgehan's relationship to masculinity aligns firmly with normative constructions of masculinity.

Ergin (25) self-identifies as a trans man. When I asked if he implements a certain criteria as to why he identifies as a trans man rather than a man, he expressed that being trans is an identity he has that will not change. "I'm not a cis man and will never be. That's like competing with cis men, devaluing my own experiences and throwing 25 years into the trash. I don't want to forget that I used to be in a woman's body and had periods." By claiming his pre-transition past, Ergin is embracing and valuing a past inhabiting a female body and enacting a conscious internal sense of gender blending as an approach to explore his masculinity and femininity.

Çağan (22) self-identifies as a trans man. Like Ergin, Çağan also pointed to his past physical and social experiences in a female body as the main reason why he identifies as a trans man and not a man.

I don't think I'm the same as someone born male and living as male...there is a difference in how we were raised. Cisgender men do not experience this, that's why we are different. I don't see us as equal. This is not a bad thing.

Bahadır (38) also acknowledged his past experiences and said, "I don't see myself equal to cis men. We don't share the same body or life experiences or circumstances." Perhaps the very potent social, psychological and physical aspects of the trans lived experience are the salient factors that shape Bahadır's relationship to normative masculinity as being subversive, rather than age, in comparison with Ergin and Çağan.

Ergin, Çağan and Bahadır choose a subversive approach in examining their experience of transitioning from female to male. By defining their experience as distinct from cis men's, they acknowledge and invest in a lived experience that encompasses a wider understanding of navigating a gendered social reality.

While some trans men may endeavor to become identified as masculine and aspire to embody a male identity that does not dismiss the female identity they once inhabited, some may completely reject their female physicality and past experiences as not belonging to them, saying that they had always been men. As these excerpts show, some of the participants display active resistance to hegemonic masculinity, are not afraid to acknowledge aspects of femininity in their identifications and may actively seek to integrate these into their processes of identifying as men, while others display normative expressions in the way they depicted an identification with femininity as inauthentic to their personal experiences and processes of identifying as men.

Some of the participants prefer to use the term trans because it clearly defines their lived experience and/or distinguishes them from the normative bodily characteristics of cisgender men. Others state that they have always been men and identifying as a man is a more accurate description of their long-standing internal experiences of their gender identity. For others, identifying with the word man brings about associations that they view as socioculturally problematic and feel a sense of misalignment with or dissociation from. Self-identification is one salient linguistic practice that indicates how trans men position

themselves to define, exercise or exert their own conceptions of masculinity.

AN ANALYSIS OF TRANS MEN'S CONCEPTIONS & NAVIGATION OF MASCULINITY 2

Table II. Gender identity self identification, HRT and medical procedures for each participant

Name Pseudonym	Self-identification (Gender identity)	HRT	Other medical procedures
Can	Trans man	No	None
Levent	Trans man	5 years	Yes
Ilhan	Transgender / Trans man	No	None
Berk	Man	2 years	Yes
Kaya	Man*	No	None
Bahadir	Transsexual man / Trans man	6 months	Yes
Ergin	Trans man	2 years	None
Çagan	Trans man	3 years	Yes
Bilgehan	Man	6 years	Yes

*The participant indicated that he does not accept the word trans, but he did not explicitly say that he identifies himself with the word man. He referred to himself as man during the interview.

Perceptions, Definitions And Performance Of Masculinity

Masculinity in Turkey is a discursive phenomenon involving a lifelong construction that highlights particular bodied and societal responsibilities and rituals such as circumcision, sexual experience, marriage, having a male child, becoming a father, having a job and doing military service (Boratav, Fişek & Ziya, 2017). The internalization of these responsibilities is initiated once gender milestones are acquired (Barutçu, 2013; Buyurucu, 2006 as cited in Boratav, Fişek & Ziya, 2017). Even though the internalization process of these sociocultural gender roles operate differently for trans men, they highlight the psychological and social contours that mark the complex topographies of culturally negotiated constructions and dynamics of

masculinity. Ratele (2013) writes about masculinity being in constant "construction", something that is learned in interactions and in how one is identified by others, in the comparisons with others, and in the comparisons of the present self with that of an earlier self. As Ekins and King (2005) put it, the transsexual negotiates an identity that is temporary and moves through a trans phase to arrive at an enduring masculine or feminine identity. This section focuses on how trans men relate to masculinity not only in themselves, but also in society and how their understanding of masculinity compares or correlates with sociocultural constructions of masculinity. Participants were asked how masculine they found themselves and whether this was important to them. They were also asked for their own definitions of masculinity, what being a man means to them and whether they feel any pressure to enact a certain masculinity.

Çağan has fulfilled all of the legal requirements for gender transition. When asked if he found himself masculine and whether this was important to him, Çağan replied:

A little, not 100%. I don't want it to be important. I wish I could wear a skirt. I can't, I'm scared. Maybe I'm afraid of being misgendered. I want my masculinity to be obvious… I still have body dysphoria around my hips. I don't feel very confident around clothing. I think I may try skirts at some point. I'm not in a rush.

Ergin expressed the following to the same question:

Not enough. I like masculinity and I try to be masculine... Women look for masculinity in men. They like masculine men and prefer to date one. Whether it's something physical or a character trait, they look for masculinity. I have anxiety because women don't prefer me because of this. I'm not masculine enough. My disability also affects this. A masculine person can take initiative, do things by themselves, and make decisions. I get help from women when necessary. I see this as damaging to my masculinity.

Sociocultural gender norms and patterns of behavior sustain both Çağan and Ergin's descriptions and behaviors and how they navigate and relate to normative masculinity. Both of their assessments of their own masculinity is largely anxiety driven and tied to others' possible interpretations and perceptions of them. While Çağan's own masculinity assessment is interlinked with his relationship to his body and non-normative gender expression which he feels is constrained by sociocultural norms, Ergin's own masculinity assessment is interlinked with his relationships with women, his disability and normative constructions of masculinity. Çağan's wish to subvert masculinity via donning clothing that society attributes to women and Ergin's assertion that receiving help from women is damaging to his masculinity illustrate the way Çağan and Ergin's intersecting identities influence their relationship to masculinity. The internal conflict of discourses to apply conventional notions of masculinity with the desire to subvert these notions in order to arrive at an expanded discourse and the possibility of a diverse expression of masculinity can be seen more clearly in Çağan's narrative, which focuses on the articulation of his non-normative gender expression and a body in performance, than in Ergin's, which focuses on the need to meet certain conventions in the levels of subscription to traditional masculine traits such as physical strength, perhaps to subdue the visibility of his disability, and the internal tensions this self-assessment results in.

Ilhan expressed that in terms of appearance he finds himself a little masculine and he talked about how in the past he associated masculinity in himself with feelings of anger. "In the past, when I was jealous or angry, I felt these as turning into aggression towards myself." While he associates his masculinity with past self-portrayals of aggressiveness directed towards himself, Ilhan also delineates a perceptive self-awareness of his own levels of desire for masculinity relaying that it is contingent on social situations which directly influence the degree of importance he attaches to a display or behavior associated with masculinity:

My masculinity is dependent on the moment or situation when I desire it or realize I do. Otherwise I don't have a wish to be masculine. It's not important. If I sense a type of masculinity women are drawn to, I would want that masculinity, then it becomes important. This impacts and shapes my masculinity.

While Ilhan positions himself within a critical distance to discourses of masculinity, similar to Ergin, his assessment of his own masculinity is determined by gender relations, illustrating how gender relations become a significantly prevalent sphere for one's own reflections of and performance of masculinity and/or femininity. Other participants have also based their assessment of their own masculinity on ways in which it emerges in social gender relations.

Participants were asked what masculinity and being a man meant to them. Kaya reported that masculinity is not related to gender but it is "something taught to us which is about honesty, a role expected from a man, a role that looks good on a man." He added that this translates as "being strong, being there for someone when they are having a difficult time. A man can cry, but not publicly, make jokes and live life fully. He completes himself with a woman." Kaya's pre-transition status (no HRT or medical procedures), perhaps to some degree, possibly impact his conceptions of masculinity as performed in gender relations and is reflective of traditional masculine notions and qualities attributed to men in Turkey.

Bahadır said, "There's a masculinity that society imposes, a certain male-dominant thinking that a man should have a penis, a beard, but these are not what makes a man… we judge ourselves based on this gender binary." In this excerpt, we can see how Bahadır's understanding of the complexities of the trans body –whether masculine or feminine – has lead to a rejection of binary gender constructions and a resistance to these social constructs that erase his experience and the embodiment of masculinity or femininity in non-normative bodies. It is important to note that Bahadır's example points to the significance of a heightened gendered experience in one's own critical awareness of conventional

notions of masculinity. It is interesting to contrast this with Kaya, whose descriptions reflect conventional notions of masculinity.

Ergin expressed that he feels there are masculine and feminine energies independent of anatomical structures. “A woman has certain amounts of femininity and masculinity. Masculinity is to be more dominant and tough.” He also went on to add that masculinity is about “strength, authority and power.” In a similar vein, Berk expressed that masculinity is “Strength, seriousness, having a good reputation, honesty and being respectful towards one’s spouse/partner.” Bilgehan expressed similar sentiments, “Masculinity is about being courteous and taking care of your family.” All three trans men report expressions or qualities of masculinity that are culturally attributed to masculine bodies. While age and socioeconomic factors might influence how both Bilgehan and Berk define their conceptions of masculinity in relation to traditional gender roles, the intersections of Ergin’s age and disability might influence how he defines his conception of masculinity in relation to an aspect of traditional masculinity that highlights physical strength.

Ilhan described masculinity as multiple and varying:

Masculinity is something that varies and differs in people and families. For instance, some men are raised being told that they are brave and strong, but then experience a breakdown in adulthood when they find out the world is much more different, this is a part of masculinity; and then there are those who actually display overly excessive confidence and physical aggression. That’s also masculinity. Self-improvement as a human being is also a masculinity. I don’t know, it seems to me that masculinity varies, it’s not one thing.

To become a man currently feels like a solution to physical/body related things for me, that it’s going to lead to comfort in social environments and intimate relationships on the one hand... on the other hand, I’m not very sure, but while you’re transitioning, in the social and cultural sense, in our country at least, I’m sure in many other places as

well, my guess is that certain things will change when you become visibly male, people's perceptions, the way they talk to you will change and it does, probably because masculinity is something that is held high.

Ilhan's analysis touches on the problematic socio-psychological effects of gender hierarchy, how the micro institution of family structures masculinities and the ways patriarchal society impacts men. This narrative illustrates a critical distance to discourses of masculinity in Turkey.

Çağan's description seems to allow him an invitation to play with gender cues in order to subvert gendered clothing items:

To be a man you don't have to be masculine. If you take a base body and add aggressiveness, muscle, a beard, a variety of body and facial hair, and maybe some height, you have a masculine man. You can add compassion, the color pink, long hair, he would still be a man, but a feminine man. Masculinity or femininity is beyond gender; I can be masculine today. I can wear a suit, get a short haircut; wear a uniform like a captain's uniform and be masculine. I can behave in a masculine way. When I wear women's clothes, light colorful clothes, people would perceive this as feminine. I can wear women's clothes and enjoy wearing them. I have a tight women's T-shirt. I still love it. I think men should be able to wear skirts. I wish we could come to a place where these are not issues.

By entertaining the idea of playing with the rigid cultural conceptions of masculinity, Çağan is inviting and imagining a masculinity that has not yet arrived for him even though he has completed his transition process. This further delineates that for Çağan his non-normative sexual identity and age could be salient factors that influence his conceptions of masculinity and desires to expand and subvert the traditional notions attached to masculinity.

Can (18) is a university student who identifies as a trans man, but expressed that this might later shift to non-binary. Can is the only example for someone who claims a trans masculine identity but seems to

be questioning this identity and is allowing himself to acknowledge the possibility that his identity could shift and embody another point on the spectrum of trans/gender identity. His non-normative sexual identity and age could be the prominent factors that impact his definition. He described what masculinity means to him and like Çağan, he also spoke about gendered clothing items:

It's not about being born with male sex characteristics. I'm not a soul who desires to behave in masculine ways determined by society. Female-to-male transitioning people don't necessarily have to wear male clothes, adopt male behavior, but can be comfortable wearing female clothes.

Like other trans men, Can also expressed that one's biological characteristics have a minor place in determining a person's gender identity. He described what being a man means to him: "I feel like a man and not a man at the same time. The way my voice sounds and not having had any surgeries, I'm not congruent with the male prototype." The pressure to conform and present a normative gender identity accepted by society as either masculine or feminine can be echoed in this further elaboration.

One common answer given by some of the interview participants is that masculinity is not connected to possessing male genitalia. Another common theme was that masculinity is defined as a set of social behaviors or attributes designated to male bodies that often reflect stereotypical and normative conceptions of masculinity. These indicate that some trans men, whether consciously or unconsciously, develop an approach in balancing normative attributes attached to masculinity with less normative definitions of masculinity.

When asked whether their self-definition of masculinity fits with societal understandings or constructions of masculinity, Berk expressed a sense of dislike against discriminatory gender roles and said that men can do house chores such as cleaning. Can said that society disapproves of his sexual identity because he is interested in men. Ilhan mentioned that he is not interested in societal constructions of masculinity and that

he is trying to purge himself from these. Çağan said that people have started expecting different things from him after his transition, now that he is visibly a man, and commented on how maintaining gender differences in a patriarchal society is important. Bahadır said that "we need to free ourselves from these terms. I have no right to limit my partner's freedom...I don't accept ideas such as the idea that a man should not cry."

The participants' evaluations of their own masculinity and their definitions of masculinity illustrate the complexity of the relationship trans men experience between embodiment and navigation of masculinity. As people aiming to achieve masculine bodies, hegemonic gender norms may become notable standards in attaining this goal. Navigating the world, on the other hand, may complicate the relationship that trans men have with normative masculinity. Many of the participants see normative elements of masculinity as inequitable to gender relations and as sites that can be actively rejected.

Embodiment Of Masculinities: Affective Aspects

The performance of masculinity is inextricably entangled with the experiences of comfort, discomfort and anxiety negotiated in different social settings and spaces. Sara Ahmed (2014) argues that norms shape bodies and that the world impresses upon the body through repetition and force resulting in bodies that "become contorted". Ahmed (2014) uses the analogy of sinking into a chair to illustrate the discomfort queer bodies experience in social spaces that affect how they can navigate in them as bodies that do not fit into these social spaces, as bodies that do not "sink into" them. Holliday (1999) investigated how individuals performed their sexual identities in different contexts by utilizing video diaries and notes that individuals manage and develop comfortable identities within the exchange of different discourses and social spaces.

Drawing on affect theory as bodily, autonomic, synesthetic (Massumi, 2002) and nonconscious intensities (White, 2017), participants were asked whether they feel any kind of pressure to enact a certain masculinity. The role that pressure plays in trans men's navigation of masculinity and its link to performance of masculinity opens up questions of the role of social space in feelings of comfort and discomfort (Ahmed, 2014), the distinction between internal and/or external pressure and the need to be a part of a certain social group, the role of self-awareness on the performance and/or rejection of an expected performance of masculinity. Pressure to enact a certain masculinity is experienced as tension in Ilhan's description of it as an internal and an external force that results in an unwanted performance. Ilhan associated the need to perform masculinity with a sense of belonging, the need to belong to a masculine identity. He said in the past he felt the pressure to join male conversations that were about women, but said he did not like these conversations or that they made him feel uncomfortable.

Both Ergin and Çağan's experience of pressure seems to correlate with sociocultural norms attached to masculinity. Ergin's description evokes a heightened anxiety when he feels he is unable to meet the internalized masculinity performance expectations in certain social situations. Ergin spoke about moments that damage his masculinity such as "not being the person deciding on the place to meet" or "not asking a woman to dance at an LGBT party." Çağan's experience, on the other hand, creates the need for him to harmonize the internal with the external. Çağan said he feels outside pressure and does not want to stand out or confuse people.

Participants were asked how their masculinity shifts as they move from one context to another. Four of the interview participants spoke about the impact of different social contexts on their masculinity and how they may sometimes experience pressure to speak or act in more masculine ways than they usually would and "overcompensate" (Vidal-Ortiz, 2005) or "become contorted" (Ahmed, 2014). Çağan expressed that his masculinity does not shift drastically. He said that he tries to "be

an average masculine good kid." Berk mentioned that he adopts a tone of seriousness "when the situation calls for it." Both Can and Ilhan commented on certain social contexts decreasing their comfort level and the shifts they notice in their voices. Can expressed comfort and a lessened anxiety around using his voice when he is with his friends but said that other contexts can create a lack of confidence. He said feeling unconfident causes him to consciously lower his voice or feel pressure to change the way he speaks or behaves in order to be read as male. He said he makes an explicit effort to give his seat to a woman who may be standing when traveling by bus. As perception is not a cause of anxiety for him when he is with his own circle of friends, he pointed out how he does not mind increasing the tone of his voice. It should be noted that shifts in expression and/or performance of masculinity can be subtle, may pass by unnoticed or may not be considered as something that the participant had paid particular attention to before the time of the interview. Therefore, it is likely that the interview responses present a narrow picture of the complex interplay between context and the performance of masculinity. An expanded analysis that recruits deliberate and self-reflexive observations detailing shifts in the performance of masculinity in relation to different contexts may provide more insight.

Ilhan stated that he is more comfortable than he has been in the past, pointing out how when spending time with his family, his voice would not sound as masculine and how now his voice, behavior and stance changes when he feels comfortable. In her study looking at how trans men (who had undergone HRT, minimum three months) conceptualize masculinity, Vegter (2013) identified a process called *Embodying a Male Identity* which includes five categories of male identity exploration: beginnings, identity searching, realizing identity, integrating identity and self-actualization. Vegter found that identity insecurity experienced in the beginning phase was generally resolved in the identity integration phase. Replacing earlier discomfort and sense of insecurity with an experience of comfort with his masculine identity,

Ilhan may be experiencing a shift towards an increase in self appreciation and acceptance.

Since trans men may not be able to find micro family interactions that affirm their gender identity and masculinity, they may consciously or unconsciously seek trans male friendships that provide the space and realization for relational, therapeutic, emotional and personal explorations of masculinity. These friendships may engender motivation and encouragement to kindle a redefinition and transformation of normative understandings and embodiment of masculinity, helping trans men ground and/or cope with the loss and mismatch that might be experienced while navigating between normative, performative and emergent masculinities.

Another question participants were asked was whether they observed a change in the way they express themselves when they spend time with trans male friends. Bahadır stated that he cannot talk as comfortably with people he has known for over a decade as with trans people he has newly met since trans people understand what he is going through. Ilhan expressed how his masculinity automatically shuts down when he is with a trans male friend. He expressed that his identity shifts in a way that evokes in him his feminine past causing him to experience great discomfort. He said that this might be related to his not having started his transition processes such as HRT and that perhaps he might feel less or no discomfort if he had begun his process. This alludes to the bodily, autonomic and synesthetic (Massumi, 2002) nature of the way affect operates by activating nonconscious intensities (White, 2017) and a domain of trans masculinity in which many trans men express both within themselves and to each other a competitive sense of urgency to embody a masculine appearance that is defined or highly influenced by sociocultural paradigms. The amount of facial hair growth experienced is often a significant qualifier of accomplishing this masculinity. Ergin, reflecting on his past experiences with other trans men, spoke about how he felt pressure when he compared himself to other trans men because he did not swear as much, was not as tough or did not have as many girlfriends. “I feel trans men compete. If you don’t show enough

masculinity, I feel like they rule you out. Because I wasn't able to hold on in this community, I think that I'm not masculine enough."

The language trans men employ when they are with other trans men can provide an insightful lens into the salient linguistic practices trans men orient themselves towards to exercise or exert their own conceptions of masculinity. Berk expressed a strong dislike to the amount of swearing that he sees among trans men. Ilhan talked about high masculinity and that sometimes there is more high masculinity among trans men than in other male communities he is a part of. He mentioned that trans men have their own terminology. He also remarked on trans men's distinctive ability to speak about their internal processes more easily than cis men, concluding that this might be a result of the constant questioning of their expriences. Ergin expressed disequilibrium with the language style his trans male friends use and said he had traumatizing experiences with some of his past trans male friends. He said he felt pressure to fit in but that he could never swear like they did and felt depreciated when he was with them. Kaya said he enjoys spending time with trans men and that there is a greater amount of swearing than in other communities. He expressed that this impacts the way he speaks and actually provides him an opportunity to code switch to 'bro' language and the freedom to use it as much as he wants to.

Masculinity in transitioning trans men becomes a site of embodied discovery of new territory and language. It seems that trans men's own male communities can and do become contexts where trans men can experiment, weigh, negotiate and discover their own masculinity, and find comfort in the socio-psychological struggles paid to attain a masculine body. Perhaps these contexts could provide the passage to manhood and the social embodiment of masculinity that trans men need as they transition. From a physical embodiment perspective, trans men's chest surgery scars are sometimes viewed as a mark of their masculinity, as an initiation to manhood, similar perhaps to, as Thomas Gerschick (2005) describes, citing Burton (2001), scarification of the chest within the Karo men in Ethiopia is a testament of their masculinity.

The experience of discomfort might lead to self-repression–especially when around people that may have known trans men pre-transition–and create a sense of loss and mismatch between the feminine past and the emergent masculinity. This is evident in Ergin's narrative about the shifts he makes in his masculinity due to his family's unsupportive response to his transitioning.

...they call me 'daughter,' they see me as a woman and treat me as one. I feel I need to repress myself. I spend most of my time with these people. I'm at a point where I'm questioning myself. Will I regret this? Am I *really* [so] influenced by my friends that I became like this?

He added that even though he is proud, feels happy to be living as himself and has supportive friends, these feelings are limited as he lives with his family and his supportive community of friends are near up to a certain point but are not included in his immediate environment.

Due to the intricate relations between the psychological aspects of the experience of pressure and the way internalized sociocultural notions of masculinity come into play in the (un)intentional (non-)performance of masculinity, an expanded study that utilizes self-reflective processes asking participants to note changes in their experiences of pressure to enact a certain masculinity over a defined period of time may allow for a deeper insight.

Conclusion

Trans men's experiences of masculinity illustrate a complex relationship between the embodiment and navigation of masculinity. Trans men's experiences of masculinity are not a direct product of micro institutions, such as the family, that structure and inculcate normative or certain forms of masculinity. Trans men experience the socio-psychological effects of gender hierarchy in their highly gendered context, but their subjective and unique experiences of embodiment and masculinity offer avenues for explorative navigation and questioning, resulting in a difference in the ways patriarchal society

impacts trans men than it does cis men. Thus, the embodiment and the navigation of trans masculinity is multilayered and involves physical, social and psychological processes. Masculinity is emergent and relational in the continual self-determination and assertion techniques trans men deliberately or inadvertently employ and discover. Normativity may function as a route to measure the amount of masculinity in the process of attaining a masculine body. Normative social constructs that prescribe behavior as masculine, on the other hand, function as a more selective or open process.

This study explored a small sample of trans men living in Istanbul, Turkey. It looked at their own definitions and experiences of lived masculinity and opened up questions on the ways trans men's unique gender subjectivities and experiences provide reflections on traditional notions of masculinity. Further studies that expand the discourse of masculinity and include ethnographic research on trans men in other regions is necessary. Studies that address trans men's internal conflicts–looking at the role these play in their own constructions of alternative/subversive masculinities–and experiences in the construction and navigation of masculinity are essential to gain more insight on the role trans men might play in our understanding of masculinity and in diversifying traditional notions of masculinity in Turkey.

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SYMPOSIUM REVIEWS

Putting Men and Masculinities into the Bigger Picture: A Partial Account after a Conference and a Half

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Arriving ...

Traveling to the event from Taksim Square with the kind host from the Raoul Wallenberg Institute Istanbul, I approached the Symposium, or more accurately the Conference, on "Masculinities: Challenges and Possibilities in Troubling Times", with a good deal of excitement – and then, even before entering the building, to my great surprise and glee, met a friend and colleague from South Africa. This augured well; this was going to be a good conference!

The Conference was organised by ICSM, with support from Wallenberg, Research Worldwide Istanbul, and Özyegin University, Istanbul. After the first Symposium in İzmir in 2014, which I have say I enjoyed immensely, this was the conference that was meant to have been held in 2016 but was postponed because of the political situation.

Inside the elegant modern community centre, I was promptly and enthusiastically met by some of the hosts, more old and new friends ... and so, after milling around and meeting more friendly faces and the relaxed formalities of the conference openings and welcomings, it was my turn. I suppose it was meant as bit of a warm-up act for the main keynotes.

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But before reporting on that, I should mention two qualifications to this reflection: first, this is a very individual and personal account, in which my own participation is mixed with some brief commentaries on the many engaging and enlightening presentations; and, second, it was only after the conference had finished that I was asked to write this reflection, so it is certainly possible that, as I write this some months post-conference, some recollections are not what they should be. So apologies in advance for any inaccuracies in my account. I'm pleased that I at least kept quite a lot of notes in the neat little writing pad provided by the host university, even if some of those notes of mine now seem almost designed to be cryptic!

Presenting ...

I had spent quite a lot of time beforehand paring down my thoughts for the allotted 15 minutes, and trying to think: … what could I say in the time? I spoke on "Men and Masculinities in a Lurking Doom?: The Personal-Political-Theoretical", and tried to say some things that might be useful to those who were in their first conference on gender, men and masculinities, as well as raise some points for those more embedded in these studies. So, beginning with the obvious: studying men and masculinities is, in a sense, ancient; men have studied men for centuries, often as an 'absent presence'; men have historically dominated the written Word, in academia, science, histories, literature, religion, and so on, often writing about men, for men, often *'gender'/'cinsiyet'* seen as a matter of/for women; and men have been and are still often seen as ungendered, normalised, natural(ised). Additionally, there are many and different, even contradictory, reasons (for men) to be interested in gender: these can also be personal, political, theoretical and various overlaps between them. The personal is political, and the personal is political is also theoretical; or the personal is political is theoretical is work – to extend the 1960s slogan.

While this conference was concerned with "troubling times", the theme is far from new, and worth thinking of historically; for some people, troubling times have been and are simply routine. In the late 1970s, when I became involved, publicly, in questions of men and masculinity, there were certainly troubling times in Turkey, with political killings before the military coup and martial law imposed in December 1978, and also in 1978 in the UK, with, for example, "The [so-called] Troubles" continuing in Northern Ireland. From 1979 there was a significant move to the Right in UK politics, with the election of the Thatcher government.

Nearly ten years later, in 1988, saw what was probably the first international conference on men, masculinities and social theory, University of Bradford, UK, organised under the auspices of the British Sociological Association, Social Theory section. The opening keynote was presented by Jalna Hanmer (1990), coining the phrase 'naming men as men', and reporting on 54 feminist books published by 1975 on women's lives and relations to men. In this and other ways, Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities (CSMM) can be understood as part of feminist resistance.

This is a rather different way to understand CSMM than in terms of three, admitted simplified, main waves or phases of studies of men and masculinities, inspired by: first, sex role approaches to masculinity; second, power/hegemony approaches to multiple masculinities; and then, third, post-structuralist approaches to masculinities (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Elliott, 2016). But there is a very large canvas missing that is often from these three frames. In particular, this includes the very large growth in international, comparative, supranational, global, post/decolonial, transnational, world-centred (Connell, 2014) approaches, including the geopolitics and locationality of knowledge in CSMM, and work from and on (semi)peripheries (Blagojević, 2009) and "global South". In addition, there is the expansion of what I would call materialist-discursive approaches to men and masculinities (Hearn, 2014); and more rebellious engagement (Lorber, 2005) with gender hegemony/hegemony of men (Hearn, 2004; Howson

and Hearn, 2019), as part of the numerous problematisations of the very concept of gender. In brief, that the hegemony of men here refers to not just hegemony in relation to masculinities, but the gender hegemony that constructs 'men' as a social category of power.

One important aspect of all this that I don't think receives enough attention in CSMM is the impact of the relation and tension between the nation and nationalism, and empires, specifically the loss of empires, on the other. Moving into this political and epistemological terrain raises not only questions of methodological nationalism (Scott, 1998), whereby the/a nation is taken-for-granted as the framing of studies, but also how historical disruptions of national and imperial power have prompted critical reflection on men and masculinities. There are many examples here of how historical disruptions and transformations of empires have prompted political and academic problematisations of men and masculinities. Examples here include: the loss of British Empire (Tolson, 1977); the (Post-)WWII fracturing of dominant fiction (Silverman, 1992); the US defeat in Vietnam War (Bliss, 1985); the post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe (Novikova et al., 2005); post-apartheid South Africa (Morrell, 2001; Ratele, 2014; Shefer et al., 2007, 2018). Yet until the recent growth of studies of populism and nationalism, there was rather little attention to men, masculinities and nationalism (Nagel, 1998) in CSMM. Seen thus, a major contemporary task is to deconstruct the nation and nationalism, in the context of transnational processes of populism and globalising and transnational men and masculinities.

The current "lurking doom" referred to a number of crushing crises, and the prospect of *worst of worlds*: crises around environment, economy, politics, war, and refugees; intensification of global capitalism, (neo)colonialism, (neo)imperialism, nationalism, xenophobia; spread and normalization of alternative facts, post-truths; entrenchment of authoritarianism, even as 'virtue', maybe proto-fascism; and even the convergence of economy, business, politics, culture, and entertainment. MenEngage (2014), the global activist, policy and practice development organisation puts it succinctly:

> Patriarchal power, expressed through dominant masculinities, is among the major forces driving structural injustices and exploitation. … manifestations of militarism and neoliberal globalisation, including war; proliferation of weapons; global and local economic inequality; violent manifestations of political and religious fundamentalisms; state violence; violence against civil society; human trafficking; destruction of natural resources.

Yet, lurking dooms and crises, like troubling times, are not new, depending on one's geopolitical location. Violent nationalisms and violent empires have been and are a familiar and normalised element of history in many parts of the world. What have changed are the rise of finance capitalism and increased economic inequalities; the use of data as power in surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2019); the return of racism in 'respectable politics'; and threats to the planet (Enarson and Pease, 2016). To put the first of these points graphically:

> "Almost a half of the world's wealth owned by 1% of the population. The bottom half of world's population owns same as the richest 85 people in the world" (Fuentes-Nieva and Galasso, 2014)

These conditions force a return to an 'old' issue, that of patriarchy, or rather patriarchies, as both persistent and taking new forms. Patriarchies do not go away, but have become bigger, more transnational, more complex. Following feminist critiques of the concept of patriarchy in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there has been a gradual revival of the concept, in a range of feminist-inspired publications (see Kandiyoti, 1988, on bargaining with patriarchy; Grewal, 2013, on outsourcing patriarchy; Hearn, 1987, 1992). There have also been discussions of neo-patriarchy and neoliberal patriarchy (Campbell, 2014; Özyeğin, 2015) and transnational patriarchies (Hearn, 2015) and transnational dispersed patriarchal centres (Hearn et al., 2019).

Knowledge construction in and of CSMM now seems a lot more complex than when in the throes of the three phases previously noted

earlier. What might appear as moves towards rather distant, macro, global, transnational and hyperpatriarchal politics and theory interconnect very much with the everyday, local, personal, bodily performance of "being men". Even with the dispersals of globalisation, local and transnational patriarchies strike back, in the body, in experience, in the pressures and pleasures of everyday life. Knowledge construction needs to be both more material and more discursive, as in the focus on the hegemony of men. There is also an observable urgency here in the state of the world, in real time, in the speed of change, as with, for example, information and communication technologies, social media, robotics, AI, and kindred socio-technologies and biotechnologies. Troubles, crises, and attacks on the natural environment abound. In this lurking doom, knowledge of and in CSMM needs to become prognostic, future-orientated, even apocalyptic, not just historical and descriptive of more of the same.

Listening and discussing ...

After this, a recorded speech, presumably from Australia, from the first of the keynote lectures, Raewyn Connell (2019) on "Masculinities in Troubling Times: Thinking on a World Scale", was shown. The text of her speech, along with those of the three other keynotes, was published in the last issue of the journal, and so, as readers can themselves enjoy them at their leisure, I only make short comments on each of them here. Connell addressed, albeit if in what may have appeared at first as somewhat, and deceptively, restrained terms, the state of the world, and the Global South, when seen in terms of men and masculinities under neoliberal economic relations, not least the importance of the rise of dominant national and world leaders, the "strongmen" (see Connell, 2016). The speech was succinct and measured in summarising the new authoritarianisms and the combination of power blocs dominated by certain men operating nationally, regionally and globally. In addition, some guarded critical words were delivered against the widespread adoption of the non-relational concept of "toxic

masculinity" in some sections of academia, as well as media and wider discourse. I think that was a helpful intervention against what can easily be close to a reinvention of sex role theory and the still frequent allusions to "traditional masculinity", rather than an engagement with shifting forms of hegemony.

Then, with these openings done and dusted, it was the turn of the parallel panel sessions. Inevitably what I say from now on is an even more partial and personal take than what I've said above, as I haven't yet found a simple way of being in more than one place, and for most of the time four sessions ran simultaneously. Altogether there were 35 parallel sessions, 15 in Turkish and 20 in English, across nine time slots, with 88 papers and 8 special or workshop sessions, for example, graduate forums and a UN Women session, listed on the conference programme, with only a few no-shows, with travel costs and so on. This was an impressive collection and gathering of expertise, commitment and enthusiasm, that was simultaneously and very international and very Turkish.

Necessarily, I only went to the sessions in English language, though some of these did include papers by Turkish scholars on Turkish material and society. However, this meant inevitably a clear limitation and partiality on what I can report about in relation to the conference. Amongst the papers and sessions that I did attend, I won't comment on every paper I heard, but on some that especially stayed with me, in different ways.

For the first panel, I attended that on "Trans and masculine femininity experience", with three papers. Having recently been involved in the European Research Council (ERC) "Transrights" project, I was eager to hear these papers, and was not disappointed. First, two papers, rich in detail, addressed transgender lives in Turkey: Lukka Alp Akarçay discussed this focus in the context and through the navigation of urban space; and then R. Ash Koruyocu highlighted the importance of organisational influences in the lives of transgender people, and thus the potential of critical organisational studies in understanding and

contributing to change for transpeople. Finally, Sofia Aboim, the Director of the "Transrights" project, and Pedro Vascencolos presented on their ethnographic work on transgender in Portugal, focusing on transmen and transmasculine individuals. This included a fascinating exposition and then discussion on different bodily strategies for doing masculinity, briefly: metamorphosis (the body as a revealer of inner masculinity), approximation (binary masculinisation but embracing ambiguity), contestation (desire of bodily masculinisation but non-binary discourse), and discursiveness (no major physical transformation/intervention but bodies read through discourse).

The afternoon began with the second plenary session: the US scholar, James W. Messerschmidt (2019) spoke on "Hidden in Plain Sight: On the Omnipresence of Hegemonic Masculinities". In his talk, he argued for the continuing usefulness of the concept of hegemonic masculinities, notably in the plural, in a significant range of US contexts, drawing largely on a variety of how own studies. This got me thinking of the importance of time and place in the construction of knowledge in CSMM.

Subsequent panels I attended were labelled: "Media", "Gender Equality", "Masculinities and Identities", "Social Class and Precarity", "Politics and Gender/Sexual Identity", along with parts of Military/Militarism", "Modernisation and Kemalism", and finally "Men and Instabilities".

The next session I attended, on "Media", was an excursion for me into some less familiar areas, with two initial papers on the analysis of Turkish television. This was something of an educational privilege for me in learning about how, in this context, the (strong) male body can be understood as foundational of the nation and nationalism (presented by Deniz Zorlu), and yet how traumatised masculinities figured in the TV series "Kuzgun" (presented by Özlem Akkaya). The session also included a very topical paper by Ellen O'Sullivan on the incelosphere, a particularly nasty branch of the manosphere (see Ding, 2017), even not

all incels, so-called involuntary (heterosexual male) celibates, claimed that identity explicitly and proudly.

Between the parallel sessions were slotted two further major keynotes: one by Deniz Kandiyoti on "Mainstreaming Men and Masculinities: Technical Fix or Political Struggle?", and another by Nancy Lindisfarne on "The Roots of Sexual Violence". A noted, these have also been reproduced in the journal.

Kandiyoti's (2019) speech was both wide-ranging in scope, whilst being directed to recent political and policy events and change in Turkey and well beyond around gender, men and masculinities. The *political nature* of gender, gender (equality) policy, and studies on men and masculinities was made very clear. As her title suggests, seeing gender as resolved and fixable by technical and policy fixes was critiqued. There were many points of interest, including her elaboration on how Hasso's critique that 'the dominant theories in contemporary masculinity studies were produced largely by white male scholars in the United States and Australia whose assumptions in relation to Western societies have been "globalized as theory writ large relatively unselfconsciously"' (Kandiyoti, 2019: 32, citing Hasso, 2018). This was an important guiding message for the whole conference and CSMM beyond. More specifically, the rise of masculinist restorations in the region and elsewhere was discussed, as well as the complex positioning and shifting political path of women's and equality-related organisations and agencies sitting, stuck, between the state and civil society. This perspective is highly relevant to the situation of many state, quasi-state and NGOs, especially those state-funded that have to negotiate for their resources and existence.

Her lecture also made me think more about the question of living away from one's own country of origin, and how this affects one's relations to it, academically and politically. While Kandiyoti has long worked (and I assume lived) in (or near) London and remains an authority on Turkey, I got to musing on my own childhood in London, my own living away from the UK, and my own uncertainties in understanding about what is happening there. In some ways, this means

seeing the UK more clearly; in other ways, that country seems more and more remote

The "Gender Equality" session included papers based on material in several very different locations: by Brendan Kwiatkowski and Allyson Jule from Canada on the old chestnut of "unrestricting" men's and boys', in this case, adolescents' emotions; Michal Zeevi on the integration of men into feminist activism in Israel; and Marcela Ondekova on men as activists – or rather antagonists, allies, and advocates – in relation to women's empowerment in Bangladesh. All three papers pointed to the political difficulties of simple solutions or resolutions of men's and boy's positioning within entrenched gender power relations, even when there are good intentions – in some ways reinforcing Kandiyoti's keynote message.

As it happened, the Bangladeshi context also figured in the next session, Fauzia Erfan Ahmed's paper in the session on "Masculinities and Identities" – in which she addressed the question: does modernisation overcome patriarchy? She described the dramatic social change in the country with fertility rates decreasing by two-thirds from 1975 to 2018, creating the conditions for different, 'new' gender positionings and also various forms of social ambivalence and contradictory consciousness, to cite Matthew Gutmann (1996/2006), and 'mixed' or split, rather than, say, hybrid, forms of masculinity, if I understand it correctly. In the Bangladeshi context, men are changing but slowly, and doing so with ambivalence and contradictions, in relation to women's changing relations to production and reproduction (see Ahmed, 2008). This was one of the most gripping of the individual papers that I heard at the conference.

Lindisfarne's (2019) lecture was another *tour de force*, addressing roots in a different sense, now the roots of sexual violence. The talk ranged widely, but built, perhaps unusually in this context, on historical and pre-class, pre-historical anthropology, primate-human relations, anatomy, evolution, change in agricultural systems, and political economy, amongst other inspirations – in seeking a unified theory of

gender and class. It also sought to "think afresh about human origins: beginning with the 200,000 history of egalitarian cooperation, and then the recent 12,000-year history of class inequality with its consistent associations with patriarchy, and gendered violence." (Lindisfarne, 2019: 50). In distilling many points, Lindisfarne introduced some the major ideas in her forthcoming book with Jonathan Neale (Lindisfarne and Neale, f.c.), including pointing to the power of love, that is love that legitimates patriarchal relations, as an underpinning of sexual violence. These historical processes may have become more complex and even subtle, but are still there. It would be immensely interesting to put this analysis alongside what is probably the most developed feminist-materialist theorist of love, namely, that of my Örebro University colleague, Anna Jónasdóttir (1994; Jónasdóttir and *Ferguson, 2013)*, and the Feminist Love Studies more generally, as well as with the foundational materialist work on the politics of reproduction and fatherhood by Mary O'Brien (1981; 1990), one of my personal intellectual inspirations (Hearn, 1999).

The two sessions following – on "Social Class and Precarity" and "Politics and Gender/Sexual Identity" – proved to be among the most interesting of the parallel sessions in the conference. In the first of these two sessions: Cecilie Mueenuddin spoke of changing power relations among middle-class men in Pakistan; Mandisa Malinga addressed work, money, sexual prowess, powerlessness and shame among precarious day labourers in South Africa; and Christina Mouratides Mediouni examined the lived tensions and precarious plight of even well-educated men in post-revolution Tunisia. The session dovetailed well onto the next on "Politics and Gender/Sexual Identity", with: Arpita Chakraborty speaking on violent masculinity and religion in India, including an insightful critique of Ghandi's writings; Ivan Bujan on some contradictions around homonationalism and HIV prevention in the US; and Begüm Selici on conservative LBGTI+ groups in Turkey. We now have a bigger picture (cf. Connell, 1993; Hearn, 2003, on the 'big picture') than is usual with some contemporary concerns with identity, in everyday presence and presentations.

Unfortunately, with some other demands, I was only able to get to part of some sessions, namely the "Military/militarism" session, and Thomas Süsler-Rohringer's presentation on military and civic masculinities in Austria since 1960; "Modernisation and Kemalism" with Rüstem Ertuğ Altinay on "Queer Marxist Feminism on the Kemalist stage"; "Men and instabilities" with Rafaela Werny on "Masculinities in nursing homes". These were all engrossing presentations showing the breadth and depth of current scholarship.

Finally, I comment here on an improvised Open Forum participatory workshop that I ran on the theme of "What is Going on with Men in Studies of Gender, Men and Masculinities?" The workshop proved popular in terms of the numbers that attended (perhaps as it was the only English-language session at that time), though I cannot comment on its popularity in terms of reception. I gave some brief overview of what is happening in CSMM, some part, present and future trends (Hearn, 2019; Hearn and Howson, 2019); and the gender dynamics within this area of study, drawing in part on Tristan Bridges'(2019) recent analysis of representation of women and men in the relevant journals. On one hand, men, certain men, are most well-known in the arena of CSMM; on the other hand, in some parts of the world at least, such as Central and East Europe, the Nordic region, and South Africa, feminist women are leading the work on CSMM. At the same time, some men scholars appear to use the sub-field of CSMM for their own not-so-feminist-at-all purposes. In the workshop, I also asked participants to spend short blocks of time discussing in twos or threes key questions, such as:

- What are the most important issues/difficulties/challenges/contradictions that concern **you in your work?**
- How do these issues/difficulties/ challenges/ contradictions work **for you … personally, empirically, politically, theoretically?**

- How do **you deal with** these challenges in your work? On your own? With others? Institutionally (universities, NGOs, networks)?

This generated a lot of talk and then feedback to the whole group, including on how some scholars are working in relative isolation within or outside their academic institutions. For myself, I enjoyed it, in part as a change of rhythm and a chance to hear from participants to talk to each other and reflect on their own research and the challenges they face in their own institutional and academic location, politically and epistemologically.

Reflecting ...

Conferences such as this allow for the passing on of information and knowledge, mutual learning, sharing new ideas, finding inspiration (sometimes in the unexpected), taking stock, and moving forward more critically. Such conferences around CSMM are, however, rarely only *about knowledge construction* of particular topics, *x* or *y*, out there, elsewhere; they also *do knowledge construction* in terms of what and whose knowledge is most legitimate and acceptable, and which directions CSMM is (practiced) going in and not going in. This particular conference helped to push CSMM towards the bigger historical and geopolitical picture, and towards broader theoretical concerns beyond the immediacy of interpersonal doing and representation of gender, without neglecting that.

One other observation, from my perspective, is that many presentations were able to bridge the gap between more materialist analysis and more discursive analysis, and recognise, if only implicitly, the frequent arbitrariness of the separations of academic disciplines that still persist – between sociology, political science, international relations, cultural and visual studies, and so on. The conference was also both clearly local, national (but not nationalistic) and Turkish in its location, base, organizing and (in part) language), and also at the same time very

international and transnational in many different ways. That relation was a virtuous one.

The conference was a conference and a half, a true political and intellectual feast. It signals a form of 'maturing' of Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities, whereby historical, geopolitical and social structural realities are interrogated alongside calls for social justice, intersectional analysis, deconstruction of the taken-for-grantedness of men and masculinities, and recognition of the diversity of masculinities and men's and male experiences, however they are defined.

Finally, many thanks are due the organisers, the caterers, and no doubt others too, for not only for arranging all the practicalities, but for creating, along with the presenters and the audiences, such a positive and supportive atmosphere, in and around the conference that meant that sessions were both critical and peaceful. I recall many enjoyable conversations, meetings and moments.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak: Osmanlı Askerlerinin Cephe Hatıraları ve Türkiye'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hafızası [1]

Mehmet Beşikçi

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Mehmet Beşikçi'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Birinci Dünya Savaşı seferberliği üzerine hazırladığı doktora tezine dayanan kitabı *Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak* İngilizce olarak basılmasının üzerinden 7 yıl geçtikten (Brill, 2012) sonra nihayet Türkçede. Bu kitabı eleştirel erkeklik çalışmaları için önemli kılan, erkeklerin savaş tecrübelerine ilişkin hafızalarının arşivlere ve diğer resmi kayıtlara çok fazla yansımayan kısmını su yüzüne çıkartmaya gayret göstermesi. Yaklaşık üç milyon erkeğin askere alındığı Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın cephe hatıralarını 1914-1918 yıllarına odaklanarak araştıran Beşikçi, askerlere ait otobiyografik kayıtları kullanmakta, hatırat, günlük ve mektuplardan edinilen bilgileri birer "benlik belgesi" olarak askeri tarihin bir parçası kılmaya çalışmaktadır.

Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak, otobiyografik kaynakların kullanımı üzerine teorik bir tartışma ile başlıyor. Kitabın ilk bölümünde "aşağıdan tarih" kavramını değerlendiren Beşikçi, "benlik belgeleri"nin tarihçilerin ilgi alanına girmesinin kronolojisini çıkartıyor ve otobiyografik kaynaklara yaklaşımdaki sorunların altını çiziyor. Arşiv

[1] Bu yazı, *Bir Düğün Gecesi*'nde asker imgesinin etrafındaki iktidar alanına benzer bir alanı kendi etrafında kurmaya çalışan entelektüel erkeği konu edinerek, asker-sivil ikiliğinin önemini yitirdiği bir toplumun çıkmazlarını ele alması ve sadece 1970'ler için değil, bugün için de hayati önem taşıyan bu konuyu irdeleyerek askeri düzene tezat oluşturmayan sivillikler de olabileceğine ilişkin uyarısını romanının merkezine yerleştirmesi nedeniyle yakın tarihte kaybettiğimiz Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun (23 Ekim 1929-14 Temmuz 2020) hatırasına adanmıştır.

belgelerine ilk andan şüpheyle yaklaşılmazken otobiyografik belgelere ilişkin bir güvensizliğin çok kolay yürürlüğe sokulduğunu ifade eden yazar, resmî belgelerin tek boyutlu bilgisinin kişisel tanıklıklarla desteklenmesinin önemini hatırlatıyor. Bu bölümde, hafıza-tarih ilişkisi üzerine yürütülen teorik tartışmalar da gözden geçiriliyor. Kolektif hafıza (Halbwachs) kavramını ve ona atfedilen pozitivist önemin yanıltıcılığını (Ricoeur), otobiyografik sözleşme (Lejeune) kavramı üzerine olan tartışmaları, otobiyografik metinlerin edebi metinlerden farkını ve sözlü tarihin önemini çeşitli kuramcılara referanslarla değerlendiren Beşikçi, tarih araştırmalarında şahsi belge/resmî belge ayrımı üzerine odaklanan soruları açıklıkla ortaya koyuyor.

Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndaki Osmanlı askerine ilişkin kayıtların nitelik ve nicelik bakımından incelendiği ikinci bölümde, 896'sı matbu 1466 otobiyografik metne ulaşıldığını öğreniyoruz. On yıllık savaş döneminin genel çerçevesini oluşturan bu benlik anlatılarına ilişkin kapsamlı bir kaynakçanın henüz oluşturulmadığını belirten Beşikçi, ulaşılan metinlerin cephelere, rütbelere, otobiyografik metin türüne göre nasıl dağıldığını grafiklerle açıklıyor. Okuryazarlık oranının %10ların üzerine çıkmadığı tahmin edilen Osmanlı'da, yaşadıkları döneme ilişkin hatırat kaleme alan kişilerin bu belgeleri oluşturma nedenleri üçüncü bölümde ele alınıyor. Üçüncü bölümde Beşikçi, bu metinlerde ulus kimliğine katkı sunma, savaş tecrübesini gelecek nesillere aktarma, gençlerin rejimi sahiplenmelerini sağlama gibi amaçlar tespit ediyor ve resmî hafızada sansürlü kimi konularda (örneğin Sarıkamış vb.) otobiyografik metinlerin tarihe yaptığı katkının altını çiziyor.

Beşikçi, dördüncü bölümde Osmanlı ordusundaki kozmopolitliği detaylandırıyor ve gayrimüslim askerlerin hafıza kayıtlarına odaklanarak etnik ve dinî çeşitliliğin metinlere nasıl yansıdığını konu ediyor. Bu bölüm, çok dilli bir toplumdan asker toplayan Osmanlı sisteminin, Türkçe bilmeyen erlerin savaş atmosferinde yaşadıkları sıkıntıları nasıl aşmaya çalıştığını ve kimi askerlerin (örneğin Çerkesler) kendi kimliklerini anlatılarında nasıl silikleştirdiğini aktarıyor. Beşikçi, sonradan Ankara Hükümeti'ne tavır alan Çerkes Ethem örneği üzerinden, silinen veya

belirsizleştirilen etnik kimliğin yeri geldiğinde pejoratif bir anlam içerecek şekilde devreye sokulabildiğini de gösteriyor.

Savaşın farklı cephelerinin ele alındığı ve bu cephelere ilişkin hatıratın karşılaştırıldığı beşinci ve altıncı bölümlerde, askerlerin cephelerde yaşadıkları sorunlarla nasıl baş ettikleri konu ediliyor. Beşikçi, iaşe, ulaşım ve hijyen problemlerini, cephe savaşında ölülerin defnedilmesi için yapılan geçici ateşkesleri inceliyor ve "psikolojik stres" olgusunu değerlendiriyor. "Gülle şoku" (shell shock) olarak adlandırılan ve savaş nevrozunun bir araştırma alanı olarak belirginleşmesine neden olan tepkilerin metinlerdeki yansımalarını inceleyen Beşikçi, hiç sıla izni alamayan, zor koşullarda hayatta kalmaya çalışan askerlerin moral ve motivasyon sağlamak için yaptıkları aktiviteleri de irdeliyor. Askerlerin savaş sonrası hayata uyum sağlama mücadelelerine de değinen bu kitap, cephedeki insan hikayelerinin daha önce derinlenmesine incelenmemiş bir boyutunu, hafıza tartışmalarının merkezine titiz bir şekilde yerleştirerek sona ermektedir.

Mehmet Beşikçi'nin otobiyografik metinlere yaklaşımındaki dengeli tavır, onları hızlıca resmî tarihin karşı kutbuna yerleştirmemek gerektiği konusundaki uyarıları son derece önemli. Bununla birlikte, bu kitabın önemli bir eksiği var. *Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak*'ta asker erkeklerin cephe hatırları ele alınırken "erkeklik" problematize edilmiyor. Yazar, Osmanlı ordusundaki askerlerin yekpare bir bütün olmadığını, cepheden cepheye, rütbelere, demografik unsurlara dayalı olarak farklı savaş tecrübelerinin yaşandığını sık sık vurgulamasına karşın, bu farklılaşma vurgusunu toplumsal cinsiyet boyutuna taşımıyor. Kitapta, savaşın cephedeki erkekler üzerindeki etkilerinin farklılaştığını görüyor ama bunları teorik bir tartışma ile yan yana getiremiyoruz. Zira, bu kitapta, teorik çerçeve "resmî belge olarak tarih" tartışması etrafında kuruluyor ve bir ölçüde de "kolektif hafıza", "sosyal hafıza" ve "gülle şoku" tartışmalarında kendisini gösteriyor. Beşikçi, "erkekliklerin teorisi"ni dışarıda bıraktığı için, "gülle şoku"nun açtığı ve bizi son derece verimli tartışmalara ulaştırabilecek kapıdan içeri adım atmamış oluyoruz. Bu büyük emek verilmiş araştırma, savaşın cinsiyetli bir problem olduğunu

savunan kuramcıları tartışma masasına davet etmeyerek çok önemli bir sandalyeyi boş bırakmış oluyor.

Oysa yarım asırı geçkin bir tarihi olan eleştirel erkeklik çalışmaları alanının zeminini oluşturan "hegemonik erkeklik" tartışmalarında, erkekliklerin sürekli yeniden ziyaret edilmesi gereken dinamik kurgular olduğu çoktan tespit edilmiş ve buradaki meselenin kimliklerimizi çevreleyen güç ilişkilerinden ayrılamayacağı kanısına varılmıştı. Savaşta psikolojik sorunlar yaşayanların zaten zayıf bünyeli erkekler olduğu ön kabulü, sık yaşanan isyan vakaları ile yan yana getirilecek olursa, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın cephelerinde *gerçekten* nelerin yaşandığının tartışıldığı ve erkeklik teorileri sandalyesinin boş bırakıldığı bu masa devrilebilir. Cepheden kurtulmak için kendi elini veya ayağını vuran, bu "korkakça" davranışları nedeniyle kurşuna dizilmeleri emredilen askerlerden birini vurmaya gönlü el vermeyen Çanakkale 42. Alay komutanı Binbaşı Ahmet Nuri [Diriker] beyin "kardeş kurşunu ile ölmektense düşman kurşunu ile şehit olmasının daha eyi" (272) olduğunu söylediği ve el bombası ile taarruza gönderdiği neferin bir türlü ölmediğini ve üç defa gel-git yaparak düşman siperlere en fazla zararı verdiğini, sonunda da onbaşılığa yükselerek harp madalyası almaya hak kazandığını anlattığı hatıraları, erkekliğin yıkılıp yeniden kurulan, sosyal baskı ile şekillenen, değişen ve dönüşen bir olgu olduğunu ve klasikleşmiş kahramanlık hikayelerine yeni bir gözle bakmak gerektiğini hatırlatmaktadır.

Beşikçi, Binbaşı'nın anısını aktararak, aslında cephede erkeklikler arasında yaşanan "iç savaşı" görünür kılmış oluyor. Ancak bu çalışma, o "iç savaşa" odaklanan ve Pandora'nın kutusunu açarak erkeklerin *mahremiyetine* ulaşan çalışmalardan değil. Cephede çekimser duran, kendisini sakınan askerlerin "korkak"lıkla suçlanmasına ilişkin tespitler ve Binbaşı'nın hatıralarında yakalanan bu dönüşüm öyküsüne yer vererek Beşikçi, erkeklik meselesine doğru bir adım atmış oluyor aslında; ama tarih, hafıza, benlik anlatıları konularını teorik tartışma ile genişletmesine karşın erkeklik meselesini benzer bir şekilde genişletmeyi tercih etmiyor. Böylece savaşın psikolojik olumsuzluklarını ancak dolaylı yoldan yazıya geçirebilen erkeklerin, kendilerini "güçsüz hissetmelerine" izin verilmeyen bir kültürdeki tutsaklıkları sürdürülmüş oluyor. Beşikçi'nin

gayrimüslim askerlere, şimdiye kadar çalışılmamış otobiyografik metinlere, söylenemeyenlere uzanan dikkati, cephedeki erkeklik hiyerarşisinin ulus-devlet ve makbul vatandaş denklemini oluşturan temel unsur olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir; ancak hikâyenin bütününe ulaşabilmek için erkekliği de teorik olarak konuşmaya başlamak gerekiyor. Erkeklerin yekpare bir bütün olmadığı konuşulmaya başlandığında, aslında resmî tarihte görülmeyenleri incelemek adına çok önemli bir zemin oluşmuş olacak. Gerçek bir "aşağıdan tarih" yazılacaksa, normatif erkeklik beklentilerine uymayanların deneyimlerini de etraflıca değerlendirebilmeliyiz. Tabii her şeyden önce erkekler bunları hatıralarında yazabiliyor olmalılar.

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