TRACING THE RESISTANCE: PERFORMATIVE STRATEGIES AGAINST HATE SPEECH BASED ON SEXUAL IDENTITY IN TURKEY

İREM SUMRU MÜFTÜOĞLU

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2024

TRACING THE RESISTANCE: PERFORMATIVE STRATEGIES AGAINST HATE SPEECH BASED ON SEXUAL IDENTITY IN TURKEY

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

by

İrem Sumru Müftüoğlu

Boğaziçi University

2024

Tracing The Resistance:

Performative Strategies Against Hate Speech Based on Sexual Identity in Turkey

The thesis of İrem Sumru Müftüoğlu

has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Bülent Küçük _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assist. Prof. Ceylan Engin _____

Prof. Arus Yumul _____
(External Member)

June 2024

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, İrem Sumru Müftüoğlu, certify that

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

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

• this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature .....

Date .....

ABSTRACT

Tracing the Resistance:

Performative Strategies against Hate Speech Based on Sexual Identity in Turkey

This thesis explores the performative strategies that queer people establish against hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Adopting a queer feminist theoretical framework, it investigates the intersectionality of vulnerability, political agency, and performativity. Set against a backdrop of intensifying anti-gender discourses and hyper-visibility of hate speech, this study emphasizes the relationship between the macropolitical atmosphere of discursive violence and the micro tensions of everyday life. The narrative analysis of semi-structured in-depth interviews and fieldwork observations highlights three main themes. Firstly, it reveals the class disposition of the wound and proposes the conceptualization of the *ivory gaze* to express the ability to distance oneself from the wounding force of hate speech. Secondly, it examines the endurance toolkits that emerge in narratives of multidimensional discrimination, highlighting the subversive potential of vulnerability. Lastly, safe space appears as a distinct pattern in every narrative, not as a physically determined space but as a more abstract concept that draws attention to performative interventions politicizing sexuality. This work not only records instances of hate speech but also reveals the potential to transform vulnerability into resistance by foregrounding the diverse daily lives of queer individuals in Turkey. It underscores the importance of developing an approach by recognizing queer subjects' political agency rather than relying solely on legalistic or psychological approaches. It contributes to the hate speech literature by adding creative possibilities for resistance and empowerment in the face of hate speech.

ÖZET

Direnişin İzini Sürmek:

Türkiye'deki Cinsel Kimliğe Dayalı Nefret Söylemine Karşı Performatif Stratejiler

Bu tez, cinsel yönelim ve cinsiyet kimliğine dayalı nefret söylemine karşı queer bireylerin geliştirdiği performatif stratejileri incelemektedir. Queer feminist bir teorik çerçeve benimseyerek, kırılganlık, politik aktörlük ve performativitenin kesişimselliğini araştırmaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet karşıtı söylemlerin yoğunlaştığı ve nefret söyleminin aşırı görünür hale geldiği bir arka plan karşısında, bu çalışma, söylemsel şiddetin makropolitik atmosferi ile günlük yaşamın mikro gerilimleri arasındaki ilişkiyi vurgulamaktadır. Yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar ve saha gözlemlerinin anlatı analizi, üç ana temayı öne çıkarır. İlk olarak, yaralanmanın sınıfsallığını ortaya koyar ve nefret söyleminin yaralayıcı gücünden kişilerin kendilerini uzaklaştırma yeteneğini ifade etmek için *fildişi bakış* kavramını önerir. İkinci olarak, çok boyutlu ayrımcılık anlatılarında ortaya çıkan dayanıklılık araçlarını inceler ve kırılganlığın yıkıcı potansiyelini vurgular. Son olarak, güvenli alan kavramı fiziksel olarak belirlenmiş bir alandan ziyade, daha soyut bir kavram olarak her anlatıda kendini gösterir ve cinselliği politize eden performatif müdahalelere işaret eder. Bu çalışma, nefret söylemi örneklerini sadece kaydetmekten ziyade, Türkiye'deki queer bireylerin çeşitli günlük yaşamlarını ön plana çıkararak kırılganlığı direnişe dönüştürme potansiyelini açığa çıkarmanın peşine düşer. Yalnızca yasal veya psikolojik yaklaşımlara dayanmak yerine, queer öznelerin siyasi failliğini kabul eden bir yaklaşım geliştirmenin öneminin altını çizer. Bu çalışma, nefret söylemine karşı direniş ve güçlenme için yaratıcı olanaklar ekleyerek nefret söylemi literatürüne katkıda bulunur.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The journey to completing this thesis has been both challenging and rewarding, and it would not have been possible without the support and guidance of many individuals. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Yaren Arabacı, Zeynep Küçük, and Bahar Aldanmaz for their support and invaluable feedback throughout the writing process of this thesis, which was crucial in shaping the work.

I am profoundly grateful to informants from the queer community who participated in this study. This research was only possible due to their willingness to share their experiences and insights. Their resilience and stories have been a source of inspiration. I also thank my thesis committee members, Arus Yumul and Ceylan Engin, for their valuable comments and suggestions.

I also would like to thank Alev Özkazanç, Nükhet Sirman, Feyza Akınerdem, and Zeynep Gambetti. Their expertise greatly influenced the insights I gained in social sciences. I am aware that meeting with these valuable academicians and learning from them is of utmost importance.

Special thanks to my friends Hüma, Hatimed, Fatih, Ömer, Şilan, Soner, Ali, Susanna, Pırıl, and those names I cannot list, whose presence and inducement have been a constant source of motivation. I am fortunate to have such a supportive circle of friends from Istanbul to Berlin. Also, in Ankara, my aunts' belief in me and support are among those I would like to thank, they have never left my side since my childhood.

Last but not least, I would like to thank two special people, my mother and İlke Devrim, who reminded me of my strength at that critical moment when I lost

faith in myself and could not even imagine continuing. I am grateful for their presence.

I came out of this thesis process both wounded and having recognized my wounds. In the first chapter of her book, *Mağdurun Dili*, Nurdan Gürbilek explains the metaphor of "being excluded from the feast" through Dostoyevsky. She reminds us of Dostoyevsky's question: "What is this endless feast that has been winking at us since our childhood but of which we have never been able to be a part?" Not being able to find a place for oneself at any table, remaining a spectator rather than being invited to banquets, and even being kicked out of the table... These are familiar feelings, not only in literary writing but also in many aspects of life. I see this work as an extension of those expelled from the table but learning to set their own feast. I want to dedicate this work to everyone who tries to find a place for themselves among all the exclusionary practices of this festive world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Why queer feminism? 4

1.2 Problem statement through the anti-gender movement in Turkey 9

CHAPTER 2: RECONCEPTUALIZING HATE SPEECH 17

2.1 The literature review on hate speech 18

2.2 Approaching the Concept of Hate Speech Through the Lens of Queer Feminist Theory 28

CHAPTER 3: ROUTE TO THE FIELD RESEARCH 37

3.1 Methodology 37

3.2 Positionality 44

CHAPTER 4: TRACING THE RESISTANCE 47

4.1 Intersectionality of the wound 47

4.2 Subversion of vulnerability through endurance toolkits 65

4.3 Performative crafting of safe spaces 75

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION 94

APPENDIX A: LONG QUOTES IN TURKISH 100

APPENDIX B: APPROVAL OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE 107

REFERENCES 108

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, anti-gender discourses in Turkey have significantly intensified, affecting the lives of queer people and fostering hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity (Koylu, 2020). Research projects conducted in Turkey show that this type of discrimination has gained visibility, especially since 2020 (Kaos GL[1], 2023). A comparative analysis of hate speech used in the media demonstrates that hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity in the press increases every year; for instance, in 2023, 69% of the news that mentions LGBTQ+ in Turkey uses hate speech outside the concerns of rights-oriented journalism (Kaos GL, 2024). According to these reports, nine out of ten LGBTQ+ people are subjected to discursive violence (Kaos GL, 2023). Types of sexual identity-based hate speech, which start with insults and swearing, range from threats, blackmail, harassment, persistent stalking, use of names assigned at birth, sharing of personal information and images without permission, restriction of internet access, and hate campaigns (Ibid, 2023).

Hate crimes and suicides are major problems in the lives of queer people in Turkey. A 2019 report reveals that 150 hate crimes were reported by 120 victims and 30 witnesses, a significant increase from the previous year when only 62 incidents were reported in 2018 (Kaos GL, 2020). Moreover, the inadequate punishment of crimes committed based on sexual identity, resulting in a culture of impunity (Engin,

[1] Kaos GL, which stands for Cultural Research and Solidarity Association, is the name of a non-governmental organization based in Ankara. They publish regular reports every year on different dimensions of violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity. In this research, Kaos GL data will be referenced under this general name. You can find the authors of the studies in the References section.

2015), is seen as one of the biggest reasons why many queer individuals do not file official complaints against the discrimination they face (Kaos GL, 2020). Additionally, reports indicate that eyewitnesses of sexual identity-based discrimination are generally unresponsive, and this is also a factor in those who are subjected to violence not entering the official complaint process (Kaos GL, 2020). The 2019 Human Rights Report on LGBTI+ People reveals that while there is a rise in rights violations directly caused by authorities and law enforcement, societal violations continue to be intense (Kaos GL, 2019). In the 2023 Human Rights Violations report, 333 people were faced with obstruction of the exercise of their right to assembly, while approximately 17% of them had violations of freedom of expression other than the exercise of the right to peaceful assembly (Kaos GL, 2024). The European Commission's 2019 report on Turkey highlighted the seriousness of anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination, emphasizing the widespread use of hate speech by government officials and the media (European Commission, 2019). Furthermore, the "We Live Together in Turkey" research, which investigates the capacity to live together in a polarized society, included LGBTQ+-based discrimination as one of the most frequently encountered areas of prejudice and discrimination (Kentel, 2022).

Overall, the increase in anti-gender discourses, hate speech, and hate crimes in Turkey has cultivated vicious surroundings for queer individuals, aggravating their struggles and bringing greater visibility to these issues in recent years. This study acknowledges the gravity of hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity in Turkey and sets out from there. Therefore, rather than developing a naive approach to tracing the resistance against discursive violence, it draws attention to how violence that has become a part of queer lives is navigated.

In this chapter, I will introduce the current context of the anti-gender movement to outline the problem statement regarding hate speech in the socio-political climate of Turkey. This study seeks to address the problem of hate speech through the lens of queer feminism and draws a theoretical framework that emphasizes the intersectionality of vulnerability and the (trans)formation of the political agency of queer subjects (Ahmed, 2006; Butler, 1990). The application of queer feminism challenges the normative reliance on legal positivist frameworks and focuses on the micropolitical tensions of daily life (Stryker, Whittle, 2006). I will start by explaining why I chose queer feminism as the theoretical background to discuss this issue. This discussion, which also serves as an introduction to the topic, explains why I sought to investigate possibilities of resistance rather than only identifying and describing the forms of hate speech in this research. Since the primary purpose of my study is to focus on the new performative strategies that queer people create who face hate speech due to their sexual orientation and gender identity, the questions that form the basis of the study are (a) how do queer people experience discursive violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity? and (b) which performative strategies do they develop to resist such occurrences in the micropolitical tensions? In this sense, the sub questions of this project are as follows: (c) Is it possible to establish an active field of resistance in the face of hate speech? (d) What is the constitutive role of performative moves/strategies that emerge in daily life through the responses to hate speech?

In the next chapter (2), I will briefly call into question the concept of hate speech based on a wider literature and the existing literature in Turkey. I will follow the discussions contesting hate speech's conceptual boundaries and reveal the controversial aspects of the issue. Unlike the international literature on hate speech,

the systematic academic production in Turkey remains insufficient since they are mainly founded on the reports prepared by non-governmental organizations (such as Hrant Dink Foundation and Kaos GL), lacking theoretical engagement with the conditions that enable production and circulation of hate speech. This research distinguishes itself from the majority of hate speech literature (HDV, 2013: 2021) since it adopts queer feminist theory to highlight the political agency of the subject rather than relying on an understanding that emphasizes the power of law or its apparatus to duty.

In the methodology section (Chapter 3), I will present the research design, which will discuss the methodological prospects of narrative analysis and my positionality as the researcher. The research methodology is the narrative analysis of the semi-structured, in-depth interviews I conducted with fourteen people who experienced discursive violence as well as fieldwork observation. I will discuss the analysis findings under three main headings (Chapter 4). The first part draws attention to the intersectional features of vulnerability, and the second part will follow, in which I focus on endurance toolkits derived from injury stories. Finally, I will discuss the safe space phenomenon, which is a common concept that I encounter in all interviews and indicates a performative crafting act. I will end the thesis with a conclusion chapter (5) to summarize general findings and highlight further research.

1.1 Why queer feminism?

This research embraces a queer feminist theoretical perspective for several reasons. First of all, a queer feminist perspective provides a tenet for the recognition of the subversive potential of vulnerability through political agency rather than considering the vulnerable position as merely a state of weakness (Cvetkovich, 2003). I aim to

explore the resistance toolkits that queer people develop in their daily lives (Muñoz, 1999) when they face hate speech. By highlighting the limitations of traditional legal approaches (Phelan, 2001), I aim to position the phenomenon of hate speech within the discussions of political agency. Therefore, in this section, I will present why I designed the research to explore the resistance mechanism rather than solely detecting hate speech forms.

During my university years, queer feminism played a paramount role in my own politicization process. I came into contact with different dissident segments of society through queer feminist groups and started to hear what their problems were. The times I began to live an activist life and participated in Pride Parades -and March 8 marches- coincided with the years when Istanbul Pride Parades started to be banned. Within these bans and restrictions, I came to realize how queer people were developing toolkits that would challenge their vulnerable positions through mundane acts of resistance. In a sense, this power of the position shift usually reveals itself in subtle moments when fragility subverts into resistance.

Subverting the vulnerable position is a skill that indicates an acceptance of being the abjected, the strange, and incomprehensible in the social tensions of daily life. As conceptualized by Kristeva (1982), the notion of abjection asserts being marginalized and cast out from societal norms, which is also the case for the queer community in Turkey. Butler (1993) utilizes this concept to develop a theoretical line and claims that reiteration of abjected identities sustains societal mechanisms and their expectations. However, the power of transforming the abject status into a space of agency (Butler, Gambetti, Sabsay, 2016) becomes visible when we examine the various social layers that contribute to abject categories through queer theory. I was able to observe the subversion moments in the way that queer people do not neglect

to mention their vulnerabilities openly when introducing themselves. “Vulnerability as a state of instability will always keep questions open, make decisions reversible, and allow the formation of new configurations of power and resistance” (Sirman, 2016: 25). As a group where different identities tend to stand side by side, the queer community demonstrates the ability to turn vulnerable positions into a political tool through various performative acts. In other words, the LGBTQ+ community, consisting of groups from several backgrounds, constructs effective spaces for together-solidarity mechanisms. So, does this power of transformation have an equivalent reflection when it comes to the face of discursive challenges?

I would like to express the transformative power of the queer that we can find in both the social movement and the theory. As this research was not designed to solely examine hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity, I want to trace the new creative performative moves developed to deal with such discriminatory discourses. This approach beckons focusing on the subversion/transformation power of the subject who faces hatred. I will call into question the extent of the possibility of constructing a new space of resistance through queer political subjectivity.

In her critical letter, Eve Tuck (2009) offers to develop a *desire-based research* rather than a *damage-based research* as a way to stop reproducing and deepening the systems of oppression experienced by marginalized communities. Thus, she emphasizes the importance of research that acknowledges harm but also highlights the agency and resilience of affected groups by using the term *suspending damage*. She calls the reader: “I invite you to join me in re-visioning research in our communities not only to recognize the need to document the effects of oppression on our communities but also to consider the long-term repercussions of thinking of

ourselves as broken" (Tuck, 2009: 409). What encouraged me to adopt this approach was the perspective I gained from queer feminist theory, which enables one to open up a space for imagining new social possibilities. In queer feminist theory, queer is not just the representation of a sexual minority, but it indicates a broader, egalitarian, non-fixed idea (Eng, Halberstam, Muñoz, 2005) and guides the articulation of different minority groups' voices (Özkazanç, 2015). The idea of diversity and togetherness is observable through the banners written in various languages and flags of other ethnic groups in the Istanbul Pride Parades.

Queer theory makes a significant criticism of liberal individualism and establishes its philosophy through the inter-dependence. The philosophy of constructing the possibility of living together through dependency and responsibility on others elaborates on the queer theory (Butler, 2021), as it gives a breath of fresh air that opens doors to multiple and creative ways of resistance rather than a Hegelian dialectical relationship. Therefore, the term queer refers to an understanding that questions all identity institutions, avoids being stuck in identity politics, and focuses on the political agency of subjects with new and creative performances (Heckert, 2018). The transformative agency is performed around the interpellation where "queering is a subversion of norms rather than an *ex nihilo* form of self-constitution" (Gambetti, 2022: 67). Scrutinizing the field of belonging in constructing subjectivity, in other words, determining the field of others, occupies an essential place in the literature (Çakırlar, Delice, 2021). In this context, aside from the role of sexuality in establishing social norms (Foucault, 1978), the term queer refers to a new form of subjectivity and politicization, and it is based on the coexistence of different voices. In this sense, the following question becomes vital: "From where might a principle emerge by which we vow to protect others from the

kinds of violence we have suffered, if not from an apprehension of a common human vulnerability?" (Butler, 2004: 30).

The questioning character of queer subjectivity brings with it the understanding of one's dependence on the other and the expansion of responsibility towards it. I would like to end this section by concretizing this basic idea with a small example from my fieldwork. One of the questions I asked participants in interviews was, "What does queer mean to you?" I saw that even those who were less politicized who presented more individualistic narratives established a relationship between queer and political activism in Turkey. This relationship can be read through the desire to question and displace the reproductions required by the system in the heteronormative patriarchal hierarchy that the state reproduces in every domain. In addition, participants often said that queer is an umbrella concept that refers to vague and unpredictable, strange, questioning, and awkward ones. Therefore, in this thesis, I see queer not as the name of a new and consistent theory or a consistent identity. Indeed, I see queer as a search for a new political subjectivity in which the problem of subjectivity and identity is peculiarly addressed (Özkazanç, 2015). The ambiguity of the term indicates that the queer represents a way of challenging the epistemological, ontological, ethical, and political norms of the heteronormative patriarchal order (Grosz, 2011). In this context, queer stands out not as a defense of the rights of certain sexual identities or a policy proposal against the ubiquitous heteronormativity but as a means of rethinking the entire sociality and historicity and developing an alternative oppositional logic (Özkazanç, 2015). Therefore, queer is both a theoretical and activist expression of deep questioning that opens up new possibilities in the political and discursive aspects of life.

> Queer is a process of thinking. I define it as one's self-reflection and design, and the multiplicities in that design. -L11 (Appendix 1)

In short, after deciding to research hate speech, my predisposition to the queer feminist perspective directed me to question the possibility of resistance which is related to queer subjectivity and performativity. Thanks to this approach, I was interested in understanding the performative interventions developed against the phenomenon that makes people vulnerable, such as hate speech. However, before moving on, I will call into question the macro-political climate of Turkey to present a problem statement by highlighting the structural conditions that enable hate speech. While doing this, I will pursue a brief review of the anti-gender movement, which also has its reflections in Turkey.

1.2 Problem statement through the anti-gender movement in Turkey

The anti-gender movement is a transnationally rising movement with rhetorical and political tools against improvements in the scope of LGBTQ+ and women's rights (Korolczuk, 2015), and it spreads intense hate speech through different channels, such as social media (Nikoghosyan, 2015). Their slogans and actions targeting and marginalizing women and LGBTQ+ have a unique characteristic in understanding hate speech from a massive perspective. I propose to consider the reflections of this movement as an example case to present a problem statement regarding hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity in Turkey. In this section, I will first provide the commonalities of the movement's features worldwide and then focus on the conditions in Turkey.

The concept of *gender ideology* appears first at the core of the anti-gender movement in history (Butler, 2014). In the 1990s, when the Roman Catholic Family Council began asserting the idea of gender as a threat to traditional family structure and biblical authority (Kuhar, Paternotte, 2018), this concept began to gain global

attention and influenced elections and policies in various countries (Butler, 2019). Anti-gender campaigns do not signify a movement rising from the grassroots of society but rather the "higher spheres of international negotiations and theological lucubration" (Corrêa, 2017). This movement functions like a *symbolic glue* that unites various conservative and nationalist groups to advocate "traditional family" and "natural masculinity and femininity" (Kuhar, Zobec, 2017), and they reduce the concept of gender as if it were a single ideology.

As a common theme around the world, alternative family structures and gender identities are demonized and targeted to strengthen this ideology. These dehumanization efforts create a narrative of *heroism* and *victimization*, leading to solid mobilization among right-wing populists and polarizing the public by using tools such as conspiracy theories and hate speech (Graff, Korolczuk, 2021). The researchers consider that the movement has achieved some success by using fear-based messaging to mobilize support, and it portrays gender rights advocates as common enemies of the state and society (Kuhar, 2022).

Seeing the reflections of this movement worldwide reveals that the areas of gender, politics, and economy are intertwined in a multidimensional way. Butler (2019) reads the rise of this movement through the concepts of economic precarity and neoliberalism. The precariousness created by broader neoliberalism and financialization tendencies that lead to the fragmentation of social welfare systems paves the way for the promotion of the heteronormative family as a bastion of stability and traditional values (Butler, 2019; 2024). On the other hand, Kuhar (2022) emphasizes that this movement capitalizes on the epistemic crisis due to the distrust in social sciences and other societal crises, such as masculinity. Underlining that the roots of the *natural family* are based on colonial ideologies and the European

bourgeois family model, McEwen and Narayanaswamy (2023) state that anti-gender movements use the language of development and sustainability, and therefore the movement actually carries its arguments beyond religious and moral foundations.

The concept of the *polypore state* was put forward by Petö from Hungary and Grzebalska (2016) from Poland to comprehend the power of these movements. Polypore is the name of a type of fungus that grows on tree bark. Polypore state, on the other hand, points to the new liberal authoritarian state structure that developed on the liberal democratic institutional structure formed after 1989 in Eastern and Central Europe (Petö, Grzebalska, 2016). The feature of this structure stands out in that it refutes what it feeds on and develops upon. Therefore, structured regimes with anti-gender tendencies have three essential features: *security*, *familism*, and *acting like fungus* (Petö, Grzebalska, 2016). The security policies come to the fore with discourses that foster the internal-external divide and portray NGOs as the toys of external powers (Özkazanç, 2020). For this reason, it manifests through authoritarian interventions in civil society in the face of a threat to national security. Familism replaces the concept of gender with family mainstreaming and this new structure seizes and exploits liberal democratic institutions, human rights language, and civil society discourse and progresses by creating a parallel space (Özkazanç, 2020). In their latest book, *Who's Afraid of Gender?* Butler writes, "the weaponization of this fearsome phantasm of 'gender' is authoritarian at its core" (2024: 7) by defining the phantasm as the hope of returning to a 'secure' patriarchal order.

While the common thread is the portrayal of gender as foreign impositions (Graff & Korolczuk, 2021), as a global phenomenon, anti-gender movements come forward with diverse nuances in different regions. The discursive nuances of this movement in Western Europe comes from a vein that opposes multiculturalism, and

it is nourished in Eastern Europe through the perception of not surrendering to Western liberalism (Graff & Korolczuk, 2021). Academic studies on the anti-gender movement have intensified in Latin America and Eastern Europe, which may indicate that the movement has severe effects in these regions. For instance, in her article titled *The Fight for Public Space*, Aghdgomelashvili (2017) states that anti-gay rallies have a longer history than those supporting LGBTQ+ rights in Georgia. According to her, a newspaper in Georgia reported false news claiming that a gay parade would be held in 2007. Both the nationalist parties and the Orthodox Church of Georgia made statements regarding this fake parade *debauching* and *degenerating* the Georgian people, and it corresponded with tendencies in some parts of the public (Aghdgomelashvili, 2017). Moreover, in the Latin American example, not only far-right political forces join the anti-gender movement but also leaders from the left-wing produced anti-gender discourses (Corrêa, 2017). While the demand to remove gender and sexuality content from children's education systems came to the fore in Brazil and Uruguay, a law aimed at reducing gender-based violence was attacked by the movement in Ecuador (Corrêa, 2017). All these examples display that the anti-gender movement mobilizes from top to bottom in society and uses hate speech as a tool to create moral panic in the public. Various fields such as religion, politics, economy, law, and journalism intersect with gender in the scope of this movement and parallel activities all over the world with alike ideological discourses appear.

Similar stories are likely to be seen in Turkey. For instance, the presidential government regime came to the fore with the termination of the Istanbul Convention in 2021. Even though applying the agreement requirements was controversial at the legal level, Turkey was the first country to sign this agreement (2011), which provided laws to prevent and combat violence based on sexual orientation and

gender identity. The justification for the termination of the agreement was presented by the Communication Directorate of the President as: “The Istanbul Convention, originally intended to promote women’s rights, was hijacked by a group of people attempting to normalize homosexuality – which is incompatible with Turkey’s social and family values” (Çali, Helfer, 2021). This explanation seems parallel to the features I have presented so far regarding the anti-gender movement.

The governmental discourse of Turkey has been carrying out its policies with the motto of “protection of the family” for a long time. The Justice and Development Party has been carrying out a dominant agenda by framing patriarchal and moral notions and values with religion since 2007 (Acar, Altunok, 2013). Moreover, populist discourses depicting civilizationist and utilitarian features (Özselçuk, 2015) regulate social, cultural, political, and international relations. While oppressive policies manifest themselves in interventions such as censorship, bans, and state-of-emergency decisions that radicalize over time, they indicate an increasingly pressing political climate. Especially since 2015, the policies of Turkey have demonstrated various *masculine shows of strength* (Özkazanç, 2020) such as detentions, expulsions, violent police interventions, family regulatory policies, the appointment of trustees, etc. Arguing that the AKP administration represents the combination of neoliberal economic policies and a specific moral regime derived from Islam, Savcı (2021) underlines that the pressure of neo-liberal Islam on sexual policies in Turkey has increased since 2015. In their report published in February 2024, the Demos Research Association writes that the state of emergency that came after crucial

events such as the 2015 Ankara[2] and Suruç[3] bombings strengthened the anti-gender discourse in Turkey. Concerning the authoritarian political climate in Turkey, the circulation of discriminatory discourses based on sexual orientation and gender identity has gained visibility recently.

As a *common enemy* (Yumul, 2013), the LGBTQ+ problem has gained prominence in the dominant discourse of Turkey, especially during the pre-election period in 2023. Politicians noticeably placed this agenda on election propaganda and various public speeches, such as the balcony speech of the president (DW, 2023). During this period, gaining the currency of the LGBTQ+ issue can also be read through the remarkable increase in studies on hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity in the field of civil society (Kaos GL, SPoD). The *asymmetric hypervisibility* (Brighenti, 2007) has an outstanding impact on the normalization of hate speech and its gain in social acceptance. Hate speech implicitly or explicitly operates from the principle that the in-group constitutes the only "real human" and that those outside the group are lower-level outsiders than a human being, mentally and morally inferior, even if they have a human form (Yumul, 2013). The discriminatory discourses used by populist politicians pursuing politics through a common enemy to polarize the public become more visible during special periods such as elections.

Other than in the administrative domains, the reflections of the anti-gender movement in Turkey can be found in the Big Family Marches. These marches have

[2] Ankara Train Station attack, or Ankara Train Station Massacre, was a suicide bomb attack carried out on October 10, 2015, at the Ankara Train Station junction in Ankara province. With 109 people killed, it was the deadliest suicide attack in modern Turkish history (Wikipedia contributors, 2024).
[3] The Suruç bombing was a suicide attack by the Turkish sect of Islamic State named Dokumacılar against Turkish leftists that took place in the Suruç district of Şanlıurfa Province in Turkey on 20 July 2015. A total of 34 people were killed (including the perpetrator), and 104 were reported injured (Wikipedia contributors, 2024)

been held in Turkey since 2022 and are also known as anti-LGBTQ+ marches. The formation called *the Unity in the Thought and the Struggle Platform* had a press release in June 2023, and they stated that they were fighting against the "LGBT imposition" and listed their demands regarding closing down LGBTQ+ associations/clubs, etc., banning the activities, and preventing genderlessness (tr: *cinsiyetsizleştirme*) surgeries. They announced that they had collected 150,000 signatures for their needs and submitted them to the parliament (see the official social media pages of the *Fikirde Birlik ve Mücade Platformu*). Their banners included slogans stating that LGBTQ+ people pose a threat to children, families, and humanity. On the other hand, LISTAG (LGBTI+ Families and Relatives Association) published statements calling these activities hate marches. Their prominent motto was "Speak out for life, not for hatred!" and they emphasized that anti-LGBTQ+ marches fuel hatred and discrimination, and this is why it has divisive effects on the families' unity (LISTAG, 2023). The banners used in the Big Family Marches directly coincide with the single-gender ideology logic of the anti-gender movement that resonates around the world. The fact that many banners use the phrase "global gang," which implies the queer community, indicates a perspective that the idea of gender is an imposition from Western countries to Turkey.

To sum up, policies that have gained significant visibility with the anti-gender movement and found a place worldwide have increased in recent years. These discourses came to the fore with the discriminatory language they used. I propose that comprehending the anti-gender movement from the standpoint of a worldwide recognition of the queer feminist struggle has an empowering effect. Addressing the anti-gender discourses by recognizing their globality leads to creating a broader perspective, therefore not subliming the impact of local anti-gender ideology.

Ultimately, these movements indicate that the LGBTQ+ struggle is beginning to be recognized by large segments of society. The group who are targeted and threatened with hate speech is directly put in a vulnerable position. Yet, I realized that obliterating the injurious impact of the anti-gender discourses is possible in time. If I were to explain this through reflexivity, the main point that drove me to start this work was my feeling that hate speech was floating around intensively in Turkey. I have seen that queer people were severely affected by both the anti-gender discourses of politicians and the Big Family Marches. However, they developed resistance to these discourses over time since I noticed a change regarding the responses in the face of those events and the severe effect of discriminatory discourses on some queer people gradually diminished and eventually disappeared. For this reason, I wanted to understand exactly how this transformation happens and I decided to trace the moments when the injurious words lose their effect. In other words, I tried to know whether it is possible (or to what extent) for the vulnerable position to change the conditions of their vulnerability. Therefore, I decided to trace not only what can injure but when vulnerability can be displaced since it was vital for me to apprehend the new creative interventions that queer people living in Turkey established to deal with hate speech.

CHAPTER 2

RECONCEPTUALIZING HATE SPEECH

In this chapter, I will call into question the concept of hate speech based on global literature and focus on local studies. In this context, I will reveal the controversial aspects of the notion and discuss its features. I will present the fact that hate speech studies worldwide concentrate on the detection of discriminatory discourses, especially on social media platforms such as Twitter. On the other hand, in Turkey, studies in this field focus primarily on racism and xenophobia, and they are mainly carried out by non-governmental organizations. Moreover, many scholarly studies on hate speech operate in the fields of communication and law. This study will have an essential place in the literature as it develops a sociological perspective from queer feminist standpoint.

The reason why this research adopts queer feminist view to study the concept of hate speech is to demonstrate the unpredictable characteristics of the discourse. Judith Butler (1997) warned about the *excitable* sides of the speech, drawing attention to the subject's political agency rather than the power of hatred through state apparatus. Prohibiting or preventing hate speech gives the issue a direction that calls on the state apparatus to take action and create mechanisms to fix the meaning of hate to a certain level of dominion in power relations. Queer theory proposes a perspective regarding the avoidance of congealing hatred contained in the discourse to reveal the subject's political agency. This understanding of not fixing the meaning signifies the performative power of subjectivity: the unpredictable potential of agency in a field that seems closed and surrounded by power relations. Therefore, instead of solely focusing on hate as a mono-dimensional tool of injury, I will

investigate a method that encourages us to delve into the historical-political baggage of which conditions give injurious speech its characteristics. For this reason, after presenting the general literature on hate speech, I will draw the conceptual framework necessary to develop a queer feminist approach to hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

2.1 The literature review on hate speech

Although there is no uniform and universally accepted definition of hate speech, it refers to discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, hostile, and/or prejudiced attitudes about a person due to their gender, race, religion, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, disability, or sexual orientation (Göregenli, 2013). As a form of *violence through discourse* (Türay, 2021: 163), "it harms the democratic order and the fundamental rights of individuals in every society" (Özkan, 2021: 96). The ambiguity of the definition indicates the fact that how controversial and layered the topic is. Even though it does not have a fixed definition, hate speech literature usually handles the concept with a description based on the recommendation adopted by *the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1997*.

> *Hate speech* is defined as covering "all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin" (Council of Europe, 1997).

Emphasis on discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, which is absent in the original recommendation, has recently begun to be added in many countries, such as the United Kingdom (Government Equalities Office, 2019), France (French Penal Code, 2024), and Norway (Norwegian Penal Code, 2005). Turkey does not include the category of sexual orientation and gender identity in the hate

speech definitions of national legislation (Council of Europe, 2022). On the other hand, the large comprehensiveness of the recommendation is a sign that the issue is not subject to the crime-punishment system as clearly as it seems. Even in European Union countries that use this definition as a foundation, the issues related to hate speech cannot be resolved in a single way in legal channels (İnceoğlu, 2013). Brown (2017) uses the term *panoply* to explain the vast array of hate speech and argues that hate speech should be operated with various social, cultural, political, and economic domains rather than solely legal definitions.

Since official portrayals of hate speech occur in relation to the concepts of hate crime and hate murder in the legal dimension, these concepts can be used interchangeably in some practical situations. The targets of hate speech and crime are not actually random since they are reflections of identity-based power relations that are deeply engraved in social consciousness (Yumul, 2013). The distinctive feature of hate crime (or speech) lies at the core of the purpose of producing threats due to a particular existence and creating targets accordingly, and all cases related to hatred should be considered sociopolitical since incidents do not only signify the attackers but also the whole society (Göregenli, 2013). At this point, the trans murders, the Hrant Dink murder, and the Sivas Madımak Massacre in Turkey's precise context and the Rwanda Massacre in the world context from history are examples of how hate speech and hate crimes are interrelated at the intersection of a socio-political field (Türay, 2021). The fact that it is a concept that is re-established every day according to the temporal and spatial context should not be ignored in handling the issue (Az et al., 2021). Therefore, hate speech refers to a phenomenon with a broad scope - due to its discursive structure - and is not limited to a single time and place.

Hate speech's global literature contains mostly studies designed to detect the circulation forms of hatred and reveal its harms. Online websites retain the platforms where hate speech circulation is most intense (Kansok-Dusche et al. 2022; Blaya et al., 2020). For this reason, researchers mostly investigate how people are exposed to hate speech on the internet depending on age ranges as statistical data using quantitative techniques (Reichelmann et al., 2021; Wachs et al., 2022b; Reichelmann et al. 2021; Harriman et al. 2020; Blaya et al. 2020; Frontiers, 2023). Gender, country, and migration background are the main demographic factors to analyze the deviation between exposure types of hate speech and vulnerability conditions (Chaux & León, 2016; Losito et al., 2018; Kaakinen et al., 2018; Blaya & Audrin, 2019; Machackova et al., 2020). In addition to focusing on statistical data on hate speech production on online platforms (Eckstein et al., 2021; Wachs et al., 2022a), some studies examine the kinds of harm being suffered by those who are exposed to such discriminatory discourses. According to these studies, cyber racism, political insults, misogyny and attacks on the LGBTQ+ community stand out as the pervasive nature of online platforms (Gracia-Calandín, Suárez-Montoya, 2023). In this sense, researchers also concentrate on the consequences of online hate speech on human psychology. For example, feelings of isolation, depression, and anxiety have tremendous impacts on LGBTQ+ people who have been subjected to online hate speech, and this situation reinforces the existing bias and stigmas and deepens the marginalization in society (Wachs et al., 2022).

Various attempts, such as self-regulation, private regulation, and corporate social responsibility, emerge to prevent online hate speech, cyberbullying, or digital harassment (Milosevic, Livingstone, 2018). In the scope of corporate social responsibility, the European Commission made an agreement with major social

media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to restrict hate speech's online circulation (Nature, 2023). According to this attempt, artificial intelligence and machine learning are used to detect and ban online hateful content even though some ethical considerations arise (Emerald Insight, 2023). However, the problem of regulating the circulation of harmful expressions varies not only across online platforms but also across countries' legal policies. The following questions reflect the main concerns facing this field: Should hate speech be controlled? If so, to what extent and by what methods should it be controlled? Who decides which speech is harmful and how?

The American free speech doctrine distinguishes itself in the regulatory discussions on hate speech among the European Union, Canada, and the United Kingdom (Weinstein, 2019). The U.S. Supreme Court (Brandenburg v. Ohio, 1969) protects hate speech within the scope of freedom of expression and does not subject it to punishment unless it directly involves an unlawful act (Citron & Norton, 2011). On the other hand, Germany has developed strict restrictions on hate speech due to the Holocaust in its history and has included hate speech in its legal regulations in order to prevent the spread of harmful ideologies (Bleich, 2011). While France also has regulations limiting hate speech due to its commitment to secularism (laïcité) (Birdsall, 2009), the UK (Gelber & Stone, 2007) and Canada (Moon, 2008) come forward with the laws reflect a nuanced balance between protection of marginalized communities from hate speech and respecting free speech. In a nutshell, freedom of expression is the most potent defense against hate speech if it is brought to ethical and legal authorities.

Going beyond the legal dimension from a broader perspective, the balance that needs to be established between freedom of expression and hate speech plays a

decisive role in the democratic and equal distribution of rights. If a legal order that advocates limiting freedom of expression for reasons such as public morality and state security remains passive when it comes to hate speech, then this position can only be explained by the fact that groups exposed to hate speech are not deemed worthy of protection (Karan, 2013). In order to maintain the balance between hate speech and freedom of expression (Waldron, 2012), the *Camden Principles* (2009) were written by the Article 19 organization in partnership with the United Nations and the European Union, and they aim to detect hate speech and incitement to violence (Göregenli, 2013). It provides a frame to guide legislators, policymakers, media, or civil society and consists of 12 basic principles. Its primary purpose is to protect both freedom of expression and the rights of vulnerable groups. The Camden Principles are inspired by John Stuart Mill's harm principle (Mill, 1859/2008) since its philosophical foundation is based on the freedom of expression as a cornerstone of a democratic society (Waldron, 2012). According to this philosophical approach, people should be free to act however they wish as long as they do not harm others (Mill, 1859/2008). These principles can be considered as a basis in safeguarding individual liberty against societal and governmental interference, and it is suitable for usage in media studies.

So far, I intended to show that the examinations on hate speech have concentrated on law and psychology. However, the other field that constitutes the majority of the literature is communication studies since it investigates the relationship between hate speech and media representations. The media occupies an essential place in terms of producing and circulating discriminatory discourse, since it provides a foundation where text is created by privileged groups that have

symbolic capital and try to keep the existing *status quo* through discrimination (van Dijk, 2010).

While the role of professional principles in the circulation of hate speech is highlighted in printed media under the name of journalism ethics, digital media has become an alternative medium where everyone can produce their own words (Casero-Ripollés, 2018). This situation has made it difficult to control the circulation of hate speech (Chadwick, 2017), and it also caused the online platforms to become the focus of academic studies to explore the forms of hate speech. In both digital and print publishing, the concept of *rights-oriented journalism* came forward (Bennett, Pfetsch, 2018; López-Rabadán, 2022) to draw attention to the ethical journalism which aims to create media content while avoiding producing hate speech. *The Ethical Journalism Network* has guidelines for journalists to avoid the potential harm caused by their language and stereotyping in reporting (Ethical Journalism Network, 2019). In Turkey, many civil initiatives publish rights-oriented journalism guides, for example, 'Rights-oriented local election journalism guide' (Bianet, 2024), 'Refugee women in the media: Rights-oriented journalism guide for local media workers' (Women's Studies Association, 2018). These guides remind people who publish news about their ethical responsibilities and underline the language and impartiality they should utilize to avoid human rights violations.

While the media, especially journalism, is a very effective and vital tool for the free implementation of democratic society practices (van Dijk, 1998), it seems possible to claim that the print media of Turkey has a mainstream monopolized voice. A former ombudsman presents the recent situation of journalism in Turkey by drawing attention to lack of journalistic ethics and underlines that the egalitarian and free culture was torn to pieces before it settled down in Turkish printed media

(Bildirici, 2021). Therefore, newspaper news functions as a product that progresses in parallel with the policies of the state and has become a representation of the dominant discourse rather than an alternative expression domain. Due to intense censorship, the loss of autonomy, and neo-liberal, autocratic policies in Turkish media (İnce, Bezirgan, 2020), alternative media undertake the task of producing counter-narratives to mainstream media to make the voices of marginalized groups heard (Ozgul, Veneti, 2022).

There are two long-term projects in Turkey that strive to detect hate speech-containing news in the print media. One of them is the Hrant Dink Foundation's project, which concentrates on hate speech based on ethnicity and race precisely; the other is Kaos GL's project, focusing on hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity. These two projects are the most comprehensive projects on hate speech in Turkey, and they provide concrete data by detecting hate speech used by the media.

Media Monitoring Project (2009) emerged two years after Hrant Dink's murder to conduct research revealing the relationship between hate speech and hate crime.

When explaining the need for this study, the researchers emphasize that the media is the tool that contributes most to the spread of hate speech (Az, et al., 2021). For this reason, they collect data by monitoring Turkey's printed media and publish publicly accessible reports of the outputs once every four months. This project is described as the longest-running uninterrupted study about hate speech in Turkey (Özkan, 2021). The methodology of the project was critical discourse analysis and *Ajans Press* was used as the media monitoring tool for these projects (Özkan, 2021). Four hate categories are put forward to analyze hate speech in the media: 1)

Exaggeration/attribution/distortion, 2) Swearing/insult/humiliation, 3) Enmity and war discourse, 4) Using/symbolizing the natural identity as an element of hatred/insulting (Göregenli, 2013: 66).

At the beginning of the project, Hrant Dink Foundation included hate speeches based on sexual orientation and gender identity in the analysis. However, they removed this category after a short time, considering that hate speech against sexual minorities should be examined separately since it has more different motivations than the other categories (Az, et al., 2021). At that point, Kaos GL undertook a similar duty and started detecting the LGBTQ+phobic discourses on printed media and publishing discriminatory discourse reports. They also regularly share these reports with the public and digitize the data with the visuals. The regional and national newspapers were scanned between 2013-2019 (HDV) to make a comparison of hate speech between two different mediums and the results showed that the language established against minorities on both scales becomes more discriminatory (Özkan, 2021). However, the reports do not include sociological approaches to explain the deviations in the numerical increase of hate speech.

The data from all these reports demonstrate that hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity has been sharply increasing in recent years (Kaos GL, 2021). According to the Media Monitoring Report (Kaos GL, 2020), identifying sexual identities with illness, crime, sin, immorality, and perversion indicates violation of human rights. The results demonstrate that violations of human rights against LGBTQ+ occur not only by using discriminatory language but also by criminalizing their identities in the printed media (Tar, 2021). Moreover, the reports underline the simultaneousness between the hate speech against LGBTQ+ in printed media and the speeches of senior public officials with similar statements (Kaos GL,

2021; 2023). The reports claim that in addition to the statements of public officials, pro-government media institutions organize systematic and organized smear campaigns against LGBTQ+ people by using hate speech (Kaos GL, 2021; 2023). At this point, it is also worth noting that the publicity campaign of the objection against LGBTQ+ was approved by the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) in 2023.

Although there is limited research on specifically hate speech in Turkey, there are more comprehensive projects developed by non-governmental organizations in Turkey on discriminatory discourses and attitudes. For instance, Kaos GL has hate crime reports (2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019) that were created on the experiences of LGBTQ+ people to explain the homophobia and transphobia based hate crimes in Turkey. On the other hand, there is another report the Hrant Dink Foundation published (2017) titled Discrimination in the News of the Murder of Trans Women. In a report of Konda Research Company (2022; 2023), public perspectives were analyzed to gain information about social polarization in Turkey. Since the field research of these studies is conducted annually, it highlights the change in perception of the Other in Turkey. Turkey Human Rights and Equality Institution (TİHEK) studies human rights abuse and highlights the discrimination in employment, education, and public services that LGBTQ+ people are subjected to as well as focuses on the human rights violations faced by Kurdish people and political activists (2023). The reports of these studies are open to the public for those who are interested in the subject. The data provided by these studies are descriptive and focus more on damage detection.

While hate speech studies intensify around the world to detect hate speech on online platforms, the majority of the studies in Turkey are from non-governmental

efforts of organizations rather than academic studies. However, these projects are functional in understanding the gravity of the problem of hate speech and the need for further examinations. There is a need to develop a sociological perspective and approach to pave the way for policy recommendations regarding hate speech.

Critical discourse analyst van Dijk (2020) argues that such discriminatory forms of discourse are produced as a hegemonic tool and woven with political strategies. Every discourse that becomes dominant is an umbrella that establishes and legitimizes hegemony, produces social consent for that hegemony, determines 'right and wrong', 'good and evil' as social concepts, and places these values as ideological notions in the form of social norms (Çınar, 2013: 138). Considering the prevalent ideologies in Turkey, Tanıl Bora analyzes the subtle mechanisms of dominant discourse and puts forward four different categories: *conspiracy mentality, heroism, cliché,* and *repetition* (Bora, 2021: 17). According to the reasoning of dominant discourse, which is a type of constantly repeated discourse, the mythical narratives in society occur in the scope of conspiracy and cliche, such as "homosexuality is a disease."

Research projects that focus on hate speech produced in the media examines the formation process of dominant discourse. These studies highlight the interwoven feature of the subject in different fields such as communication, law, psychology, and sociology. In the articles written by authors from different backgrounds on hate speech, it is interesting that while they present their perspectives, they still emphasize that they do not demand legal sanction in the face of the gravity of the situation (HDV, 2021). The warning in terms of avoiding state intervention displays a path of solving the discrimination by using the dominant apparatuses of the state, therefore, signifies a claustrophobic understanding of agency. Such an approach compresses the

subject into the vicious circle of an oppressed group trapped by the dominant discourses produced by the media. Demand for a regulatory law against hate speech would pave the way for developing a structure that reinforces the already functioning dominant instruments of power and even feeds hate speech through different channels. This aspect makes it impossible to develop a policy against the claim that the state produces hate speech (Butler, 1997). Therefore, I aim to trace a stance that opens the door to policy recommendations by exploring the possibility of subjectivity and political agency instead of pursuing critics to look for who is guilty within the framework of the oppressor-oppressed duality.

In conclusion, systematic academic research on hate speech from a queer feminist perspective remains limited in Turkey since most existing studies rely heavily on reports from non-governmental organizations (Kaos GL, 2019). This study aims to fill the lacuna in the literature with a comprehensive academic analysis that combines the lived experiences and performative resistance strategies of queer individuals against discursive violence rather than viewing them solely as victims (Butler, 1993).

2.2 Approaching the Concept of Hate Speech Through the Lens of Queer Feminist Theory

The literature often addresses hate speech through either legal lenses or communication and psychology studies. However, queer theory opens up a new aspect to handle injurious speech by highlighting the subject's political agency. This section will explore the concept of hate speech from the standpoint of queer feminist theory. Since performativity and political agency are the notions that play the most

crucial role in developing a different perspective on hate speech, I will focus on their conceptual development.

In many of his texts, Foucault points to the reproductive structure of the mechanisms of power by referring to the constitutive force of discourse (1969; 1972; 1978). The power relations that shape the language in society and are also shaped by it signify that the discourse is intertwined with forms of subjectivity, social practices, and knowledge construction. Discourses systematically construct *regimes of truth* that govern social acceptance (Foucault, 1972), and they are intrinsically linked to power and knowledge. In other words, while the disciplinary power operates the norms -therefore marginalizes and excludes those outside of norms- it achieves the social regulation of bodies through discourse mechanisms (Foucault, 1977). In *The Order of Discourse* (Foucault, 1981), the notion of authorship as an institutional function is maintained, and the tension with objective truth is rendered unnecessary since "truth itself, just as subject, appears as a procedure which serves the establishment of the discursive order" (Balibar, 2011: 26).

According to Foucault (1981), discourse does not merely explain conflicts or systems of oppression; what is fought for and through these systems is the power to be seized. Although discursive formations fundamentally determine what can and cannot be said, these are not fixed and are subjected to temporal and spatial transformations (Kendall, Wickham, 1999). Foucault argues that we should not simplify discourse to a set of pre-existing meanings by saying that "the world is not the accomplice of our knowledge; there is no pre-discursive providence which disposes of the world in our favor" (Foucault, 1981: 67).

Foucault's ideas regarding socially constructed identities through power and discourse lie on the foundation of queer theory and challenge the fixed, essentialist

categories of sexuality. Moreover, the emphasis on the lack of pre-existing signification of discourse constitutes the foundation of queer theory's approach to the issue of injurious speech. Foucault's reference to the power of discourse to construct subjects is persuasive, as is Butler's proposal (1990) that identity is not a static structure but a performative and continuous phenomenon. On the other hand, Butler's theory of performativity in the language indicates the series of acts and utterances that create the effect of an identity over time (Butler, 1997).

At this point, I would like to emphasize an intellectual intervention that Butler sundered from Foucault, which paved the way for this study's viewpoint. In the book *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*, Butler states that subjectivation implies a paradox since "one inhabits the figure of autonomy only by becoming subjected to a power, a subjection which implies a radical dependency" (1997: 83). Therefore, subjection is neither merely the domination nor the production of the subject; it refers to a kind of restriction that occurs in the power relations through the subject (Ibid, 1997). Here, Butler emphasizes the agency and resistance power of the subject in the discursive field by removing Foucault's portrait of the subject trapped within the power relations.

Butler argues that we cannot exist liberated from conditions that make our lives possible or impossible, and for this reason, we are never fully individuated (Butler, 2021). They clearly state that violence against the other is actually violence against the self (Ibid, 2021). This idea of dependency is a critique of neo-liberal individualist policies since the neo-liberal blessing of individualism has contrasting advice and even operative outcomes. In the scope of neo-liberal politics, masculinity is defined by phantasmatic self-sufficiency (Ibid, 2021). In other words, while masculinity is defined through the absence of any dependency, femininity is

identified with the support needed regularly. Therefore, Butler argues that "the task is not to overcome dependency to achieve self-sufficiency but to accept interdependency as a condition of equality" (Ibid, 2021: 40). When developing a life ethics or constructing the political association of life, there are certain obligations required by interdependence and the equality that comes with it. These obligations cannot be reduced to the commitments that nation-states provide each other. The political possibilities of queer is emanated from the idea of unity and articulation of different voices in the foundation of queer theory's philosophy.

The dependence on the other is crucial for this study to show the relationship between the construction of subjectivity and political agency. The queer theory claims that agency and resistance are possible among the entire network of power relations with creative repetitions -or, more accurately, performative moves. Therefore, the dependence on the other is both the harbinger of the subject's political agency and the key to its construction within power relations since it opens up new possible ways with reiteration in discourse. Thus, the performative power of the subject, which signifies political agency, can be reproduced repeatedly in a way that cannot disappear within the encompassing effect of power relations. The subject's potential of seizing, grasping, and subverting the constitutive power of discourse with performativity -without recalling the dominant discourse- leads to taking a different look at the issue of hate speech.

Subjects are fragile beings who need language to exist, and their existence depends on being called by the other in language; therefore, they are dependent on the other (Butler, 2020). While grounding the state of dependence, Butler sets out from the conceptualization of *interpellation* -initially developed by Louis Althusser- to signify that individuals are *hailed* into social identities by decisive discourses

(Butler, 1997). The power of language is nourished by its capability to invoke subjects into social existence by reinforcing (or challenging) existing power relations since subjects are constituted by speech acts (Butler, 1997). In this sense, the idea of dependency in the language actually displays that the vulnerable conditions of the subjects depend on each other. When subjects begin to think about their own fragility or vulnerability, they can only understand their position through their dependence on the other. In queer theory, the relationship between the self and the other is considered not as a two-sided dialectic but as a new and creative multiple possibilities that transcends dialectical vicious circle (Butler in Özkazanç, 2013). The understanding of the potential of multiplicity, which transcends the Hegelian dialectic, appears in Butler when discussing both the performativity of gender (1990) and the performativity of language (1997).

Based on Austin's *act-speech* concept, Butler concentrates on that saying something means doing something (1990; 1997). In the text *How to Do Things with Words,* J. L. Austin (1962) categorizes speech acts into three types (*locutionary, illocutionary,* and *perlocutionary* acts). Butler argues that hate speech functions as both the act performed in saying something (illocutionary acts) and the effects of the speech act on the listener (perlocutionary acts) (Ibid, 1997). Butler takes Austin's contribution to the field of philosophy of language and leads it to the possibilities of political intervention and the search for resistance in discourse. While doing so, Derrida's concepts of *iterability* and *deconstruction* play a significant role in queer theory's intellectual pathway to underscore the dynamic interplay between language and power. Derrida draws attention to the concept of *citationality* by highlighting that any utterance can be reappropriated and resignified in ways that challenge hegemonic structures, which imply political intervention (Derrida in Salih, 2002).

Therefore, the act of resignification leads to the idea that the meaning of a term is never fixed and can be subverted through new contexts and usages (Lloyd, 2015). The fact that the pejorative past of *queer* has turned into a robust symbol of identity and resistance is the most cited sample of this resignification.

The mass response to the Prime Minister of the time calling the protesters 'looters' (tr: *çapulcular*) during the Gezi Protests in Turkey can be another example on mass subversion and it indicates a form of solidarity transcends differences (Buck-Morss, 2015). This call was intended to condemn and humiliate, yet, as an example of mass subversion, the demonstrators' appropriation of this definition had the power to eviscerate its meaning and displace the negative connotation (Özkazanç, 2021). These examples show that hateful expressions have the prospect of being transformed into new meanings by the subjects appropriating those expressions and re-enacting them in different contexts.

In *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997), Butler contends to consider the potential to displace offensive expressions by *restaging* and *resignifying* them. This outlook shifts the attention to investigating the contexts that contain and anchor hatred in the speech since "the responsibility of the speaker does not consist of remarking language *ex nihilo*, but rather of negotiating the legacies of usage that constrain and enable that speaker's speech" (Butler, 1997: 28) Therefore, dependence on language means dependence on historicity on the discursive plane and requires reading words with their context. Language -along with hate speech- forecloses on the lives it points to and claims rights over them. It creates a state of uncertainty in the subject, which is foreclosed by interpolation in the context. Butler (1997) claims that language constitutes the subject by a foreclosure since hate speech is a sort of grabbing of one's existence by language. The subject is pushed into an

uncertain and unpredictable position with hate speech, and this is precisely where the sense of insecurity arises when one is exposed to hatred (Ibid, 1997). Therefore, dependence on language appears as a phenomenon that makes the subject vulnerable as much as it indicates the constitutive power of the subject through iterability.

American law professor Mari Matsuda, one of the most referenced names in hate speech studies, argues that hate speech should be considered a crime (Matsuda, 1993). In their book *Words That Wound* (Matsuda et al., 1993), Matsuda and others focus on primarily racist discourses and write that the state and its apparatuses become a part of hate speech and leave the victim without a state in this way. Therefore, she claims that hate speech should be strictly subjected to legal repercussions. Matsuda's perspective is grounded in the sentiment that hate speech dehumanizes individuals and perpetuates inequalities. Thus, according to her, a robust legal framework is required to mitigate its harmful effects. The view that hate speech should be subject to punishment is one of the most common approaches we encounter in hate speech studies. Yet, it is an opinion that needs to be discussed since the power to punish lies with the judicial bodies, which can mean the reproduction of hegemony.

Judith Butler expands and questions Matsuda's thoughts by incorporating the concept of performativity. On the one hand, Butler agrees that hate speech has not only an injurious effect on the person addressed but also reconstructs the targeted segment as a dependent social group (Butler, 1997 in Özkazanç, 2021). On the other hand, they argue that rather than assuming a static society reproduced by hate speech, these structures should be conceived as open to temporal performances through repetition, reconstruction, and re-articulation (Butler, 1997). Therefore, Butler's main objection to the classical approach of hate speech is attributing a dominant role to the

speaker -or the media since developing bans on the speech actually fixes the hatred contained in the speech. Drawing attention to the political agency of the subject through the concept of performativity, they write: “Agency begins where sovereignty wanes” (Ibid, 1997: 16). This perspective moves the focus from a purely punitive approach to one that considers social relations’ fluid character and the potential for subversion and resistance within discourse.

Foreclosing the subject’s position by attributing hate speech creates the feeling that discourse can never fail because its meaning is congealed anymore with the hatred it contains. However, Butler shifts the attention to the fail potential of the discourse and asserts that no word or injurious speech has to be inevitably effective and accurate. No discourse has to be necessarily direct to a single and predictable outcome; on the contrary, the possibility of reinterpretation is always valid and unpredictable (Ibid, 1997). This possibility arises precisely from the explicit temporality of speech acts in the total speech field. In this way, it becomes possible not only to repeat an expression in different ways but also to detach words from their own injurious powers and put them into a new context. This shift in attention allows us to focus on the conditions that make the speech to be able to wound.

To sum up, the attributed role of stabilizing-determining the hatred assumes that “hate speech constitutes the subject in a subordinate position” (Butler, 1997: 19). This approach suggests that we are not merely fixed within a network of relationships devoid of agency since as much as the subject is established by discourse, it is also the one that can alter the discourse. Consequently, new creative political moves signify the performative power of subjectivity, which stands as the force of subversion. If injurious speech is understood as perlocutionary—meaning that speech acts lead to effects but are not the effects themselves— “then such speech

works its injurious effect only to the extent that it produces a set of non-necessary effects" (Butler, 1997: 40). This contingency of effects is what allows for the possibility of appropriating, reversing, and recontextualizing the utterances. Taking into consideration the re-enacting power of the subject on the offensive expression can change their context, and thus, re-signifying the expressions can be possible (Ibid, 1997: 41). Therefore, demanded regulations regarding censorship actually fix the hatred contained in injurious speech and attribute tremendous power to those expressions in advance, and ignore the performative power of subjectivity. Reiteration and reinterpretation are not only possible in individualist experiences; on the contrary, they have collective side reflections that also appear in social movements. As a result, relying on this theoretical approach, I established the methodology that I will explain in the next section to seek answers to the research questions.

CHAPTER 3

ROUTE TO THE FIELD RESEARCH

I designed the research with the conceptual framework provided by the queer feminist standpoint in which the study finds its place in the hate speech literature. This viewpoint led my data collection and analysis process, ensuring that the narratives were examined through a critical, intersectional lens. I entered the field to collect data and used the opportunities provided by theoretical frameworks to analyze the narratives. In this chapter, I will explain the transition from theory to the field, the design of the methodology, and my position as a researcher.

3.1 Methodology

I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with fourteen LGBTQ+ participants who were willing to discuss discursive discrimination. While arranging the interviews, I made sure that the sexual and other identities of the people were miscellaneous. Thus, I reached participants using the snowball technique since I had pre-selected criteria and used chain references (Mack et al., 2005). Recording the forms of discursive violence that the participants were exposed to based on their sexual orientation and gender identity was one of the memory functions of the study. I grounded on the participants' sexual identities they affirmed and the other identities they emphasized. Among the interviewees, four people stood out as non-binary, three as bisexual, two as trans women, two as gay, and three as lesbian. The age range of the participants varies between 22 and 33. I made audio recordings during the interviews with permission. Since all participants gave permission to record, I could write down their original narratives based on their voices and expressions, which is ethically compatible with the principle of participant autonomy (Mack et al., 2005).

I conducted all interviews online via Zoom. Conducting the online meetings allowed me to reach participants from various parts of the world, even though the main focus was on Turkey. All interviewees' names were kept confidential, with the code names starting with 'L.' There were two Kurds, an Armenian, an Arab, and a Greek among the participants; the rest were Turks. Since ethnic minority individuals included their ethnic identities in their lives and underlined them in the interviews, their intersectional evaluations of these identities came to the fore in the narratives. One person presented narratives of their active role in the Kurdish movement in Turkey, and another presented their identity as a vegan and LGBTQ+ activist. Four participants recently moved abroad (Finland, Canada, and the Netherlands). Two of these were asylum seekers. Even though I prioritized people's experiences in Turkey, these participants presented comparative evaluations occasionally. I interviewed two asylum seeker participants online while they were in the refugee camp. Seven of the participants resided in Istanbul. Two people lived in Adana, and one person lived in Bursa. However, since the places where the participants were born and lived were cities such as Şırnak, Gaziantep, Antakya, Konya, Urfa, İzmir, Kayseri, and Adana, the experiences they conveyed included comparative narratives with these regions.

In order to conduct narrative analysis from the standpoint of the theory I embraced, the construction of discourse, memory, and sociality is not based on binary understandings (such as dominant and dominated discourse). "We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1978: 101). This is why I attach significance to reading the data in a way that seizes the possibility of multiplicity. My purpose is to develop an approach that outlines its categories not

from the discourse of "self-other" based on liberal human rights and the politics of victimization (Çakırlar, Delice, 2021: 12) but from the multiplicity and ambiguity in the local context. Therefore, narrative analysis makes a way of tracing the performative moments in the unique narratives without establishing a cause-effect relationship. In other words, the narrative analysis provides a robust methodological ground to examine forms of hate speech and resistance strategies established by participants by focusing on discursive constructions and avoiding the mindset of causality since meanings and contexts are not in a linear causal relationship (Robert, Shenhav, 2014). It further provides unique, context-based evaluations through time-oriented structures, displaying how transformations occur and evolve from a personal perspective (Mohajan, 2018: 29). Thus, concentrating on the discursive constructions will reveal the conditions that allow space for grasping the moments of deconstruction/subversion. Through narrative analysis, I aim to reveal people's understanding of the meanings of essential moments in their lives and their cultural contexts (Gibbs, 2007:56).

The interview questions were generally about discovering what kind of hate speech the participants were exposed to and how they dealt with it. More specifically, after learning the basic demographic information of the participants, I asked questions about their queer identities and the ways they expressed this identity. Additionally, solidarity mechanisms and Big Family Marches were among the themes I touched on. However, in my opinion, the most crucial question in all interviews was: "Have you ever had a moment when you felt like injurious speech wasn't hurting as much anymore?" All participants who heard this question either took a moment to think for a while or smiled and said yes with excitement. Reading

those responses with narrative analysis actually provided me a way of tracing the moments injurious speech lost its effect.

I used fieldwork observations to produce *experiential* knowledge. (Bernard, 2002: 342) My observations helped me to analyze participants' emotions with broader aspects of meaning. During the video calls with the participants, I tried to establish a relationship between their gestures and facial expressions and their emotional engagement with their queer identities. Some participants expressed themselves by crying at some points, while others continued the interview in a cold and inactive manner. These were small moments that provided clues in terms of bigger pictures of narratives. After each interview, I kept memos reflecting my own observations about the participant. Through these memos, I also tried to separate the participant views from my own position. Understanding the emotions that the interviews created on me allowed me to separate them from the participant narratives.

I had a pilot interview before going public with the announcement. I was interested in learning what type of discriminatory discourse the participant was exposed to and what techniques they used to deal with it. The first person I interviewed was a non-binary queer student who took an active part in the Boğaziçi Protests[4], and their entire narrative was based on hate speech they got exposed to during the resistance process. I am aware that the experiences of my pilot interviewee were exceptional in that they were an actor in a public event from a macro perspective. However, they provided multi-layered stories regarding the construction of hate speech in a wide range of areas, from family to social media and

[4] It refers to the protests and resistance movement that started in January 2021 at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey, following the appointment of Melih Bulu as rector by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The protests were driven by concerns over academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and democratic principles (Wikipedia Contributors, 2021).

state discourse. The semi-structured interview questions took their final form thanks to this pilot interview. For example, after this interview, I added the neighborhood information and the family background to the questions. Thus, I obtained in-depth background on the social capital and economic status of the participants in other interviews, which allowed me to realize the class disposition of queer vulnerability.

After the pilot interview, I went on a call via Instagram, one of today's most trending social media channels -which can sometimes serve as a research field. (Boy, Uitermark, 2016) The message was a long announcement I shared as a Story. Yet, my statement in the largest font size was as follows: "Can you contact me (both to commiserate with me and) to share how you experience discriminatory discourses that make you feel vulnerable?" However, I highlighted that I am interested in the techniques that queer people develop to deal with such discourses. Thereupon, this message of mine received more interaction than ever before. People I didn't know contacted me and sent messages supporting my research, even if they didn't want to be interviewed. The general views of support messages mirrored hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity as an issue that was not discussed enough but needed to be addressed. There was one thing I tried to be careful about due to the gravity of the subject: I waited for the participants to reach me, but I did not go to anyone to ask if they would be interviewed by me -except for the pilot one- since I did not want to presume anyone's vulnerability. People's willingness to tell their vulnerable stories was one of the essential conditions for the richness of the data I would collect. To benefit from this voluntary principle, I waited for people to contact me.

> I've read what you wrote in your story, and the sentence "I am trying to understand the things that *lubunyas*[5] develop against the discourses they are exposed to" was a very valuable sentence indeed. It was a very valuable thing, in fact, it was the beauty of this sentence that made me participate in this research. -L7 (Appendix 2)

Before starting the interview, many participants said that they contacted me because they thought the discrimination they experienced should be recorded somewhere. Since I encountered this emphasis many times, I added the question in the interview, "Why did you meet with me?" The participants' motivation to meet me had an affective side, which is also valuable for the research regarding performative moves. Some saw this meeting as a form of activist action (L3, L8, L10). Some said the meeting was like therapy (L7), and some said that talking about this topic opened new doors in their minds (4).

> Thank you for offering me such an opportunity. I haven't been able to express myself for a long time, and expressing myself in such an environment… It did not trigger my traumas. On the contrary, it made me feel more comfortable. In fact, sharing these with you made me feel very relieved. -L10 (Appendix 3)

The general duration of the interviews ranged from one hour to three hours. There were very intense moments in some of the meetings, which lasted more than two hours. I had to navigate the interviews with ideal comprehension and not provide psychosocial support to the participants. Instead, I could only listen to them to understand the forms of violence they were exposed to.

When I asked the participants if they presented themselves as openly queer to their social circles, the first narratives of the violent experiences they were exposed to began. It was impossible to categorize whether they are open with their sexual

[5] Lubunya is the name used to refer to LGBTQ+ individuals in Turkish. There is also *lubunca*, which is composed of words from different languages and is a unique sociolect used among those individuals.

identity since being open has various dimensions. Some came out only to their mothers, some to those at school, some to everyone, and some to no one.

> Of course, I live my identity openly, but there is also a layer of openness, for example, I am not open to my grandmother. -L5 (Appendix 4)

As an example worth mentioning, L8, who stands out with her Muslim bisexual identity and is in a long-term lesbian relationship, hides her queer identity in her daily social life. However, she expresses her queer identity openly in her anonymous accounts on social media and meets other queer groups through those accounts.

> I live completely open on the internet, but I can actually live openly on the internet under an anonymous identity because, to be frank, I never thought of bringing up this issue because people... my general circle, I am an Imam Hatip[6] graduate, they approach it very problematically. -L8 (Appendix 5)

Another example of this complexity in terms of open identity could be L14, a trans woman. After coming out to her family, she faced rejection from her father and stayed in contact only with her mother. However, she lives by presenting herself as a cis woman to the outside social world because she wants to eliminate the problems that her trans identity brings to her life. Hence, my participants have very heterogeneous stories on whom, when, and in what circumstances they considered coming out.

> Actually, I'm not very worried about myself, I mean, I don't know, I don't want to use this term too much, but I can live comfortably in society because I don't look like a trans person and I'm more like a cis woman. My only difficulty is identity card, but I'm worried about my friends who are very obvious with their transness. -L14 (Appendix 6)

After completing the interviews, I transcribed audio recordings verbatim and coded the transcripts. The coding process includes endeavors to understand participants'

[6] Imam Hatip Schools operate under the General Directorate of Religious Education of the Ministry of National Education and accept students from the 5th grade of secondary school. In addition to the standard secondary and high school curricula, vocational courses related to Islam are taught in Imam-Hatip high schools, and religious education based on Sunni principles is provided (Wikipedia contributors, 2024).

views and behaviors, experienced scenes and emotions, stories, and even moments of silence (Toker, 2022). During coding, I detected similarities in the expressions of some participants who contacted me without knowing each other. Those similarities indicated the patterns in the narratives offered by people from diverse backgrounds. I did not group the participants based on either their ethnic identity, sexual orientation, or any physical condition. Instead, I analyzed the narratives by capturing the discursive patterns that participants presented.

Lastly, I want to highlight a concern that the data I collected was based on minimal and subjective narratives. The stories of violence and forms of resistance I encountered during the interviews do not represent the queer community's all challenges; I aim to capture some reflections from the complex network of relationships. Therefore, I do not want to put the subjects, who cannot develop any strategy and are paralyzed, so to speak, in the face of violence into any hierarchical position. While existence itself can turn into a form of struggle easily, I am aware that not everyone can always have a resilience toolkit, and even if they do, failure is always another possibility to end up.

3.2 Positionality

Before moving on to the analysis, I would like to share my positionality. Throughout the research, I conducted the field study as a researcher analyzing, and an activist fighting against hate speech. Therefore, my personal involvement with the topic caused methodological privileges as well as challenges during the fieldwork. For instance, participants had already trusted me to talk about their vulnerabilities since I was already a part of the queer community. They have contacted me through friend references and thought they would feel comfortable talking to me. In addition, I

knew well about the conceptual sets, slang and *lubunca,* and it was one of the conveniences that involvement provided me with to communicate with the participants and build trust between each other. Lubunca is a sociolect consisting of discursive codes that many queer people use to communicate among themselves, which helps to create a kind of safe space in communication (Anna T., 2014). Using lubunca in interviews had a substantial impact on the profoundness of the data I collected for my narrative analysis.

There have also been some difficulties regarding my position. The study's most significant limitation is that I tend to make sense of the field based on the pre-existing categories in my mind since the topic is of utmost relevance to my position as an activist who is conducting research. I had to overcome this tendency to overinterpret the narrative in order to explore the new field findings by keeping my distance from the subject. Also, my identification with the stories of violence told by the participants created the risk of my psychological perspective dominating the field. However, I tried to exceed these limitations by reflecting on my position and background in the study. Throughout the research project, I took notes to reflect on my opinions, especially when listening to participants' stories, to balance between empathy and analytical thinking. Although I do not have a positivist objectivity claim (Bourdieu, 1990), I experienced the drawback of being in-between both inside as a group member and outside as a researcher.

In addition, I would like to note a situation I had trouble with during conducting the fieldwork. Turkish was (at least one of the) native languages for each participant. They discussed their experiences within Turkey in Turkish during all the interviews. However, when they wanted to express themselves in the context of sexuality, they found themselves using English words in one way or another.

Especially in the last thirty years, Dikmen (2022) underlines in her doctoral research that studies on this subject were limited to non-literal translations by activist translators and points out that discursive intervention endeavors have increased. Although I do not frame Turkish as a *tout ensemble* language to convey the participants' thoughts and emotions, there was a feeling of a void created by the momentary interruptions in the discourse during the interviews. I think that the lack of Turkish equivalents in the expression of sexual identities indicates a gap in the local discursive structure of the field. This gap feeds the perception that sexual orientation and gender presentations' complexity and multiplicity are present as if only in Western societies, and Turkey's society adapts it from the outside. For example, not everyone has to know English, but still be able to express their non-binary identity. At this point, it is worth remembering Evren Savcı's reading in her book *Queer in Translation* (2021), which challenges the colonial / authentic and modern / traditional dichotomy through the concept of *translation* and emphasizes the importance of context in sexual politics since she offers translation as a methodological tool to understand social transformations in sexual politics through vocabularies across different contexts (Savcı in İbrahimhakkıoğlu, 2023). Further research should be done regarding the translation potentialities due to the significance of the fact that sexuality and discourse are inseparable phenomena.

CHAPTER 4

TRACING THE RESISTANCE

This chapter will present the inferences I developed using narrative analysis of the conducted data within a specific thematic structure. Hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity indicates a vulnerable position for queer people. I detected similar discursive patterns regarding participants' relationship with their vulnerabilities. Grasping the types of responses of participants in the face of vulnerability enabled me to conduct the narrative analysis to trace the resistance prospects. (1) *Intersectionality of the Wound:* I present the role of class disposition in the distribution of vulnerability as well as the multi-layered vulnerabilities of intersectional identities. (2) *Subversion of Vulnerability through Endurance Toolkits:* I deliver the subversive interventions of queer people as a form of endurance which is created by their performative acts of recognizing the vulnerable positions. (3) *Performative Crafting of Safe Spaces:* I trace the safe spaces in the narratives of all participants that they craft performatively within the ever-changing structure of temporal and spatial conditions.

4.1 Intersectionality of the wound

The concept of intersectionality recognizes the complexity of multiple, intersecting social identities that contribute to an individual's distinctive experiences of pressure and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). In this section, I will reveal the intersectional features that manifest themselves in the patterns in the narratives. While doing this, I will discuss class disposition as the first difference I encounter and propose the concept of 'ivory gaze.' Then, I will focus on the vulnerability stories of participants

with multiple identities, which will also provide the primary data for the next section. Since tracing the resistance in this study does not only mean revealing the areas and moments where resistance is possible, I will also include the exclusion stories within the groups of participants.

Among the fourteen participants, five distinguished themselves from others in terms of their position with their state of mind regarding being vulnerable. Similar nuances appeared in the narratives, such as how these five people establish the distance to events and other people based on their both social and economic class, their political perspectives, and the emphasis on their resilience to vulnerability. I propose to call this privileged group the ones with *ivory gaze.* The most important feature that distinguished this group was the deficiency of performative intervention, which came into prominence as their political agency in the narratives.

The term *ivory* alludes to a form of power regarding the protection due to privilege. Those with the *ivory gaze* are not particularly in the ivory tower but have the privilege of protecting themselves as if they live in an ivory tower. They can see their surroundings clearly and witness the pain, too. The term *gaze* implicates observing with a level of attention, yet without direct actional involvement. They know the injury, and sometimes they feel injurious effects, but they have the power to turn it into a gaze, not to experience it as much as others do. Even though it creates an illusion that the people with the *ivory gaze* cannot be injured, their position with distance has a very fragile construction. The *ivory gaze* cannot protect them from injurious experiences since it does not imply solely a physical distance. Therefore, they are still vulnerable. This conceptualization hints at vulnerability with a privileged perspective and the capacity to undergo injurious experience from a

certain angle despite all distances. As a first general example of the *ivory gaze* indicating the crafted distance in question:

> I never entered that activist environment in Turkey. I was never included in those groups. That's why I didn't have such a social circle. Since I had a lot of heterosexual friends, I wanted them to stay that way. So, if we were going to a dinner with 9 people, I didn't want the 10th person, whom I didn't know, to come. Later, I realized that it was entirely due to fear. -L5 (Appendix 7)

I would like to give examples of how the feature of self-protection power displays itself in the narratives of people with *ivory gaze*. When I went to the public announcement for interviews, the message sent by one of the participants was the first signal that led me to this conceptualization.

> I have never been exposed to hate speech, but I can tell you what I did to avoid being exposed to hate speech. -L5 (Appendix 8)

On one side, there were some people who came saying that they were significantly injured and wanted to tell me about their injurious stories. On the other side, there were people who claimed that they were not affected by hate speech. After the interviews, I realized that this distinction actually indicated a relationship between class disposition and the politicization process. These people are not only distant from the position of vulnerability but also from organizational acts and political involvement. In short, while the *ivory gaze* allows some to look at social circles, political activities, and the injurious effect of hate speech from a certain distance, some engage politically with their vulnerability by offering additional narratives about developing performative interventions. Bora (2021) offers a close reading of the shaping of queer subjectivities in Turkey by social categories such as class by claiming that the critical agency attributed to LGBTQ+ subjects demands critical habitus.

> I probably do my best to avoid encountering injurious speech and restrict my own social sphere. When I encounter such a speech, I try not to disturb the atmosphere, that is, not to communicate without hurting the other person too

> much, and by the way, I'm lucky I don't come across it that much. -L9 (Appendix 9)

The professions of the families of the participants who express the *ivory approach* in a patterned way are academicians and doctors. As an example worth mentioning, L4's father is a sexologist. L4 stated that he came out to his parents as pansexual or bisexual but definitely defines himself as queer. After he came out to his family, they asked him to see a professor psychologist who was also their family friend. The main narrative that L4 shared as the injurious speech he was exposed to was that this doctor called L4's sexual orientation a 'phase.'

The class disposition of the wound in the distinction due to the socioeconomic background comes forth when we examine their middle-upper-class families and the cities in which they live. Two of these people are from Izmir, two from Istanbul, and one from Adana. Although the participants with *ivory gaze* declared that they were aware of the seriousness of the topic, they stressed that they were not significantly affected by hate speech in their lives. The privileged group was able to construct a social shield like a layer of membrane -rather than developing performative moves. Therefore, they approached vulnerability from an individualistic perspective. This relationship between vulnerability and class disposition appears in the queer feminist theory as the *unequal distribution of vulnerability* (Butler, 2016). Since the vulnerability depends on the persistence of the unequal distribution of wealth as well as risk and harm, its repoliticisation process requires an investigation of societal, economic, and historical structures (Browne, Danely, Rosenow, 2021). The common narrative of those with *ivory gaze* was that when they encounter hate speech, they look at who the speech is coming from and generally feel sorry for those people because of their social status. Being

able to separate themselves from the reproducer of hatred in terms of social status provides them a distanced perspective on the hate speech.

> These discourses didn't injure me much because I usually look at the person, that is, I look at who the person is who is telling me something. -L5 (Appendix 10)

Another common feature of the ones with *ivory gaze* is that most of them have never participated in Pride Parades. They were also unaware of the Big Family Marches in Turkey. They explained their absence from mass political actions by not being able to be in crowded places. They expressed that they had never organized in their lives and had never thought of organizing generally. It is conceivable to notice the distance regarding politicization in the quote below.

> The idea of togetherness, that is, togetherness, is basically the part that scares me. We are together, we organize, we support... No! We don't support each other. Nobody supports anyone. You're just expressing this politically, but I'm disappointed, and I don't think you'll do anything about it. -L9 (Appendix 11)

There was one person in this group who expressed herself differently regarding her politicization process. L11 also comes from a very privileged background, but there were contradictions in the narratives she presented. She is a trans woman who is actively involved in politics and participates in mass actions. In her answers to the questions, she primarily used narratives precisely similar to the discourses of the political party in which she was an active politician. During the interview, I often reminded her that I was curious about her personal experiences. The discrepancy was appearing in these reminder moments. When I wanted to hear about her personal feelings and experiences (apart from politicians' statements), her answers were very similar to the 'ivory gaze' group. On one hand, when she tried to venture a narrative through collectivity, she was repeating the political party discourse. On the other hand, when I wanted to learn about her feelings based on her personal experiences,

she showed individualistic approaches. Was this back-and-forth narrative due to the *ivory gaze* that surrounded her by the social class she belonged to?

> A healthy dose of restrained narcissism solves most things. In other words, I am not bothered by the group of people who use that [injurious] speech because I see them as helpless. I am living my life now. I am going out and living a good social life and a good business life in the culturally richest districts of Istanbul. You are trying to tell me something on Twitter that tries to hurt me. It seems sad, mediocre, weak, and rickety to me. In general, the feeling of being on the stage comes from habit, you know, the one who doesn't like you will boo you, this is a very normal thing, but they can't boo you from a place equal to you, so they boo from the tribune, and I feel very comfortable by saying that what happens in the tribune is never the same as what happens on the stage. -L11 (Appendix 12)

In addition to this individual narrative, she makes an important distinction when I ask about collective vulnerability. Although this distinction points to the relationship of politicization with class disposition, the participant's recognition and acceptance of her privileges have led her to narratives that do not allow her to be completely isolated from the social structures. At this point, it is possible to trace Butler's (1997) theory of interdependence on the other that enables both restriction and the production of the subject in her narratives. While L11's privileges allow her to approach vulnerable experiences with *ivory gaze* when necessary, we also hear that there is something that motivates her to do something about the collective reflection of vulnerability.

> Of course, I get sad about everything, like every human being, but there are two concepts: sadness that leads to action and sadness that leads to inaction. Well, maybe there is a difference between being upset and being angry. In such a result, I experience anger as a locomotive and a dynamo from within, everything that makes me sad moves me on. -L11 (Appendix 13)

There is one last example I would like to give through L11. At the beginning of the interview, she distinguished between active politics and activism. When I asked her how she made this distinction, she gave the following answer:

> Active politics is much more organized and structural, and in order to be involved in active politics, I think one becomes responsible and obliged to

> defend not only one's own subjectivity, but also perhaps the integrity of the beliefs and systems you believe in. I think activism is something that has much more room for maneuver and is carried out for the specific struggle of the subject, rather than total ideologies. -L11 (Appendix 14)

This approach reminded me of the claim that queer theory points to a new form of politics through the articulation of multiplicities that transcend identity politics. Therefore, there is a narrative here that supports the claim that queer is not a coherent system or theory but a form of questioning. This is an interpretation of what distinguishes queer activism in terms of emphasizing agency arising from the field of subjectivity, apart from active politics. Characterizing a collectivity as a political one arises with the concept of *world-making* in queer theory which implies the class and other social categories are contested and redescribed interrelatedly (Duong, 2012).

The topic of going abroad was one of the main patterned narratives that came up throughout all the interviews. Everyone in the *ivory gaze* group -except for one- was thinking of designating a future in Turkey. On the contrary, the desire and plan of the other group to move abroad frequently came to the fore. According to the *ivory gaze* group, even though they face some challenges due to their sexual identities, they are able to construct safe spaces for themselves and they do not need to give up their advantages in Turkey. That one exception in this group was L5, who was sent abroad by her family for a university education. The others in the group imply that they are more privileged in Turkey than abroad. The example below shows that even someone with the *ivory gaze*, who can position themselves in a distant place in their fragile position, persists in being vulnerable - despite the established distance.

> I've wanted to go abroad for a long time, and the single biggest reason for this was that I was gay. Otherwise, there is no other reason, you know, I love the country, my friends, the sense of entertainment and lifestyle there. -L5 (Appendix 15)

There was an important point made by the trans women I interviewed in the comparison between Turkey and abroad. They said that it is much easier to go through the gender affirmation process in Turkey than abroad. Here again, the emphasis was on being economically strong. They explained that they are able to experience the gender affirmation process as long as they had money, and it is a privilege they had in Turkey. I should point out here that this example comes from a single perspective, as I have not interviewed a trans person of a lower socioeconomic class.

> Turkey is at least a country of regular anarchy, or whatever it is called. Because there are some orders, but there are messy orders and everyone is used to that mess. The trans integration process is a very difficult process that requires a lot of drag. Here, you can buy that medicine if you pay for it. In England, they sell that drug behind locked boxes with prescriptions, for example, estrogen testosterone hormone. -L14 (Appendix 16)

In other words, the economic situation of trans subjects plays a role as a major determinant in their relationship with their sexual identities. This factor places them in a distinct vulnerable position from the cis people, not only in the field of health but also in the field of migration. Economic pressures and social exclusion appear to be a reason for the trans community in Turkey to establish alternative intimacy and kinship networks (Zengin, 2024). Although L14's family is in a good financial situation, she is ostracized from her family due to her sexual identity. She explained that while she received a complete rejection from her father, her mother changed her attitude over time and accepted L14's sexual identity. L14 states that she is not a sex worker. She also expresses that she does not have economic inadequacy since her mother and aunt support her. She has been made to make a living through relationships with men she meets on dating apps. She says that the men she met for flirting always turned the communication subject into sexuality as soon as they found out she was trans, and this approach was injurious to her at first. Therefore, in L14's

narratives, the primary injurious experience was being a sex object in the gaze of men due to her sexual identity. However, she says that she later acclimated to this attitude and decided to turn it into an opportunity since she had difficulty finding a daily job. She stated that she did not want to look for a job outside until the gender affirmation process was completed because she wanted to avoid tension with employers over her identity. This is how she started making money with lover relationships by choosing to become the object of desire as a strategy to deal with a kind of transphobia.

> I am a university graduate, but I have difficulty finding a job because I have not had gender-affirming surgery, and the gender box on my identity card says the gender I was assigned at birth. -L14 (Appendix 17)

Thus far, I have tried to explain the characteristics of the upper class as a kind of protection power. I would like to pursue a few examples of how being lower class makes vulnerability more layered. L10 is a gay person who lived through the February 6 Earthquake in Hatay. His father's workplace was destroyed in the earthquake, their house was severely damaged and the whole family lived in a tent for months. L10 witnessed two trans women being kicked out of the mass tent area. He contacted his activist friends from other cities and arranged a tent for trans people and a safer place to stay for them.

> Mass tents were opened in Hatay, and people were staying in those tents. I witnessed two trans women being kicked out of a mass tent area in Iskenderun, and this really affected me very badly. I was really devastated; I can't even describe it because it was raining a lot, their house was destroyed, they felt terrible, they were terrified, and I could really feel their despair. -L10 (Appendix 18)

The layered structure of vulnerability brings solidarity and political struggle, pointing to the possibility of political agency arising from subjects embracing vulnerability rather than denying it. L10 explains the sense of anger as an affective emotion that allows him to move on by actively organizing. Ahmed, who puts emotions at the

center of her theory by claiming that they are not personal but political phenomena (2004), discusses the motivating power of anger in the context of sexuality and race (2010), which is compatible with the sample narrative here.

> Anger is actually one of the biggest reasons why I continue my activism. This anger inside me... I was exposed to all this, my city was destroyed, my dear friends died, people I love very much died, and we were exposed to transgender individuals thrown out of the mass tent while going through all this... I really, really, I can't find anything to say anymore. -L10 (Appendix 19)

L10 stayed in a tent with his family after the earthquake but left two months later because he did not feel safe with his family. He returned to Adana to his student house. L10 was receiving threatening messages from far-right nationalists because of his sexual orientation. The housemate, who learned these hate messages, kicked him out. In the same period, a 19-year-old trans woman, a friend from university, was kicked out of her family house. Thereupon, she found a one-room house in an obscure corner of Adana. She accepted L10 into that house, and they stayed there together for a while. In addition to the housing problem, layered vulnerability became visible for L10, when it came to finding a job. L10, who narrated his financial difficulties such as not being able to pay his semester fee, expressed that the amount of salary offered to him when he looked for a job was brutal.

> Just yesterday, I went to a job interview with a friend of mine from Antakya, and we went to a cafe. A friend of mine, who also got out of the rubble, lost her father. She got out of the wreckage with her whole family, but her father could not. Anyway, yesterday we went to a cafe for a job interview with her. We said we are from Hatay because he [the employer] asked and then offered us a very funny price. Then he said the following sentence: Are you from Hatay? You must need help. So what he said was, you are from Hatay, you are poor, and you have to be content with this amount of money; you will be okay with this amount of money anyway. -L10 (Appendix 20)

Participants' narratives outside the *ivory gaze* group included distinct efforts to remove themselves from vulnerable positions mainly created from the marginalization by others. In this study's cases, socio-economically advantaged

children do not need to give up their social capital in Turkey since they can keep their distance from injurious experiences related to repressing their queerness. The queer children of lower-middle-class families consider going abroad as a solution to get out of their vulnerable position since being openly queer actually has more repercussions for them. They make migration a goal not only because of the literal hunger that comes with being a working class in Turkey but also because they want to get rid of all their other vulnerable positions by sacrificing their social capital. In this sense, European Volunteering Projects stood out in the interviews of various participants. Thanks to these projects, queer students who voluntarily go to Europe to do daily work receive food and accommodation services in return. Two asylum seekers, L7 and L12, explained that it was the first time they went abroad in their lives thanks to the volunteering projects. In addition, Erasmus exchange programs were also efficient in lower-class queer people's lives. L6 and L10 were able to go abroad thanks to these projects through their own efforts and the scholarships. Since these people could not receive any financial support from their families, they saw these projects as a way out. According to the narratives, the potential of such a place where they are able to feel fully accepted was the most attractive reason for them regarding being abroad. However, the perspective emerging from the participants' narratives can be considered like this: seeing the possibility of a different world was a tool they used to show themselves that the injurious experiences in Turkey did not have to be this way. I think the following quote is meaningful to represent this point of view.

> It's incredibly scary that we are directly attributed as the other of the others. Okay, I will go abroad, but not everyone else goes. They don't want to go, and they are not able to go. I can't stop thinking about it! I don't want to be identified with the West at all. Personally, I don't want to be involved in any western queer activism. If we solve our own problems, we won't suffer from imported activism. -L1 (Appendix 21)

Vulnerability's relationship with class disposition is visible in the alternative options that participants turn to due to their economic inadequacies. The fact that their room for maneuver is not very wide can be noticed by presenting the same narrative in the same options in different interviews. At this point, I should note that moving abroad does not solve all the problems, according to the participants, and they have also a fear of being exposed to hatred based on ethnicity if not sexual identity.

> I think seeing a different life was an impetus for the formation of the person I am now. Didn't I experience bullying there? Yes I lived. But I was not bullied there because of my sexual identity; I was bullied there because I came from Turkey. -L6 (Appendix 22)

Asylum, volunteering programs, and master's degrees seem to be the main ways that lower-middle class queers depend on going abroad. In order to use these methods, they need to obtain some privileges such as a foreign language. L7 was a high school dropout and taught herself English while she was at home. L13 is also someone who tries to improve themselves in this regard and strives to achieve their plans.

> Actually, I am looking at it from a safe point of view. In fact, I am currently taking a language course. I want to improve my English. I want to finish my undergraduate degree and go abroad to do a master's degree, learn the language, and never return to Turkey again. Of course, since my family and the people I love are here, I want to come to visit from time to time. Unfortunately, I will not have this right when I seek asylum, so I want to go a little more strategically. -L13 (Appendix 23)

The *ivory gaze* group did not distinguish themselves from other participants simply by belonging to the upper social class. At the same time, those who have multi-layered vulnerabilities presented their various identities, such as ethnic or religious, throughout the interviews. The vulnerabilities created by multi-layered inequalities mean that people find new creative methods and develop performative interventions to position themselves in stronger standings. Therefore, — unlike the *ivory gaze* — I

had the opportunity to capture traces of resistance and political agency in the participants who told injurious stories.

Intersectionality appeared as a common notion, especially with people who gave narratives with multiple types of discriminatory discourses. Crenshaw, who introduces the concept of intersectionality in the context of race and gender, draws attention to three aspects of intersectionality: *structural*, *political*, and *representational* (Crenshaw, 1991). The concept of structural intersectionality is helpful in making sense of the tendency of people from different ethnic identities to engage in political struggle over the discrimination they face towards their sexual identities. Hence, in addition to forms of hate speech, I would like to draw attention to the relationship between intersectional identities and politicization. Participants who presented particularly severe violence narratives provided the most examples of performative interventions. Some participants were exposed to physical violence at a young age in their schools or families due to their sexual identity.

> My mother caught out that I was gay. Then, I started going to a psychologist and started taking very heavy antidepressants. I failed graduation, they made me fail! I experienced terrible things, and I hit bottom. I've really bottomed out! I received death threats from my family, and I would sleep in the family house with a knife under my pillow so that I could defend myself if my mother or father came to strangle me or kill me. It was really difficult to experience these. -L10 (Appendix 24)

Eventually, I noticed that especially the participants who provided narratives of intense violence had an endurance toolkit that they developed over time which contributed to embracing their identity. The violence they are exposed to due to their sexual identities seems to have brought about a long-term background of subversion, a process that turns from being ashamed of their queer identities to being proud of them. This ultimately points to politicization, which comes with recognizing a vulnerable position.

It was clearly revealed in the interviews that violence increases in multi-layered dimensions with intersectional identities. The way those from different ethnic identities handle hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity includes a distinct expression of endurance from others due to their vulnerability viewpoint. For instance, L10 is an Arab Alevi gay person from Antakya. In his narrative throughout the interview, he always highlighted that he designed his future plans to enhance the lives of the queer people who came after him. He said his purpose in life is to ensure that queer children, especially those from his community, learn their language and culture. The narratives of L10, who identified himself as a former activist, frequently revealed the relationship between political agency and vulnerability.

> I was a queer activist, but after the terrible events I experienced recently, I decided to quit activism. Because my mentality was not enough for this anymore. -L10 (Appendix 25)

I would like to share the stories that L10 refers to as 'terrible events.' Some students gathered in the conference hall to hold the rector-approved semester meeting of the Women's Studies Club at Çukurova University. They were beaten by the far-right nationalist group, who raided the hall with guns in their hands and were held captive inside for four hours. According to L10, following the incident, the press, and police flocked to the campus, but no one could announce this incident due to a broadcasting ban.

> They tried to get in by shouting Allahuekber and we kept the door closed so they couldn't get in. Later, I had a friend from Hatay fainted and got worse. We called an ambulance, and the attackers did not allow the ambulance to enter. -L10 (Appendix 26)

There were two groups in Adana, where L10 continued its activist struggle. While one was university-based, the other was known for its closeness to a left-wing political party. While they were trying to organize the Adana Pride Parade, they

received threatening messages on social media and could not organize it due to the hate speech they were exposed to during the preparation process. In addition, L10 said that a police officer harassed him during the day, and when he told this to one of the solidarity groups he was in, the group accused him. He was exposed to victimized accusations by the queer group and decided to leave the community.

> I really feel like right now, every step I take is a danger, and I feel like I will constantly experience such injustice with every step I take; that is, I feel like I am not worthy anymore, I'm really tired, I'm tired of everything. -L10 (Appendix 27)

Another example I want to give at this point is the way L7 presents her intersectional identity and the politicization in this regard. L7 is one of the eight children of a Kurdish, Sunni conservative family from Urfa. Her father is denominational in the Menzil sect and the family lives in Bağcılar[7], İstanbul. L7, who was an asylum seeker with a lesbian and Kurdish identity, interviewed with me from the refugee camp. She was aware of her lesbian identity from a young age. She was taken away from the Imam Hatip High School in the second grade by her father to force her to marry her uncle's son. She said that when she was at the Imam Hatip High School, she was constantly exposed to hatred due to her existence, and that's why it was a good development for her that her father took her out of school. She also explained that she did not have to get married because her cousin did not like her when they came to do the ritual of asking for the girl, and it was just a bit of luck. She presented intense narratives of domestic violence, both physical and verbal, like L10, during

[7] Bağcılar is a district located on the European side of Istanbul. It stands out with its socio-cultural diversity, dense population due to the intense immigration it receives, and diverse community features.

the interview. Again, similar to L10, L7 said that she came to meet me because she thought she could contribute a little so that those after her could live well.

> Later, I graduated from homeschooling and took the university entrance exam. During this period, I started working in a store. When I started working there, I was still wearing the headscarf, and now that I didn't believe in it, it started to become more of a burden for me. I could not express my identity comfortably in any way. I mean, because I felt so oppressed. -L7 (Appendix 28)

L7 started working at the age of 18 to gain economic independence from her father. She also states that her Kurdish identity prepared an empowering ground for her queer feminist struggle. In other words, in her narrative, we can witness the side of intersectional identity that reinforces political agency.

> The queer struggle is very aware that it cannot progress independently of the women's movement. It is very aware that it cannot progress independently of the Kurdish movement. Especially when I met feminism, I lived a life where I was used to people oppressing me because I came from an already oppressed society. So, unfortunately, I had already a certain amount of knowledge when I was a child, when I could not speak Turkish well, or when I had to express that my mother could not attend the parent-teacher meeting. Because my mother still doesn't speak Turkish, by the way, she can't and she doesn't have to. İrem, after becoming conscious of these, I realized that I am already oppressed enough; I already have a background, a past, from which I have to defend myself a lot. This was a point where I couldn't tolerate people oppressing me with a different identity! This is an endless struggle; if I withdraw myself, if another friend of mine withdraws themselves, who will fight for us? That is, who will defend my rights? -L7 (Appendix 29)

Underlining that her family is a strong Justice and Development Party supporter, L7 emphasized that the outstanding part of the intersectional struggle is what pushed her to different political activism. She says that fighting the taboo of queer identity in the East is the most challenging part of the entire political process. The narrative of L12, who calls themselves a *yurtsever lubunya*, is also related to this point. L12 is the child of a civil servant family from Mardin, who stands out with their Socialist Kurdish and non-binary identities. Most of the statements they made during the interview were about the hate speech directed at them by the people they called 'my

comrades' inside the Kurdish movement. L12, who felt that they were not accepted anywhere due to their non-binary identity, also interviewed me from the refugee camp. L12 stated that their strategy to cope with discriminatory discourse is usually acting sharply against the people who produce it. They state that when they face such discourse, they become more queer in front of those people who produce hate speech. They explained the power behind this as follows:

> If my assigned gender was female, it would make me step back, but since my assigned gender is male and there is feudalism in our roots, and I have a mustache, only I can resist against this. -L12 (Appendix 30)

L6 is an Alevi gay and was exposed to a lot of violence in the schools in Izmir when he was a child. He lost two relatives in the Sivas Massacre. He explained that his family lived their Greek and Alevi roots secretly due to the discrimination they had been exposed to for many years. However, he carries out activist actions within the queer movement and lives his identity openly. He does not define himself as an activist, but he says that he stands together with differences by being physically (bodily) present at commemorations, marches, and counter-resistance gatherings.

> Are you Armenian, do you have Greek roots, are you Alevi? People always ask me different questions. In fact, I feel like I am the result of a culture created by all of these. But I realize in society that at some point it's like that mosaic is broken and everyone tries to make such a reference and try to place you in a frame, and after that frame is settled, they try to make you the other. -L6 (Appendix 31)

Lastly, I would like to mention L3 in the context of intersectionality and politicization. L3 is an Armenian bisexual woman. During a Pride Parade she attended, the press took shots of her and published news with that picture about the Istanbul Pride Parade. The narrative she presented was mainly about the newspaper Akit sharing a photo of her with hateful discourses. She stated that she was entertained and even proud of the discriminatory news headlines directed at her in that context. She said that she encountered Akit's news on Twitter and the comments

under the news post contained more hateful expressions that directly attacked her existence. Still, it was an honor for L3 to have her photo chosen to represent a day like Pride. When I tried to understand the reason behind her positive approach, she talked about the power and even the euphoric feeling that the Istanbul Pride Parade gave her on that day.

> I also enjoyed being the subject of something like 'immoral people took to the streets again', I mean, I would be honored to be on the pride cover. -L3 (Appendix 32)

L3 mentioned that having an Armenian identity allowed her to be much more open about her bisexual identity. She explained that she developed a kind of endurance and learned to do this from birth. She said that this is why the anti-LGBTQ+ language used by the state did not hurt her much.

> As an Armenian, it was very easy for me to see this. For example, maybe it would be different for a white Turkish or gay person, but since I was born, if I were to speak my native language on the street, I was silenced. Being Armenian was always somehow a hot topic. There is a pressure that I have experienced since the moment I was born. That's why it's not that surprising to me that the LGBT issue became a hot topic after a certain point. -L3 (Appendix 33)

L3 also elucidated that being queer can be a reason for ostracism within the Orthodox Armenian community in Istanbul since it is still a taboo. When L3 was 16 years old, she made a public statement in Armenian at a March 8 meeting in Kadıköy. L3, who stated that she still felt the enthusiastic effect of the March 8 march when she returned home in the evening, was subjected to humiliation by her father. He was using words such as pervert, whore, and lesbian as hate speech. Stating that she stopped seeing her father later in her adulthood, L3 expressed that she is now pleased that she made her queer side feel at such a young age that it made her father angry.

> I was declared a lesbian by my father because I made feminist statements. That was an important period in my life, a period in which I discovered my

> lesbian side. For example, right now I'm thinking, was I acting like a lesbian? If I made my father feel that I was queer at that age, it was great, actually, I'm happy now when I think about it. -L3 (Appendix 34)

Some participants who stood out solely with their queer identity also presented political narratives similar to what we see in intersectional examples. L1 is a non-binary who grew up in a conservative Sunni Turkish family.

> The propaganda applied to the Kurds until the 2000s and 2010s, marginalizing them and uniting around this, now seems to be done through queers. -L1 (Appendix 35)

In conclusion, the narratives of the participants who embraced their multiple identities and presented them were much more collectivistic, emphasizing solidarity and bearing traces of political agency. The narratives of those who are affected by hate speech are woven with intervention practices regarding the politicization of sexuality and the experience of queer as a political identity. When I focus on the condition of this reflexive strengthening, the emphasis on subjects recognizing their own vulnerability comes to the fore. I proposed the conceptualization of the *ivory gaze* to indicate the characteristic look of those who have a distant attitude towards their vulnerable position and also from political actions. While sitting in an ivory tower depicts a fixed position, situating the subject above the others, the *ivory gaze* refers to a sense of self-identification with the ones in the ivory tower regarding vulnerability, but this does not mean they are immune to being injured. These people's statements that they were not affected by the injurious effects of hate speech were more prominent than their statements about performative interventions.

4.2 Subversion of vulnerability through endurance toolkits

Based on the narratives I collected, I identified a strong association that some queer subjects constructed with their vulnerability. When they encounter injurious speech,

they recognize both what the injurious part is and why they are affected. I claim that the act of recognizing is a kind of performativity, and it signifies the process of identifying the subject's own vulnerable position. Recognizing a vulnerable position and being able to name it directs the subject to perceive the circulation of the hatred in social relations. The most fundamental feature of injurious speech that makes the subject vulnerable is its capacity to thrust the one into the range of *uncertainty* (Butler, 1997). Therefore, the recognizing process leads to the ability to separate one's own subjectivity from hatred's discursive tools that reproduce one's vulnerability. In other words, removing queer subjects from the position of uncertainty in which they find themselves in the face of hate speech requires a certain performativity.

Coping with the hatred displays an intervention regarding the reversal of circumstances. The performative moves of queer subjects in the face of hatred emerge as an essential element that forms the basis of endurance they construct in time. Therefore, this section constitutes the kernel of the thesis with the participant responses, which provide primarily injurious experiences. Knowing where the injurious speech comes from and trying to understand the discursive structure seem to be the first stage for the participants affected by hate speech -although I do not try to refer to linear logic. Recognizing actually denotes that a person appropriates the discourse they produce more than the ones assigned to them. For instance, queer individuals choosing and stating their own pronouns corresponds to this kind of appropriation in daily life. In the alternative perspective developed by Butler on hate speech, they avoid attributing agency only to the state and drawing attention to the subject's political agency through appropriation. Since the repetition of discourse is inevitable, the fundamental question arises: who will capture this repetition in power

relations? (Butler, 1997) The appropriation in question occurs through *restaging* and *resignification* (Ibid, 1997). I claim that endurance settles into memory almost like a reflex, appearing to erode the injurious speech's wounding effect. In other words, queer subjects who are faced with hatred show an example of endurance through performativity. Therefore, I tried to trace some examples of taking over the discourse by subverting shame into pride in the narratives.

At this point, I suggest focusing on the conceptualization of *sticky emotions*, as proposed by Sara Ahmed in her book titled *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Emotions include associations whereby "feelings" take individuals across different levels of signification, and they work as a form of *capital* since *affect* does not reside in the sign but is distributed as an effect of its circulation (Ahmed, 2004). Although Ahmed uses this concept for individuals who appropriate and capitalize the hatred as if it is their own emotion, her emphasis on the perspective of attribution is critical. The queer subject who is exposed to hate speech uses recognizing and naming as a strategy within this emotional economy. Thus, they gain the ability to catch a break by revealing their agency within the identifications they have established through hatred and shame. Drawing on psychology literature, Sedgwick (1993) advises us not to frame shame as a 'toxic' and negative emotion; it is an affect that should not be ignored in order to understand queer lives. Shame refers to a performative threshold between the inside and outside of individuals within social relations (Ibid, 1993). Shame is a foundational and transformational power mechanism that engenders both queer subjection and agency (Koivunen, 2007). The point I am trying to draw attention to here is that when queer subjects encounter hatred -and the shame that almost always comes with it, they can turn the shame they have already negotiated within themselves into a counter-resistance mechanism, which we call pride. This

subversion is revealed in narratives through stories of various performative interventions, and it functions as an endurance form.

> When you know who you are opposing against, that is, when you get to the power, you learn who you are resisting against. So, I think fighting without knowing your enemy is very anxiety-provoking. The more you learn what you're struggling with, the more you relax. -L10 (Appendix 36)

Allow me to elucidate my point further by providing a concrete example. L8, who feels alienated in queer circles because of her headscarf and feels excluded in Muslim groups because of her queer identity. However, she is able to live all her identities openly through her social media accounts. She states that she has found a method to cope with the hate speech she is exposed to on Twitter. She emphasizes that she examines the statements of accounts that produced hate speech against queer identities on the internet and spends time to understand those discourses thoroughly. Therefore, she becomes able to develop discursive responses to cope with hatred accordingly.

> Since I thought that there should be someone in the social settings who could stop, especially massive hate speech, I decided to be that person. At this point, I started to become more informed, to say the right things as a mechanism to oppose hatred... I mean, they may come to me with many reasons, but I have to knock out each of them somehow. Because I think they come with excuses, at some point they are looking for an excuse for their hatred. That's why, for example, I specifically follow those anti-queer accounts. What do they say? How can I object? -L8 (Appendix 37)

In the interviews, I saw that hate speech emerged on various spectrums, especially in both covert and overt forms. Participants sometimes expressed that they made sense of the hatred they were exposed to years later. Recognizing and revealing the covert hatred seems exclusively possible by acknowledging it. In other words, recognizing homophobia/transphobia and naming it was an endurance that gained over time.

When rumors began to circulate in primary school that he was gay, L6 began to be ostracized by everyone and was subjected to physical as well as discursive

violence. L6 stated that he learned what homophobia is much later after he was exposed to it by both his classmates and teachers in primary school. In the quote below, L6 notes that he learned what solidarity is simultaneously with the meaning of gay. This actually provides a narrative that can be read as the subversion of vulnerability into endurance.

> I didn't even know what gay meant. That's when I learned exactly what gay meant. I learned its meaning when they used it as a hate speech. That's why I didn't want to be like this for a long time. I was afraid that I would be the target of these arrows again because I received direct hatred at the first level. I learned that this friend of mine had slandered me, he started a rumor against another friend of ours, saying that this whore was doing sex work, and then the girl and I were two marginalized people. We became best friends somehow, and this is how I first learned solidarity. -L6 (Appendix 38)

On the other hand, L7, who started working in different clothing stores at an early age, talked about the hate speech she was exposed to in the work circumstances. She said that hatred is not always visible, but as she experiences it, and names it, she gains the power to turn it into a tool of struggle.

> At first, I thought that homophobia was a direct statement. You know, they should call you a faggot, or they would make disgusting statements like, you will burn in hell, you are a ball, you are this and that. But my work settings actually made me realize that homophobia has a very indirect and insidious way. -L7 (Appendix 39)

While L7 was describing the discrimination she suffered, she was reading the intentions of the subjects who produce hate speech. In other words, she explained that the discourse did not have to be injurious by using direct language. This also supports the Foucaultian claim that discourse is, in a sense, the desire to seize all kinds of power. Since there is no *prediscursive signification* (Foucault, 1970: 67), the act of recognizing the signifier of the discursive source seems to be the primary form of endurance toward changing it. Therefore, the queer subject, who recognizes the intention to capture power through discourse, also develops ways to struggle to grasp the discursive field. L7 filed an official written complaint against the statements of

her colleagues who approached her as homophobic without using direct language to the general directorate of the brand. She analyzed her colleagues' intentions of those statements; in other words, she revealed their subtitles to express the discrimination she was subjected to during the complaint process. Her ability to do this was possible by recognizing and naming homophobia in that social setting.

Another example of homophobia at school is found in L13's narrative. L13 is a non-binary vegan activist from Gaziantep, a 26-year-old second-year undergraduate student. Their plans include pursuing a master's degree and staying in academia. However, the reason why they started university life late is the sexual orientation-based peer bullying they experienced in their youth age. The story of spreading rumors about the subjects' sexual orientation without their consent and turning this rumor into a tool of hatred is also presented here. This form of verbal violence has serious consequences during childhood and adolescence, such as being expelled from school or not being able to continue studies at school. According to L13, when the school principal learned the rumors, he presented the sexual orientation to their parent as a justification for their being raped. This caused the child to leave the school and transfer to homeschooling. Later, L13's family took this case to the law. Both parties' requests for legal intervention resulted in a decision of non-prosecution. The school principal continued his job while L13 had to leave the school. It can be cited as an example of the foreseeable damaging consequences of asymmetrical power relations in the fields of institutions and law of state.

> School was actually an area where I was exposed to both peer bullying and discrimination by educators. Of course, its effect on me still continues, I am faced with social anxiety caused by being excluded by the school. For these reasons, I didn't want to continue school anyway... But in the end, it felt strong, despite everything, there was an obstacle in front of me, and it felt good to overcome these obstacles, to follow my dreams and be a part of the campus, to experience the campus directly and to be in the department I wanted. -L13 (Appendix 40)

Before the hatred they were exposed to by others during their school years, L13 described a form of hatred they devised for themselves. L13, who initially thought they were gay, researched the meaning of their feelings on the internet. The content they encountered convinced them that they were sick and needed to get treatment.

> This is a result of the cis hetero sexist world structure for lubunyas. I thought I was sick, and I went to my family from such a place and said, 'I am sick, please take me to the hospital, take me to the psychologist.' I first came out to my mother. My mother was cooking at that time, and she turned off the stove and asked, 'Are you okay?'. When she asked me, 'Do you want to talk about what kind of illness you have?' I directly replied, 'I don't have beautiful women in my dreams; I dream mostly of handsome men.' -L13 (Appendix 41)

Following this incident, L13's family took them to a psychologist in Gaziantep. The psychologist conveyed that "This is not a disease. It is a way of being" and that there was no need to continue seeing L13 in therapies. Thereupon, the psychologist continued to give therapy sessions to L13's family. Here is an exemplary narrative of how professional attitudes are effective in the circulation of injurious speech and the damage it creates on queer subjects. In the narratives given by the queer subjects who were directed to psychologists after they came up, we generally witness that they were exposed to homophobic/transphobic discourses of psychologists. (for example, in L4) In L13, we encounter a subverting response from the psychologist that reverses the injurious effect of the attribution that being gay is an illness. Additionally, L13 explained that they became aware of the injurious effects of their experiences over time. Accepting and owning the places where they were injured meant that they created ways to reverse it by establishing a close relationship with their vulnerability.

> There was no directly visible violence. Of course, there was hidden violence. Years later, I actually realized this when I put the puzzle pieces together. -L13 (Appendix 42)

There was a general flow in L13's narratives: they always described the discriminatory and challenging events and then continued to say it felt good to resist despite everything. Another example in their narratives, after talking about the struggles and tortures of the pride parades, they expressed that it felt so good to be together despite the prohibitions. Again, after explaining the bullying and violence, they presented that despite everything, they followed their dreams and studied the department they wanted, which felt so good. There is an example of endurance here. L13 is someone who defines themselves as an activist, and focusing not only on damage but also highlighting empowering aspects of that event points to a feminist intervention. In other words, they demonstrate an example of appropriating and instrumentalizing the vulnerability. To do so, they recognize the circumstances that put them in a vulnerable position. In this way, they could change the direction and experience political agency.

Collective actions try to create new places for themselves within the narrowing field of resistance since the process of recognizing reveals collective endurance as well. The change in the use of the word queer over the years is one of the most common examples, which Butler (1997) reads as *collective refusal*, *collaborative and experimental re-appropriation* of the term. The relationship between appropriation and political agency emerged through different interview narratives. The similarities between the two sample narratives are straightforward below. They both portray an endurance structure by embracing and capturing their vulnerable position. Both of these participants lead lives that have developed activist attitudes with their sexual identities.

> I am a part of this city, and I am also a part of society. I did not come later, I did not come from space. From the very beginning, I was actually the one experiencing the city. Actually, I was the person, the actor, walking on that

> street, using public transportation, or sitting in a public park and chatting with my friend, picking beans, or sitting with my coffee. -L13 (Appendix 43)
> I am the society! Who are you? Okay, I'm queer for sure. I have no problems with being queer or defining myself as queer. But I mean, I feel queer in a way that is not outside, waste, wild. Do you understand? Yes, I am all of these: waste, wild, outside... Yes, there are these in it, but on the other hand, everyone is like me, too. I mean, a person on the street is like this too. Everyone is outside of society in some way, and I am outside too, but I am also one of its constituent parts. As a community, it is strategically nice for us to give ourselves such a name. Yes, I am aware that we need these names. I mean, we call it queer because it is more strategic for a group that is in political difficulty. -L1 (Appendix 44)

The emphasis on being an actor in society points to the mechanisms that queer endurance constructs both collectively and individually through performative means. From the governmentality perspective, the state's power functions through eclectic means (Foucault, 1977), utilizing empowered apparatuses and forms of *self-regulation* (Lemke, 2001). The emphasis of queer subjects on being actors can be read as a resistance step that opens up the possibility of political agency within power relations since it appears in the face of excluding subjects who fall outside the norms produced by the regulatory apparatus of the state. L1's viewpoint of queer naming as a kind of strategy can also be interpreted from a similar perspective. The prospect of political agency flares up through performative actions, and discourse is a primary area for this action.

I have mentioned that Butler based their theory on re-staging through performativity. They emphasize a critical matter to this act of resignification or appropriation as follows: "The language that counters the injuries of speech must repeat those injuries without precisely reenacting them. Such strategy affirms that hate speech does not destroy the agency required for a critical response" (Butler, 1997). The performativity, which emerges not only in social actions but even in the most minor political tensions of daily life, manifested itself in the participants' narratives. I would like to give an example of a critical response from the interviews.

L10 was sitting in a minibus with his two trans-women friends in Adana. After his trans friends got off the minibus, an old man sat where L10's trans friends were sitting and said, "We sat in the peach's seat, but hopefully, we don't get infected either." Afterward, L10 touches the old man's arm and says, "I am a peach as well, and now you are dead! Now you are a peach too!" He told this story by underlining that he was in the *Balcalı dolmuşu*[8], and this location made him act as a form of resistance. He stated that he talks loudly and laughs by utilizing Lubunca in the Balcalı dolmuşu. He has a phone covered by a Hello Kitty case, and his phone ring is an old song by an all-female Turkish pop group. He said that while the old man was getting out of the minibus, L10 continued and talked on the phone inside the minibus in a 'disturbing' manner. All these tensions and the performances developed as responses are possible in places generally challenging to describe as safe spaces. The emphasis on Balcalı dolmuşu emerges as an unsafe area where L10 himself is considered abnormal. There is an aspect of this entire social setting where L10's existence transforms itself into a form of resistance through political agency. In the following statements, L10 summarizes his performative interventions as follows:

> While walking on the street in Adana, I am actually an activist, so I am an activist with everything I do in daily life. Even when I'm on the bus, my ringtone is the song of the Hepsi 1 band. The case of my phone is decorated with Hello Kitty. When people look at me, they think there's something weird about me. Every time I speak Lubunca, every time I teach Lubunca to my friends one by one... These are actually all forms of activism. I mean, I want to put it in people's eyes, you know, I'm here, what can you do, go crazy! -L10 (Appendix 45)

Before ending this section, I would like to give one last representative example of the ability to gain endurance by recognizing vulnerability. The Istanbul Pride Parade committee concluded one of the press releases on its official pages: "We are not

[8] Minibus name operates on a line with a wide route in Adana, ending at Cukurova University.

afraid, and we are here! Or we are afraid, but still we are here!" Although emotions such as anger, fear, and anxiety are dominant emotions for subjects faced with hatred, recognizing and embracing them is a step in their taking counteraction.

In short, performative interventions that occur on a broad scale, from micropolitical tensions of daily life to macro-political activism, are the fundamental element that constructs the resistance of queer subjects in the face of hate speech. These interventions are possible when queer subjects recognize their vulnerable positions and appropriate them. The responses created against injurious speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity also point to the forms of political agency. The participants who told many kinds of injurious stories were also the ones who provided the most examples of areas of counter-resistance. Against the fixing and freezing capacity of hate speech (Butler, 1997), queer subjects recognize their vulnerable position and gain political agency through various performative means instead of being associated with hatred and shame, which hate speech attributes.

4.3 Performative crafting of safe spaces

In this section, I will focus on the construction of solidarity mechanisms through the concept of *safe space*. Although the safe space was not among the questions I asked the participants, it was the most discernible notion I encountered in all narratives. When participants used the phrase safe space when answering other questions, I asked the meaning they attributed to the word. This concept brings all participants together without a distinction of the *ivory gaze,* and it hints at an effort to preserve certain social conditions in the construction of subjectivity. As I sought to understand participants' strategies when encountering hate speech, I found that safe spaces represent a comprehensive and multidimensional phenomenon involving long-term

temporal and *spatial* construction. The distinctions and perspectives provided by the narratives explained what the concept of safe space was not, rather than what it was. Therefore, in this section, a different approach has been developed regarding the concept of safe space, rather than indicating the representation of a physical space whose borders are clear.

Nowadays, we can sometimes see safe space codes in social media groups such as Reddit or Facebook (Workman, Coleman, 2014). In this way, groups maintain the conditions of a safe space among their members. Occasionally, we can witness a specific group declaring a particular habitat or meeting point as a safe space, so they create those 'special' areas to which a certain number of people have access. I have seen in the literature that studies on safe spaces are generally carried out through delimited spaces or groups with physical and concrete counterparts (Hanhardt, 2013; Self, Hudson, 2015; Pascar, Hartal, David, 2018). For instance, focusing on communication sciences, Pascar et al. (2022) draw attention to the aspect of safe spaces that protect queer subjects from injurious speech and warn us that these spaces are not a definitive solution to preventing the injurious effects of hate speech. Some even offer a critical perspective by claiming that the safe space may have a structure reproducing the binary system of 'safety from' and 'safety to' (Ringrose, Renold, 2010). However, in this study, I will focus on the concept of safe space as a reflexive resistance moment rather than the physical environment, which is offered by some particular groups. Hence, my intention is not to examine the spaces that have been publicly declared as safe spaces that develop a kind of exclusion practice by having a certain group with specific criteria. I aim to trace the meanings attributed to the concept of safe space and, therefore, a form of political agency based on the participants' narratives that are built upon it.

While defining safe space, participants sometimes associated it with public spaces and sometimes pointed to private spaces. Habermas' concept of *public space* (1989), which stands out as being open and accessible to everyone, is criticized by Fraser as *bourgeois public spaces* since Habermas ignored that they are only accessible to a particular class, ethnicity, and gender (Fraser, 1990). On the other hand, although the private sphere generally focuses on familial and domestic relations in contemporary sociological approaches, it seems possible to categorize its fields of study as *intimacy*, the *self*, and the *unconscious* (Bailey, 2000). There are also opinions that the private/public dichotomy requires considering them together to develop accurate approaches in social and political sciences (Weintraub, 1997). In addition to the fact that in the literature, there are studies aimed at both destroying and nourishing this dichotomy, these two concepts emerge as indispensable bases for feminist analyses as well (Bondi, 1998). At this point, I would like to recall the motto essential in second-wave feminist philosophy, "The personal is political," which challenges the traditional private-public distinction.

When it comes to the safe spaces of queer subjects, they are defined as relational and deliberative spheres in which safety cannot be entirely secured (Pascar et al., 2022). In this chapter, I argue that queer safe spaces have features that obscure the boundaries of the distinction between private and public, enable transitions between the two spheres, and politicize both of them. In the interviews, the safe space appeared in miscellaneous forms: a dervish lodge meeting (L2), a pride parade party (L3), communication with three or five friends (L4), the one's own head (L6), a neighborhood in Istanbul (L7), or an NGO seminar (L8). A common feature of all of them is that they are spaces built with the temporal and spatial reflections of certain

performative interventions that create political tensions beyond the public and private spheres.

Bonu (2018), who describes the safe spaces created by feminist and queer groups in urban areas as *spaces of contention*, explains that these spaces are designed not only to protect but also to resist by utilizing the battlefield analogy of normative order. A safe space is essential to constructing the particular social requirements that queer subjects have determined. It expresses an environment established through performances among social relations rather than something where queer subjects find/encounter what is already there. Hence, based on how the participants used the concept of safe space, we can say that it displays two aspects of performative moves: construction and protection. The phenomenon that the participants called safe space sometimes reflected a form of communication, sometimes a physical sphere, and sometimes moments without self-regulation. Exploring the ways that queer people base and protect their safe spaces, or simply the meanings they attach to this concept, represents tracing the possibility of resistance that queer subjects try to open for themselves in their narrowing areas of agency. Although the idea of 'safe' space seems to have isolated meanings in its connotation, queer safe spaces reflect a performative construction process through the politicization of sexuality to a certain extent within all power relations. Therefore, unlike some research approaches focusing on the protection purpose of safe spaces (Pascar et al., 2022), I offer to describe them as spaces full of normative tensions, instead of being sterilized.

I claim that safe spaces are the performative spheres where queer people construct various forms of socialization by creating micro-tensions and challenging the current normative order. The concept of performativity indicates a construction process of social reality and emphasizes its discontinuous character (Butler, 1988;

1999). Thus, the safe space, which involves constant movement, reconstruction, and reiteration, shows performative features. Pascar et al. (2018) underscore the characteristics of queer safe spaces as resistance and subversion. However, they put forward the significant capacities required in the queer space's construction interrelated with a new sense of temporality, which assembles continuous subjective gender experiences and performances rather than producing dissociations (Pascar et al., 2022). Although these emphases are vital in revealing the performative features of queer safe spaces, the idea that these spheres do not produce dissociations seems unsupportable based on the data I collected. Sometimes, they encounter fails in crafting safe spaces, and sometimes they create a spontaneous safe space network. The most prominent emphasis in the participants' narratives was that safe spaces are places where all differences can be kept alive together. Therefore, we can say that queer spaces where differences can be revealed and coexist in that way are defined as safe. The performative feature of these spaces reveals itself in the crafting process of those spaces, that is, in the never-ending reconstruction.

L2 attends prayers at the dervish lodge and states that they have religious beliefs about nature. Even though their appearance at the dervish lodge is different (the body covered by tattoos, colorful hair, etc.) from others, being able to be together and share common elements with everyone is a move that strengthens their perception of a safe space. They even expressed that presenting all their physical differences in that setting was a kind of resistance mechanism they developed in time. Thus, L2 described that meeting as a safe space, a place where differences can stand together.

> A close friend of mine from the dervish lodge had a speech that day. The topic was safe space and healing. There were people there with opposite looks and opposite thoughts, from very opposite ideas and opposite places which made me so happy and peaceful. -L2 (Appendix 46)

While analyzing safe space as a kind of performativity, a distinction came to the fore as areas where sexuality becomes politicized. In almost every interview, the narrative emerged that safe space is "anywhere I can be myself." I asked the participants, "What does it mean to you to be in a place where you can be fully yourself?" Answers stated some implications, such as being accepted, being able to express one's sexual identity freely, feeling that one is not in danger, and not feeling threatened by one's way of existing. However, I argue that all these forms of acceptance point to a form of politicization of sexuality through various performative interventions. This is why I think creating and protecting a safe space indicates a kind of repeated moves that politicize the environment to a certain extent.

The act of being accepted, which expresses an opposition to exclusion indicates the most essential feature that creates a safe space. Therefore, despite all the exclusionary practices circulating within power relations, the subject's establishment of a place for themselves appears as a form of performative intervention through political agency. Being entirely accepted is related not solely to one's relationship with the outside world but also one's relationship with oneself.

In one of the Pride Parades that L6 attended, he and his friends were chased by a police group. They took shelter in an apartment in Cihangir, and a random resident let them in. After a while, they took their make-up off, changed their clothes, and left the apartment pretending as if they were heterosexual couples. The police group was waiting at the door for them to get out of the apartment. Later in the interview, L6 defined the concept of safe space as a place without the police in one's mind, not at the doorstep.

> I don't think the cops are on the doorstep. I think the cops are in our own heads. If you think 40 times before doing something, the police are no longer outside your door, they are in your head. What will happen unless you can get the police out of your head? There is no need for police outside anymore, so

> right now the police inside our heads are controlling us. In the simplest terms, today, for example, I am telling you that I want to remain anonymous. There is a police here right now, controlling me and preventing me from existing. - L6 (Appendix 47)

This narrative presents an example of the concept of disciplinary mechanisms. Disciplinary power regulates the subject to become individuals in accordance with social and institutional norms by creating *docile bodies* that also express self-regulation (Foucault, 1978). Hence, we can claim that in the face of the invisibility of this disciplinary power, the more the subject makes it visible, the more chance they can create a counter-resistance area. These counter-resistance areas appear as safe spaces since, in the interviews, we see that in such spaces, subjects do not need to systematize themselves according to certain norms, and where they can exist and express their existence as they wish.

One day, in Karaköy, L7 kissed her girlfriend when she thought no one was around. Then, they noticed a man running toward them and thought they should run away. After this incident, L7 decided not to kiss or hold hands with her lover on the street again. While telling this story, L7 literally spoke with 'the police in her mind.' The police represent the state and the society in this case. As the state's violent apparatus, police exercise their power by applying institutionalized disproportionate force on queer people due to their 'abnormal behavior,' just like the state and society do so. Even though she had not encountered state's direct discourses on that day, she conveyed their disciplinary power with the words displaying self-regulation.

> You can be killed in the confusion at any time, and the reason you are killed will not be seen as a very important issue by the state. I'm so sure! If that man had done something to us there and said, I saw them kissing, this incident would probably have been reported on social media. I am so sure that we would see these comments on news channels, especially on a platform like Twitter: 'Someone tried to punish them before God destroys us, good job.' I was very sure that I would hear this, especially from my family... that 'the man did what he had to do on our behalf.' I was so sure that my only

> thought was to run away, you know, I couldn't respond in any way. -L7 (Appendix 48)

Even if there is nothing triggering in the physical environment, people's perceptions of their daily lives are shaped/changed by the traumas/tensions, etc., that they carry from their social baggage. This social restriction is not something that individuals have experienced later; that is, they find themselves in micro or macro-scale political tensions from the moment they begin to live/open up or express their sexual identities. We see these tensions even in people who stay away from organizing and express no connection with political activism which we called the ones with *ivory gaze*. Suppose the category of sexual identity that puts queer subjects in a vulnerable position is the exclusionary practice they encounter most frequently. Giving visibility to their sexual identities is one of the principal interventions they construct while establishing a safe space. In other words, the point where sexuality becomes political makes it possible for these people when they decide to recognize it and live with it - regardless of whether one lives a political life or not.

Does the analysis on the axis of politicization of sexuality-political agency advise us to think of the concept of safe space as a spectrum? On the one side of the spectrum, there is an area where sexuality is placed in an apolitical context and passes by in such a way that it becomes almost invisible. For instance, when I asked L9 about her definition of safe space, I saw that such a category did not clearly exist in her mind even though she uses the term safe space in her answers. She is a bisexual woman who does not want to define herself under any definition and has repeatedly expressed her distance from the act of organization and political involvement. She thinks that her sexual identity should be invisible since being queer should not indicate a difference. Even though I specifically asked her during the interview, her perception of a safe space was pointing to that looking at the criteria in

online dating apps. She noted that seeing women figures in the photographs of candidate profiles was a green flag for her, and she feels secure.

On the other hand, there is another side of the spectrum where the expression of sexuality is made extremely visible in safe spaces. Making the expression of sexuality excessively visible gives us a narrative in the interviews that resembles a contest of 'who is more queer?' I caught an emphasis from the narratives that one must look strange enough to be seen as queer. This perception creates another normativity apart from heteronormativity. In the literature, we can see this phenomenon as *homonormativity* (Duggan, 2002; Richardson, 2005; Puar, 2007; Brown, 2012), and it is generally discussed by establishing a relationship with neo-liberalism. Participants expressed that they encounter the injurious experiences when they could not fit in the requirements of both heteronormative and homonormative orders. Nevertheless, safe spaces occur as areas where these normative orders are questioned and, in a way, subverted. For example, throughout the entire interview, L12 provided narratives on the fact that they were exposed to sexist hate speech in the leftist Kurdish community to which they felt belonged. On the other hand, they expressed that they could not find a place for themselves in the queer community as well due to requires queer community frames.

> I saw that there were certain taboos, and this marginalized me from everywhere. So, it distanced me a little bit. Okay, I don't feel male nor female; I define myself as non-binary, but at the same time, I came across a lot of views and beliefs about how a non-binary is supposed to be. -L12 (Appendix 49)

The outstanding emphasis in the narratives of the participants, who explained that they could not turn queer communities into their own safe spaces, was on the reasons for marginalization. L5 and L8 also explained that some queer people performing naked during Pride Prides are actually harmful to the queer community in Turkey.

Some participants stated that although they lived their queer identity openly and participated in political actions, they had difficulty finding a place for themselves in the queer community in Istanbul. These people generally enunciated that the 'extremism' features that had begun to show normativity within queer groups challenged them. In other words, while the safe space challenges the existing normative order, it also points to relationships in which subjects feel they can find a place for themselves. Therefore, thinking of safe space as a spectrum may be useful to understand the back and forths that queer subjects experience towards this concept and to underline that they are not talking about a fixed temporal/spatial safety and space.

L3 similarly explained that because of her cis appearance, she has to make extra efforts to show that she is queer, expressing that being in queer communities can be injurious at times due to the endeavor she has to present. These narratives demonstrate that a certain amount of exertion is required for participants to establish safe spaces where they feel they belong and that this can be a constant, challenging process.

> I feel stuck everywhere, even among queer communities! Because it's like you have to show yourself there too... It can turn into a contest of which of us is more queer, because this appearance is somehow important. Appearance determines you, determines your place in that hierarchy. There is a hierarchical queer society in Turkey. -L3 (Appendix 50)

A spectrum or not, questioning all kinds of normative orders seems to be the most prominent feature when creating safe spaces. In other words, the potential of a safe space is possible when questioning on one side and acceptance on the other can go hand in hand. Questioning the conditions and, accordingly, accepting and embracing differences does not signify a single fixed decision or one moment. Therefore, performative moves play a critical role in crafting safe spaces. The safe space itself

can also change, transform, and be defined differently occasionally. At the very beginning of our interview, L2 gave the following sentences regarding the concept of safe space.

> A safe space is possible for me at a point where I am allowed to explore myself and where the concepts of ethics, consent and boundaries are respected. An atmosphere where I can exist the way I want, a place where I am not judged. Or that norms or other things are not dictated to me, that my feelings are not ignored, that the problem is not found only in me, or that I am not the most open to communication in the environment, that I am not the one who always tries the hardest effort in a relationship... It is like that in my relationship with Turkey, for example, I am the one who always tries harder. -L2 (Appendix 51)

Later, in the middle of the interview, they used very similar expressions with these sentences when talking about their relationship with their family. As someone who ended their relationship with their family and chose a new spiritual queer family for themselves, L2 stated that they are someone who could not find a safe space in their biological family. When biological families approach their queer children with heteronormative patriarchal codes, children feel unaccepted and unwanted. This situation can be read as a micro extension of the macro-political conjuncture and is experienced as verbal and physical domestic violence in most familial relationships. In *Violent Intimacies*, Aslı Zengin (2024) makes a detailed reading of the family exclusion, which is quite common in the lives of trans subjects in urban areas, through the right to be buried. Queer and trans subjects who are exposed to exclusionary practices try to establish alternative social affinities in their areas of acceptance - safe spaces. Even though the concept of family referred to the chosen one, L2 approached it with suspicion out of concern that it pointed to a normative association.

> I have not been in contact with my biological family for a long time. I have a family, that is, my chosen family, but I have been questioning whether the concept of chosen family is something that I am trying to compensate for the

> lack of my biological family, so I want to move away from that concept for a while. -L2 (Appendix 52)

Apart from the concept of family, it is possible to give some neighborhoods as examples of safe spheres interpreted through public spaces by the participants. In the construction of public spaces as safe, they appear as regions where subjects outside the heteronormative gender regime develop solidarity mechanisms. Apart from the organizational forms required by identity politics, the practice of turning the space into a safe one by coming together through different channels, such as art, music, dance, and entertainment, is frequently seen in queer communities. Here, we can remember the performative forms of subversion that Butler discussed through drag performances in their milestone work *Gender Trouble* (1999). The fact that safe spaces can be read as the togetherness of disparities through various performances highlights their performative features.

For example, L7 is a lesbian woman born into a family belonging to the Menzil cult. Throughout the interview, she presented narratives of severe vulnerability that restricted her right to live. The places she described as safe spaces were some cafes and bars in Kadıköy or Beyoğlu Cinema. One day, her brother saw L7 walking on a street in Beyoğlu while he was going by bus. Thereupon, she was subjected to torturous violence from her father and brother.

> My father said to me that day, I never forget... He said something like 'those who go to Beyoğlu are either fags or sluts'. I realized something very clearly after this sentence: Even if the world turned upside down, this man would never accept me. -L7 (Appendix 53)

L7 made many queer friendships in Beyoğlu and Kadiköy by hiding from her family, and these neighborhoods became safe spaces for her due to these social relationships. She described the neighborhoods with their savior feature elsewhere in the interview. The social relations based in some public spheres indicate the construction of unity,

in another sense, the construction of safe spaces. L7's emphasis that sharing the feeling of a common pain creates a safe space is an example of the role of social relationships in building a safe space.

> In my opinion, what makes a space absolutely safe is sharing the same pain and understanding those pain—for example, Beyoğlu cinema or Bina in Kadıköy. What enables me to express myself comfortably in such safe bars and safe places is that all of these people have been exposed to these injurious discourses at least, perhaps not as much as I have, perhaps more than me, and have such a background. Therefore, I think that no matter what, they will not want any physical or psychological harm to come to the person in front of them. That's why the idea of "we exist for each other" actually made the spaces safe for me. -L7 (Appendix 54)

In L3's narrative, the safe space is identified with queer spaces. The motivation behind this connection is to highlight an approach to recognizing vulnerability -just like L7 expressed through pain. L3 attended a queer party the night her Pride Parade photo appeared in the newspaper, and she was labeled as a 'pervert' in the news text. The party was in a nightclub, and a cis hetero man hit on her, saying, "You don't look like a queer." L3 told this story as an injurious experience. Being targeted in the newspaper was not an injurious story for L3, but being told she did not look queer was. While explaining why she was so injured, she related to being in her safe space at that party. So when do safe spaces become the expression of an utterly conflict-free environment with all guards down?

> Actually, I think that was a day when I was vulnerable. Because I'm sharp about this in my daily life, I know better how to respond when a cis hetero approaches me with that attitude. I have my own methods of self-defense. But I didn't expect this that day because I was in my safe space, and that's why I didn't build those walls; I didn't draw any self-defenses. I neared any person who came to me as completely myself. -L3 (Appendix 55)

L3 is an Armenian bisexual woman who recently migrated to Finland. While comparing the Finnish experience with the Turkish experience, L3 said that she did not feel safe in any educational institution in Turkey. But, in the class in Finland, when a classmate praised to be born as a woman, she felt safe enough to joke that

“trans people are crying at home right now.” She emphasized that even though the entire class consisted of immigrants, which meant to her where there were so many people in the class with opposing views, she was able to turn the class into a safe space. When analyzing the safe place, L3’s micro-political intervention through comedy seems to be an example of a resistance mechanism we often see in queer struggle. Therefore, safe spaces are not spaces completely devoid of conflict or struggle for queer people; They appear as places where conflicts can be kept alive. At this point, whether or not one can experience the power to seize the discursive space to resist in a public place becomes a prominent phenomenon.

On the other hand, there is also a narrative that not every queer space is a safe space, as L8 provides. L8 cannot live her queer identity openly with her family because, beyond hate speech, she is afraid of being beaten or even killed. However, she enunciates she was misunderstood and judged by some queer people who learned that she didn’t come out to her family. That’s why, when defining a safe space, she states, “It is a place where there is no judgment, no matter what.” In this sense, she also expresses her concern about misusing the LGBTQ + concept sets. She says that she is aware that incorrect use of sexual orientation and gender identity terminology by queer subjects leads to discursive reiteration, which is why it is crucial (for instance, using the term ‘the member of LGBTQ+’ attributes an organizational connotation to the queer community, which is misleading). However, according to her, the correct usage can still be taught without judgment. In other words, in addition to the demand of being accepted without judgment, the fact that the queer community has its own set of concepts creates a certain tension in social communications. However, every tension in language brings with it a kind of discursive reiteration through performative intervention. Performative safe spaces,

which point to a continuous construction process, are one of the concrete outcomes of the mechanisms developed by queer subjects to create their subjectivities through language. It seems conceivable to claim that performative interventions are a way of experiencing political agency as they establish a safe space. The following quote from L3 contains an analogy that can represent the claim on performativity in language.

> We need to experience and feel this all the time actively. Think of it this way: let's say you've seen a beautiful sea view once in your life, and you try to visualize that sea every day to calm down. Is this enough for you? I think it's not enough. You should go and see that sea at least once a week. In order to visualize it, you have to go and continue living. We need to create spaces in our lives where we can regularly feel and experience this feeling of safe space... that safe feeling that I felt the day I went to that pride parade despite all the police forces and bans… -L3 (Appendix 56)

Lubunca illustrates a sociolect that is used like code to construct safe communication. Lubunca, the secret language of the queer community living in Turkey, not only functions as a communication tool to understand the complex dynamics of gender and sexuality but also as a form of resistance against the dominant heteronormative and patriarchal society (Savcı, 2021). In this sense, lubunca has a constitutive effect in creating a solidarity mechanism among queers in a performative manner. L8, who says that it is not apparent at first sight that she is queer because of her headscarf, states that lubunca plays a key role in her safe social relations.

> To be frank, I put Lubunca words between sentences to people who I feel are queer, and they get surprised. Then we can communicate immediately, so I think Lubunca is very good in that regard. -L8 (Appendix 57)

The establishing process of a safe space reveals various solidarity mechanisms, the roles of public spaces, and the influence of non-governmental organizations in queer people's lives. L3 described a solidarity mechanism for constructing a communicationally safe space. She had an agreement with her queer friends in

Istanbul. They determined code words (such as ‘red alarm’, she said) among themselves to use in case of any sexual abuse. Since it is tough for the survivors to express themselves in such situations, they set up an agreement/mechanism in which they would go together to get an assault report without making the survivors bother to express themselves. The fact that this mechanism occurs among queer communities in Turkey is an example of producing new creative moves to survive as living space shrinks. Tactics such as flying a rainbow flag with a drone during Big Family Marches (according to L13), giving false location information for Istanbul Pride to the police, holding meetings at secret points, and hanging banners about trans murders on various bridges in Istanbul with tricks are examples of some resistance strategies developed collectively. It is an example of how possessive queer individuals are in their relationship with their fragility/vulnerability and how they create new interventions from there.

The civil society structure in Turkey plays a decisive role in queer people’s development of solidarity mechanisms. The most considerable emphasis they made on NGOs was that they were places where participants did not feel alone. NGOs provide legal, social, and psychological support to people who are subjected to discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. For instance, L8 attributes the Havle Women’s Association as one of the unique places where she can experience her Muslim identity and queer identity together. In addition, three participants stated that they received free psychotherapy from the Society for Studies on Social Policy, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation (SPoD). Considering that it is a prevalent pattern for queer children to be taken to psychologists for ‘treatment’ after coming out to their families, it becomes extra crucial for queers to find safe communication with psychologists. In this sense, psychological counseling stands

out as one of the issues that civil initiatives such as SPoD or Lubunya Earthquake Solidarity attach importance to in establishing safe communication regarding having developed professional ethics that are free from hatred.

> After the earthquake, the Lubunya Earthquake Platform was opened, and I am very grateful to them because thanks to them, I have been receiving therapy for free every week for a year and this has been very good for me. Thanks to them, I had the opportunity to progress this whole process in a much healthier way by receiving therapy. -L10 (Appendix 58)

In Turkey, it is necessary to file a lawsuit in order to enter the gender affirmation process. This legal process included different stages such as medical and psychological examination. After the case was concluded positively, hormone and surgery procedures began. L14 received free support from a law company in Adana to complete her legal process. Volunteer lawyers, who undertake the entire legal process on behalf of L14, have set such a support mechanism to facilitate the process for trans people. In addition to this, before seeking asylum in the Netherlands by citing her sexual orientation and ethnic identity, L7 contacted queer-friendly NGOs in Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway. L7 departed Turkey one night without informing her family. In her preparation process before asylum seeking, she said that she was ready thanks to the support of these associations.

L7 occasionally compared Turkey and the Netherlands based on trust in institutions. She stated that there was no one to help her when she was exposed to violence in Turkey, but she feels that the legal authorities in the Netherlands would protect her. Through this, I saw that L7 constructed her concept of safe space as the feeling of knowing that she can get help when she needs support.

> I called the police when I was subjected to violence by my brother, and this happened in January 2023. This was the last straw anyway. I called the police and asked for help. Half an hour later, which is so long, it's actually half an hour! Half an hour later, the police called me from his private number and said to me: If you are not going to file a complaint, we do not need to come. -L7 (Appendix 59)

In reports focusing on conditions that verbally and physically threaten LGBTQ+ lives in Turkey, distrust in institutions appears as a separate heading in the findings. We see that queer individuals who are exposed to verbal or physical danger do not file a complaint since they do not trust the law and the police (Kaos GL, 2020). In fact, there is a statistically significant number of people who think that reporting the incident to legal authorities makes them more vulnerable in Turkey (Kaos GL, 2019; 2020). Approaching this issue in the context of the concept of safe space can add a new breath to the field. This point of view is an indication that the phenomenon of safe space is directly related to the queer subjects' vulnerable positions in social relations. Queer subjects create safe spaces among themselves by holding on to each other based on their vulnerability within the restricted support area. In this regard, it is possible to observe the commonality in the narratives of L7 and L10 below.

> Even though we are wrapped in completely different chains, none of us are truly free until we are all free. The fact that these people were experiencing the same problems and that they felt this way created a safe space for me. -L7 (Appendix 60)
>
> Two sex workers live on the ground floor of my apartment building. We meet and they are non-trans sex workers and the fact that they live downstairs gives me confidence. We chatted and sat down and they were so sweet and wonderful people and it makes me feel very comfortable and happy to have such people downstairs and to have such people, students, sex workers and trans people in my neighbourhood. I prefer to live here because there are few civil servants and families here. -L10 (Appendix 61)

In a nutshell, safe spaces appear as spheres of intervention where queer subjects intertwine solidarity mechanisms with the agency in the face of hate speech. The close relationship between safe space and political agency indicates a politicization of sexuality through performative moves in everyday micropolitical tensions. I tried to present the different connotations I encountered in the participants' narratives in the context of this concept. At the end of the day, queer people's expectations of a

safe space simply signify a place and time where their lives are not threatened, where arrows of hatred are not shot at them, and where they can live humanely. If we were to stress on the solidarity potentialities of the queer subjects who face hatred, and the motivational feature of it in Sara Ahmed's words, "we have hope because of anger; we have hope if we do not and will not allow our hope for a different world be taken as a sign of overcoming" (Ahmed, 2010: 273).

> I feel safe in any relationship if there is no danger of being attacked. Working under humane conditions makes me feel safe. Not being subjected to boss torment makes me feel safe. Being valued for being truly human, being valued just for being human without being subjected to any adjectives, is the safe space I am looking for it. My mission doesn't end when I find my safe space. My mission is to build safe spaces and help people who don't have safe spaces to build. This is my biggest dream. -L10 (Appendix 62)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Lately, as hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity has become more visible in Turkey, I started wondering how queer people navigate their lives and emotions in the face of this widespread hatred. Thereupon, I examined the academic research on hate speech developed around the world and in Turkey, and I saw that research projects on this issue generally focus on damage assessment. Media tools, legal authorities, and ideologies that produced hate speech were the main subjects of research. Even research projects conducted with people exposed to hate speech (by Kaos GL) attempt to explain the gravity of the conditions through the victimization experienced by queer people. Therefore, I wanted to put forward a research design in which I adapted the perspective of the queer feminist approach that proceeds vulnerability through resistance. Thus, this study was born, in which I not only acknowledge the serious conditions of hate speech but also emphasize the performative interventions inherent in those conditions and trace the areas of resistance created by queer subjectivities. With this attempt, I wanted to show that within the encompassing force of power relations, subjects can develop new creative moves to gain a place for themselves regarding political agency. This perspective shifted the focus of the study to the sociological analysis of everyday lives.

I examined the performative strategies developed by queer individuals in Turkey to resist hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity. I shed light on the complex socio-political experiences in which these strategies were created and implemented through narrative analysis of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with fourteen participants and fieldwork observation. The narrative

analyses demonstrated that the intensity of experiences regarding discursive violence based on sexual identity is profoundly linked to intersectional identities such as being Kurdish, Armenian, Greek, Muslim, and Alevi, and the hatred they are exposed to is more layered. Aside from the fact that intersectional identities that indicate multi-layered inequalities deepen the vulnerabilities of queer individuals, the narratives of these people have come to the fore by creating unique resistance mechanisms. I found that the performative strategies of LGBTQ+ individuals constituted political action that challenged and subverted the dominant heteronormative and patriarchal structures in Turkish society.

One of the critical insights of my research is the concept of the "ivory gaze," which I proposed to describe the privileged perspective of those who can maintain a certain distance against hate speech. The reason why I suggested this concept was that I wanted to emphasize the distance that queers from a higher economic class construct against (1) their vulnerable positions based on their sexual identities, (2) the circulating hate speech, (3) and political involvement. This distinction not only indicates the class nature of vulnerability but also shows the intertwined structure of economics and the politics of sexuality.

I also underline the importance of recognizing and naming hate speech as a crucial step in creating resistance. This recognition empowers them to diminish the injurious power of the words by displacing the hateful meaning of such speech. Queer people construct performative strategies to transform vulnerable positions into resistance power by identifying and articulating the sources and mechanisms of hate speech. In all interviews, I came across participants' anxiety about determining where the hate speech comes from. Those with the *ivory gaze* had the privilege of turning their vulnerability into a gaze, and they did not offer performative strategy

narratives from the political tensions of daily life. However, others provided narratives of performative interventions by tending to move closer to their vulnerability rather than distance themselves from it—to recognize the source of hate speech.

The close relationship established by queer subjects with their vulnerable position and the effort to recognize the attributed discourse leads to the endurance toolkits they have developed over time. In other words, these people reveal their political agency through the performative strategies they produce while organizing daily life. Participants displayed that comprehending the sources and mechanisms of hate speech enabled them to develop performative strategies that transformed vulnerability into a kind of strength. This subversion also points to the moments when the harmful effect of the injurious speech fades away. I interpreted them as the subversion of shame into pride and vulnerability into endurance. However, these subversion moments do not express the complete transformation of one emotion into another. It refers to a creative moment with an intervention in which shame and pride navigate together, and the subject produces political agency from this navigation. Therefore, vulnerability is what the queer subject utilizes as a toolkit of resistance along with endurance. These resistance toolkits are not only created from political tensions in queer individuals' daily lives; they also gestate collective resistance mechanisms through solidarity.

The notion of safe space as a discursive pattern appeared in all interviews. This concept is an emphasis on performative crafting, which includes a certain tension in which they challenge the heteronormative patriarchal order, and which they define as acceptance (of differences) by indicating the politicization of sexuality. In this work, safe space refers to a performative process constructed by the

subject with their political agency rather than a fixed temporal and spatial condition. Therefore, a safe space can appear both public and private spaces and, sometimes, obscures the distinction between the two. It points to a continuous performance of queer individuals within social relations for both construction and protection and challenges normative orders. Safe spaces, which can also be caught as areas where the subject can reveal the political agency in the face of hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity, signify spheres where differences can coexist.

All kinds of exclusionary practices, including hate speech, claim the right to declare whose lives are worth living today. Therefore, it is crucial to emphasize once again that it is not my intention to take an approach that -so to speak- romanticizes the notion of resistance in a social order where hate speech, hate crimes, and suicides occur at very serious levels. Ultimately, this study problematizes the tracing of resistance in everyday lives of individuals who are dominated by authoritarian regimes and discourses using hate speech as a tool. The concept of *secretive movements* put forward by Türkmen (2024), who considers Turkey as an example of an authoritarian regime formally governed by democracy, is particularly relevant here. This concept draws attention to mobilizations carried out through daily practices rather than open actions within a limited political sphere. She is inspired by James Scott's emphasis on the significance of sub-politics, which constitutes the essence of political life, when it comes to the politicization of dominated groups. At this point, the backstages where the rebellion and resistance of the subordinated ones flourish with the sub-politics come to the fore. It seems possible to read my work as a modest reflection of one of those backstages. In short, individuals subjected to hate speech are placed in a subordinate position within a power dynamic established by discourse. In this context, I tried to examine how queer individuals subverted the

moments of these positions by constructing their political agency in their daily lives through performative interventions.

Finally, I would like to mention the limitations of this study and future research. My biggest concern about this research is that it starts from the conceptual framework of Western-centric social critical theory while examining Turkey's conditions. Instead of imposing this conceptual framework on the data I collected in the field, a future study can be designed in which the data directly from the field determine the concepts. Another limitation is that the stories of violence and forms of resistance in the interviews do not represent the queer community's all challenges; I aimed to capture some reflections from the complex network of relationships. Although I paid attention to capture the diversity of participants who have different experiences of sexual orientation, gender and ethnic identity, I have to admit that my research has a small sample. For instance, the experience of a socio-economically middle-low class trans subject is not among my collected narratives. Therefore, further research can be conducted with a larger pool of participants. In addition, the age ranges of the people I interviewed in this research reflect the experiences of the younger generation. As a future study, it can be examined how people from various age groups cope with sexual identity-based hate speech and whether there are differences in their narrative patterns. Finally, even though I explained it in the methodology chapter, language is a phenomenon that I would like to mention again when concluding the thesis. Future research on discursive violence in Turkey could focus on the dominance of English in sexual identity-based concepts in the scope of Turkey and investigate what role *Lubunca* plays as a special sociolect in this region.

In summary, I aimed to contribute to the literature on hate speech based on sexual identity by providing a nuanced understanding of performative resistance

strategies in Turkey's socio-political atmosphere. I emphasize the potential of queer feminist theory to offer new perspectives on hate speech studies through political agency and resistance. My research not only documents the struggles and strategies but also commemorates the resistance of the queer community in Turkey.

APPENDIX A

LONG QUOTES IN TURKISH

1. Queer biraz düşünme ya insanın kendi üzerine düşünmesi ve tasarlaması ve tasarımdaki çokluklar üzerine tanımlıyorum ben. -L11
2. Senin hikayede yazdıklarını okudum, lubunyaların maruz kaldıkları söylemlere karşı geliştirdikleri şeyleri anlamaya çalışıyorum cümlesi çok değerli bir cümleydi gerçekten. Çok değerli bir şey yani aslında benim bu araştırmaya katılmama sebep olan şey bu cümlenin güzelliğiydi. -L7
3. Teşekkür ederim böyle bir fırsatı bana sunduğunuz için uzun zamandır kendimi ifade edebilecek bir alan göremiyordum ve bir hani yani böyle bir ortamda kendimi ifade etmek yani travmalarını tetiklemedi tam tersine beni daha çok rahatlattı aslında bunları sizinle paylaşmak beni çok rahatlattı. -L10
4. Kimliğimi açık yaşıyorum tabii ama yani açıklığın da bir katmanı var, mesela anneanneme açık değilim. -L5
5. İnternette tamamıyla açık yaşıyorum ama internette de anonim kimlik altında açık yaşayabiliyorum aslında çünkü yani açık konuşmak gerekirse insanlardan... genel çevrem ben imam hatip mezunuyum çok problematik yaklaştığı için bu konuya hiç açmayı düşünmedim. -L8
6. Ya ben aslında kendim için çok endişeli değilim ben yani bilmiyorum hani ben çok bu tabiri kullanmak istemiyorum hani ama ben çok bir transa benzemediğim için bir cis kadına daha çok benzetildiğim için toplumda rahat yaşayabiliyorum sadece benim zorluğum kimlik yani ama translığını çok belli eden arkadaşlarım için endişeliyim. -L14
7. Ben hiçbir zaman Türkiye'deki o aktivist ortama da girmedim, hiçbir zaman o gruplara da dahil olmadım. O yüzden benim çok böyle bir sosyal çevrem yoktu. Çok fazla heteroseksüel çevrem olduğu için de onların o kadar kalmasını istiyordum. Yani biz bir yemeğe 9 kişi gidiyorsak benim o tanımadığım 10. kişinin gelmesini istemiyordum. Bunu daha sonrasında anladım ki tamamen korkudan dolayıymış. -L5
8. Hiç nefret söylemine maruz kalmadım ama nefret söylemine maruz kalmamak için neler yaptığımı anlatabilirim. -L5
9. Herhalde yaralayıcı olan şeyle karşılaşmamak için elimden geleni yapıp kendi sosyal alanımı kısıtlıyorum. Karşılaştığın zaman da ortamı bozmamaya çalışarak yani karşımdakini çok yaralamadan iletişim kurmama yoluna gitmeye çalışıyorum ki bu arada şanslıyım çok da denk gelmiyorum. -L9
10. Beni çok yaralamadı bu bu şeyler çünkü genelde ben şeye biraz bakıyorum yani bana bir şey söyleyen insanın kim olduğuna bakıyorum. -L5
11. Birliktelik fikri yani birliktelik beni korkutan kısım temelde. Birlikteyiz, örgütleniyoruz, destekliyoruz... Hayır! Birbirimizi desteklemiyoruz, kimse kimseyi desteklemiyor. Bunu sadece politik olarak ifade ediyorsunuz ama bu konuda bir şey yapacağınızı zannetmiyorum gibi bir hayal kırıklığı taşıyorum. -L9
12. Sağlıklı dozda frenlenmiş bir narsizm çoğu şeyi çözüyor. Yani o ifadeyi kullanan insan güruhuna bir aciziyet gözüyle baktığım için rahatsız pek olmuyorum. Burada benim dediğim gibi yine imtiyazlı arka planın getirdiği bir güçlenme hali var. Yani ben şimdi hayatımı yaşıyorum ben çıkıyorum istanbul'un kültürel olarak en dolu en zengin semtlerinde güzel bir sosyal

hayat, güzel bir iş hayatı yaşıyorum. Sen bana twitter'dan beni kırma gayretinde bulunan bir şey söylemeye çalışıyorsun. Bana şey geliyor üzücü, vasat, zayıf ve cılız geliyor. Genel olarak o sahnede olma hissine de alışkanlıktan gelen hani seni sevmeyen seni yuhalar bu çok normal bir şey ama yani seninle denk bir yerlerden yuhalayamıyor ki o tribünden yuhalıyor ve tribünde olanla sahada olan aynı asla değildir diyerek ben çok rahat etmişimdir. -L11

13. Üzülüyorum her şeye tabii ki her insan gibi ama eyleme geçiren üzüntü ve eylemsizliğe götüren üzüntü gibi iki kavram var. yani kahır olmakla öfkelenmek arasında belki bir fark var hani öfkeyi de böyle bir sonuçta bir lokomotif olarak bir içeriden bir dinamo olarak deneyimlemek üzüldüğüm her şey beni harekete geçiriyor. -L11
14. Aktif siyaset çok daha organize ve yapısal bir şey ve aktif siyasetin içinde bulunmak için yalnızca kendi öznellik meseleni değil aslında belki inandığın inançlar sistemler bütünlüğünü bence savunmakla sorumlu ve yükümlü oluyor insan. Aktivizm ise bence çok daha manevra alanı yüksek ve total ideolojiler değil de spesifik o özne mücadelesi için yürütülen bir şey. -L11
15. Yurt dışına gitmek istiyordum çok uzun süredir ve bunun tek ve en büyük nedeni de gay olmamdı. Yoksa başka bir sebebi yok yani hani ülkeyi, arkadaşlarımı, oradaki eğlence anlayışını, yaşam tarzını çok seviyorum. -L5
16. Türkiye en azından bir düzenli anarşi ülkesi ya da ne denirse artık yani. Çünkü bazı düzenler var ama dağınık düzenler var ve o dağınıklığa herkes alışmış durumda. Trans uyum süreci çok zor ve çok drag isteyen bir süreç. Parasını verince de o ilacı laps diye alabiliyorsun burada. İngiltere'de o ilacı kilitli kutular arkasında reçeteli satıyorlar mesela östrojen testosteron hormonunu. -L11
17. Üniversite mezunuyum fakat cinsiyet uyum ameliyatını olmadığım için ve nüfusta kimlikte cinsiyet hanemin doğuşta doğumda atanan cinsiyet yazdığı için iş bulmakta zorlanıyorum. -L14
18. Hatay'da toplu çadırlar açıldı ve insanlar o çadırlarda kalıyorlardı. İskenderun'da 2 tane trans kadının toplu çadırdan atıldığına şahitlik ettim ve bu gerçekten beni çok kötü etkiledi. Çok çok üzüldüm gerçekten yani tarif bile edemem çünkü çok yağmur yağıyordu, evleri yıkılmıştı, çok kötü hissediyorlardı, çok korkmuşlardı ve gerçekten o çaresizliklerini hissedebiliyordum. -L10
19. Benim aktivizme devam etmemin en büyük sebeplerinden birisi de öfke aslında. İçimdeki bu öfke, bütün bunlara maruz kalıp hani şehrim yok olmuş, çok sevdiğim arkadaşlarım öldü, çok sevdiğim insanlar öldü ve bütün bunları yaşarken toplu çadırdan atılan trans bireylere maruz kalmak... gerçekten yani gerçekten hani söylenecek bir şey bulamıyorum artık. -L10
20. Daha dün antakyalı bir arkadaşımla iş görüşmesine gittim bir kafeye gittik. Kendisi de enkazdan çıkmış bir arkadaşım, babasını kaybetti. Bütün ailesiyle birlikte enkazdan çıktı, babası çıkamadı. Dün onunla bir kafeye iş görüşmesine gittik. Hataylı olduğumuzu söyledik çünkü kendisi sordu ve daha sonra bize çok komik bir fiyat verdi. Sonra da aynen şu cümleyi kurdu: Hataylı mısınız? Yardıma ihtiyacınız vardır sizin. Yani söylediği şey şuydu, hataylısınız fakirsinizdir ve bu paraya tamah göstermeniz gerekiyor, zaten bu paraya siz okey dersiniz. -L10
21. Direkt yani ötekinin de ötekisi olarak anılmamız inanılmaz derecede korkutucu. Tamam yurt dışına gideceğim ama herkes gitmiyor. Gitmek

istemiyorlar, gidemiyorlar. Bunu düşünmeden duramıyorum! Kesinlikle Batı ile özdeşleşmek istemiyorum. Şahsen ben herhangi bir batılı queer aktivizmine de dahil olmak istemiyorum. Kendi sorunlarımızı çözersek ithal aktivizmin sıkıntılarını da çekmeyiz diye düşünüyorum. -L1

22. Farklı bir hayatın olduğunu görmek, şu anda ben olan insanın oluşması için bir itici güç oldu bence. Orada zorbalık yaşamadım mı? Evet yaşadım. Ama orada cinsel kimliğim üzerinden bir zorbalık yaşamadım, orada türkiye'den geldiğim için zorbalık yaşadım. -L6
23. Aslında garantici bir yerden bakıyorum aslında şu anda dil kursuna gidiyorum ingilizcemi geliştirmek istiyorum ilerletiyorum ve lisansı bitirip dili biliyor bir şekilde yüksek lisans yapmak için yurtdışına gidip bir daha asla türkiye'ye dönmemek istiyorum. Tabii ki ailem ve sevdiğim insanlar burada olduğu için ara ara da olsa ziyaret için gelmek istiyorum. İltica ettiğimde maalesef bu hakka sahip olmayacağım, bundan dolayı biraz daha stratejik bir şekilde gitmek istiyorum. -L13
24. Annem gay olduğumu yakaladı. Sonra psikoloğa gitmeye başladım, çok ağır antidepresanlar içmeye başladım. Mezuna kaldım, mezuna kaldırdılar beni, korkunç şeyler yaşadım ve dibi gördüm. Gerçekten dibi gördüm! Ailem tarafından ölüm tehditleri aldım ve aile evinde yastığımın altına bıçak koyarak uyuyordum ki eğer annem ya da babam beni boğmaya gelirse ya da öldürmeye gelirse kendimi savunabileyim. Bunları yaşamak gerçekten çok zordu. -L10
25. Queer aktivisttim ama son zamanlarda yaşadığım korkunç olaylardan sonra aktivizmi bırakma kararı aldım. Çünkü mentalim buna yetmiyordu artık. -L10
26. Allahuekber nidalarıyla içeriye girmeye çalıştılar ve biz de kapıyı kapalı tuttuk içeri girmesinler diye. Daha sonrasında benim Hataylı bir arkadaşım vardı, kendisi bayıldı fenalaştı ambulans çağırdık milliyetçiler ambulansın girmesine izin vermediler. -L10
27. Gerçekten şöyle hissediyorum şu an her bir adımım tehlikeymiş ve her bir adımımda sürekli böyle bir haksızlık yaşayacakmışım gibi hissediyorum yani ya bir değerim yokmuş gibi hissediyorum artık böyle gerçekten çok yoruldum artık çok her şeyden çok yoruldum. -L10
28. Daha sonrasında ben açık öğretimden liseyi bitirdim, üniversite sınavına girdim. Bu süreçte işte bir mağazada çalışmaya başlamıştım. Orada çalışmaya başladığımda hâlâ başörtü takıyordum ve artık hani inanmadığım da için çok daha yük gelmeye başladı bana bu. Kimliğimi hiçbir şekilde rahatça ifade edemiyordum. Yani çünkü çok ezilmiş hissediyordum. -L7
29. Queer mücadele, kadın hareketinden bağımsız ilerleyemeyeceğini çok farkında. Kürt hareketinden bağımsız ilerleyemeyeceğini çok farkında. Ben özellikle feminizmle tanıştığım zaman zaten fazlasıyla ezilen bir toplumdan geldiğim için insanların beni ezmesine alışkın olduğum bir hayat yaşadım. Yani işte çocukken türkçeyi iyi konuşamadığım o zaman diliminde... ya da annemin veli toplantısında bulunamayacak olmasını dile getirme zorundalığımın bana getirdiği zaten belli bir birikim vardı ne yazık ki. Çünkü annem hâlâ Türkçe konuşmuyor bu arada konuşamıyor ve zorunda da değil yani bunun fazlasıyla savunuyorum. İrem bunların bilincine eriştikten sonra şeyi fark ettim hani zaten eziliyorum yeterince, zaten kendimi fazlasıyla savunmak zorunda kaldığım bir arka planım, geçmişim var. Bu, beni insanların başka bir kimliğimle ezmelerine tahammül edemeyeceğim bir noktaydı! Bu bitmek bilmeyen bir mücadele ben kendimi geri çekersem

başka bir arkadaşım kendini geri çekerse hani kim bizim için mücadele edecek yani kim benim hakkımı savunacak? -L7

30. Atanmış cinsiyetim kadın olsaydı geri adım attırırdı bana ama atanmış cinsiyetim erkek olduğu için ve bizde bu köklerimizde yer alan bu feodalite olduğu için benim bıyığım olduğu için sadece ben bunlarda diretebiliyorum. -L12
31. Sen Ermeni misin, senin Rum kökenlerin mi var, sen Alevi misin? İnsanlar sürekli bana farklı sorular yöneltiyorlar. Aslında ben bunların hepsinin oluşturduğu bir kültürün sonucu olarak hissediyorum kendimi. Ama toplumda fark ediyorum ki bir noktada o mozaik bozulmuş sanki ve herkes böyle bir atıfta bulunmaya çalışıyor ve seni bir kareye yerleştirmeye çalışıyor ve o kare yerleştikten sonra seni öteki yapmaya çalışıyor. -L6
32. Ahlaksızlar yine sokağa çıktı falan gibi bir şeyin öznesi olmaktan da keyif de aldım yani hani çünkü pride kapağı olmaktan onur duyarım yani -L3
33. Bir Ermeni olarak bunun şeyini görmek benim için çok kolay oldu. Mesela belki hani beyaz Türk ve gay birisi için daha farklı olur ama ben doğduğumdan beri zaten mesela sokakta kendi ana dilimi konuşacak olsam susturuldum. Ermeni olmam hep bir şekilde bir gündem meseleydi. İlk doğduğum andan beri yaşadığım bir sıkışma var. O yüzden de bir noktadan sonra LGBT meselesinin gündem olması benim için o kadar şaşırtıcı bir şey değil yani. -L3
34. Feminist açıklamalarda bulunduğum için babam tarafından lezbiyen ilan edildim. Bir de bu benim hayatımda önemli bir dönemdi, lezbiyen tarafımı keşfettiğim bir dönemdi. Mesela şu anda lezbiyen gibi mi davranmıştım diye düşünüyorum. O yaşta babama queer olduğumu hissettirebildiysem harika yani aslında, şimdi düşününce mutlu oluyorum. -L3
35. 2000-2010'lara kadar Kürtlere uygulanan propaganda onları böyle ötekileştirme ve bunun etrafında birleşme hâli şu an sanki queerler üzerinden yapılıyor gibi. -L1
36. Kiminle mücadele ettiğini bildiğin zaman yani kaynağına indiğin zaman kiminle mücadele ettiğini öğrenmiş oluyorsun. Yani düşmanını bilmeden mücadele etmek bence çok kaygılandırıcı bir şey. Neyle mücadele ettiğini öğrendikçe daha çok rahatlıyorsun. -L10
37. Otamlarda özellikle çok büyük nefret söylemlerinde en azından durduracak birisi olması gerektiğini düşündüğüm için o insan ben olmaya karar verdim. Bu noktada da nefrete karşı çıkmak için daha fazla bilgilenmeye daha doğru şeyleri söylemeye... yani bana bir sürü nedenle gelebilir ama ben her birisinin nakavt etmeliyim bir şekilde. Bahanelerle geliyorlar çünkü bence bir noktada nefretine bahane arıyor. Bu yüzden mesela karşıt hesapları takip etmem de bir noktada öyle. Ne diyorlar neyle gelebilirim? Ne ne diyorlar ona nasıl karşı çıkabilirim? -L8
38. Ya ne olduğunu da bilmiyorum bile. tam olarak gay ne demek o zaman öğrenmiştim ben bana bunu bir nefret söylemi olarak kullandıkları zaman ne olduğunu öğrendim. O yüzden uzun süre bu olmak istemedim korktum tekrardan bu oklara hedef olursam diye çünkü direkt nefreti ilk düzeyde aldım ve ben bu arkadaşımın bana bu iftirayı attığını öğrendim başka bir arkadaşımıza da bu seks işçiliği yapıyor orospu diye söylenti çıkartmış arkasından kızın ve ben o kızla 2 marjinalleştirilen insan olaraktan bir şekilde arkadaş olmak zorunda kaldım dayanışmayı da ilk bu şekilde öğrendim. -L6

39. Ben başta homofobi direkt olarak bir söylem diye düşünüyordum. Hani işte sana ibne demesi gerekiyor ya da işte sen cehennemde yanacaksın sen şöyle olacaksın sen işte topsun şusun busun gibi iğrenç söylemlerde bulunacak diye düşünüyorsun ama aslında homofobinin çok dolaylı ve sinsice bir yolu olduğunu da fark etmemi sağladı benim çalışma ortamlarım. -L7
40. Okul doğrudan aslında hem akran zorbalığına maruz kaldığım bir alan oldu hem de eğitim verenler tarafından ayrımcılığa uğradığım bir alan oldu benim için. Ya tabii ki bendeki etkisi hâlâ devam ediyor, okul tarafından dışlanmanın vermiş olduğu bir sosyal anksiyeteyle karşı karşıyayım. bu nedenlerden dolayı zaten okula devam etmek istememiştim... Ama en nihayetinde şey güçlü hissettirdi her şeye rağmen önümde bir engel vardı ve bu engelleri aşmak her şeye rağmen hayallerimin peşinden gitmek ve kampüsün bir parçası olmak kampüsü doğrudan deneyimlemek ve istediğim bölümde var olmak iyi hissettirdi. -L13
41. Bu da cis hetero seksist dünya yapısının bir getirisi lubunyalar için. Ben hasta olduğumu düşünüyordum ve aileme de böyle bir yerden gidip 'ben hastayım lütfen beni hastaneye götürün, psikoloğa götürün' demiştim. ilk olarak anneme açılmıştım. Annem yemek pişiriyordu o sırada ve ocağın altını kapatıp 'iyi misin?' diye sordu. Nasıl bir hastalığın var bahsetmek ister misin diye sorunca ben de direkt 'benim hayallerimde güzel kadınlar yok, daha çok yakışıklı erkekler var' cevabını vermiştim. -L13
42. Doğrudan görünür olan bir şiddet yoktu tabii ki gizlenmiş bir şiddet vardı ki yıllar sonra aslında fark edebildim bunu da yapboz parçalarını birleştirince. -L13
43. Bu kentin bir parçasıyım bir kere toplumun da bir parçasıyım sonradan gelmedim, uzaydan da gelmedim. En başından beri aslında kenti deneyimleyen kişi bendim. O sokakta yürüyen, toplu taşımayı kullanan veya kamusal alanda bir parkta oturup arkadaşımla sohbet eden, çekirdek çitleyen veya kahvemi alıp oturan kişi, aktör bendim aslında. -L13
44. Ben toplumum, siz kimsiniz? okey queerim kesinlikle. queer olmakla ilgili, kendimi queer tanımlamakla ilgili hiçbir derdim yok. Ama yani dışarı, atık, yabani olmayan bir halde queer hissediyorum. Anladın mı? Evet bunların hepsiyim; atık, yabani, dışarı... Evet bunlar var içinde ama bir yandan da hani herkes de böyle. Yani sokakta bir insan da böyle. Herkes toplumun bir şekilde dışında ve ben de dışındayım ama onu da oluşturan parçalarından biriyim. Bir komünite olarak kendimize böyle bir isim vermemiz stratejik olarak hoş bir şey yani evet bu isimlere ihtiyaç duyduğumuzu farkındayım yani politik olarak zorda olan bir grup için daha stratejik diye queer diyoruz. -L1
45. Adana'da yolda yürürken de aslında bir aktivistim yani yaptığım her şeyle öylyeyim. Otobüsteyken bile benim zil sesim mesela Hepsi 1 grubunun şarkısı. Telefonumun kabı hello kitty'li. İnsanlar bana baktığı zaman aa bunda bir tuhaflık var diye düşünüyorlar. Her Lubunca konuşmamda, arkadaşlarıma tek tek Lubunca öğrettiğim zaman... Bunlar aslında hepsi birer aktivizm. Yani insanların gözlerinin içine sokmak istiyorum, hani buradayım ne yapabilirsin ki kudur! -L10
46. O gün dergahtan yakın bir arkadaşımın konuşması vardı. Konu güvenli alan ve şifaydı. Orada zıt bakış açısına sahip, zıt düşüncelere sahip, tamamen zıt fikirlerden, zıt yerlerden insanlar vardı ve bu beni çok mutlu etti, huşu içindeydik. -L2

47. Ben polislerin kapının önünde olduğunu düşünmüyorum, polislerin kendi kafamızın içinde olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bir şey yapacakken 40 defa düşünüyorsan artık polis dışarıda kapının önünde değil ki senin kafanın içerisinde. Sen kafanın içerisindeki polisi çıkaramadığın müddetçe ne olacak ki? Artık dışarıda polis olmasına gerek yok yani şu an direkt kafamızın içindeki polis bizi kontrol ediyor. En basitinden bugün mesela anonim kalmak istediğimi söylüyorum sana. Polis var şu an beni kontrol eden, var olmamı engelleyen bir polis var burada. -L6
48. Her an kimvurduya gidebilirsin ve kimvurduya gittiğin mesele devlet tarafından çok önemli bir mesele olarak da görülmeyecek. O kadar eminim ki! Adam orada bize bir şey yapsaydı ve deseydi ki onları öpüşürken gördüm, bu olay sosyal medyaya düşerdi muhtemelen. Haber kanallarında o kadar eminim ki şu yorumları görürdük, özellikle Twitter gibi bir yerde: 'Allah helak etmeden önce birisi cezalarını vermeye kalkışmış, ellerine sağlık.' Bunu duyacağıma o kadar emindim ki özellikle ailemden... bizim yerimize yapması gerekeni yapmış tarzı şeyler duyacağıma o kadar eminsin ki tek düşüncen kaçmak oluyor hani karşılık vermeyeyim hiçbir şekilde. -L7
49. Belli başlı tabuların olduğunu gördüm, bu beni her yerden marjinalize etti, yani birazcık uzaklaştırdı. Tamam erkek veya kadın hissetmiyorum, kendimi non-binary olarak tanımlıyorum ama aynı zamanda non-binarynin de nasıl davranması gerektiğine dair bir sürü fikir ve görüşlerlerle karşılaştım. -L12
50. Ben her yerde sıkış sıkış hissediyorum yani queer toplulukların arasında bile! Çünkü orada da kendini göstermen gerekiyormuş gibi ya... orada da böyle hangimiz daha queeriz yarışmasına dönebiliyor bu dış görünüş bir şekilde önemli olduğu için. Dış görünüş seni belirliyor, yerini belirliyor yani o hiyerarşide. Hiyerarşik bir queer toplum var türkiye'de. -L3
51. Güvenli alan benim için kendimi keşfetmeye iznim olan ve etik, rıza ve sınır kavramlarına saygı duyulan bir noktada mümkün. İstediğim şekilde var olabildiğim bir atmosfer, yargılanmadığım bir yer. Ya da normların ya da başka şeylerin dikte edilmediği, duygularımın görmezden gelinmediği, problemin sadece bende aranmadığı ya da ortamdaki en gelişmeye açık insanın ben olmadığım, bir ilişkide sürekli en çok çabalayanın ben olmadığım… Türkiye'yle olan ilişkimde öyle mesela yani ben hep daha çok çabalıyorum. -L2
52. Ailemle görüşmüyorum bayağı uzun süredir biyolojik alemle yani seçilmiş ailem var ama son bir süredir seçilmiş aile kavramının da acaba bende hani biyolojik aileden gelen oradaki eksikliği tamamlamaya çalıştığım bir şey mi acaba diye biraz sorguladığım için şu an o kavramdan biraz uzaklaşmak istiyorum. -L2
53. Babamın şey bir cümlesi olmuştu hiç unutmuyorum... Bir gün şey dedi Beyoğlu'na gidenler ya ibne oluyor ya da sürtük oluyor tarzı bir şey söyledi. Ben de şeyi çok net fark ettim zaten bu cümlesinden sonra hani dünya tersine dönse bu adam hiçbir şekilde beni kabul etmeyecek. -L7
54. Bence bir ortamı kesinlikle güvenli kılan şey aynı acıları paylaşıyor olmak ve o acıları anlamaktan geçiyor. Örneğin Beyoğlu sineması ya da kadıköy'de Bina. Böyle güvenli barlarda, güvenli yerlerde kendimi rahat bir şekilde ifade edebileceğimi sağlayan şey bu insanların hepsinin en azından, belki benim kadar çok değil, belki benden daha fazla bu yaralayıcı söylemlere maruz kalmış olmaları ve böyle bir backgroundlarının olması. Dolayısıyla ne olursa olsun karşılarındaki insana fiziksel ya da psikolojik olarak bir zarar gelmesini

istemeyeceklerini düşünüyorum. Bu yüzden "biz bizim için varız" düşüncesi alanları güvenli kılıyordu aslında bende. -L7

55. Aslında o benim savunmasız olduğum bir gündü bence. Çünkü günlük yaşamımda buna dair ayığım, bi cis hetero bana öyle bir tavırla yaklaştığında nasıl cevap vereceğimi daha iyi biliyorum. Kendimce kendimi savunma metodlarım var. Ama o gün bunu beklemiyordum çünkü ben güvenli alanımdaydım ve o yüzden o duvarlarımı koymamıştım, kendime hiçbir savunma çizmemiştim. Yanıma gelen herhangi bir insana tamamen kendim olarak yaklaşıyordum. -L3
56. Bunu her zaman aktif olarak deneyimlememiz ve hissetmemiz gerekiyor. Şöyle düşün: Diyelim ki hayatında bir kez güzel bir deniz manzarası gördün ve sakinleşmek için her gün o denizi hayalinde canlandırmaya çalışıyorsun. Bu senin için yeterli mi? Bence yeterli değil. Haftada en az bir kere gidip o denizi görmelisin. Onu en azından haftada bir gidip görmek lazım o denizi onu canlandırabilmek için. Dolayısıyla da bizim bu güvenli alanı yani benim o pride yürüyüşüne gittiğim o gün o kadar polis yasak bilmem neye rağmen hissedebildiğim o güvenli duyguyu düzenli olarak hayatımızda hissedebileceğimiz alanlar yaratmamız ve bunu hissetmemiz gerekiyor -L3
57. Açık konuşmak gerekirse queer olduğunu hissettiğim insanlara cümle aralarında lubunca bir şeyler söylüyorum, böyle bir kalıyorlar istemsiz. Sonra hemen iletişim kurabiliyoruz yani lubunca bence o konuda çok iyi. -L8
58. Depremden sonra Lubunya Deprem Platformu açıldı ve onlara çok minnettarım çünkü onlar sayesinde bir yıldan beri terapi alıyorum bedavaya her hafta ve bu benim için çok iyi oldu yani bütün bu süreci onlar sayesinde terapi alarak çok daha sağlıklı bir şekilde ilerletme fırsatım oldu. -L10
59. Abimden şiddet gördüğüm bir sırada polisi aradım ve bu olay 2023 ocak ayında oldu. Zaten artık bardağı taşıran son damlaydı bu. Polisi aradım, yardım istedim. Yarım saat sonra ki o kadar uzun bir süre ki aslında yarım saat! Yarım saat sonra polis beni özel numarasından aradı ve bana söylediği şey şu: şikayetçi olmayacaksan gelmemize gerek yok. -L7
60. Tamamen farklı zincirlere sarılmış olsak da, hepimiz özgür olana kadar hiçbirimiz gerçekten özgür değiliz. Bu kişilerin de aynı sorunları yaşıyor olması ve böyle hissetmeleri benim için kendimi güvenli alanda hissetmeme sebep oluyor. -L7
61. Benim apartmanımda alt katımda 2 tane seks işçisi oturuyor. Tanışıyoruz ve na-trans seks işçileri bunlar ve onların benim alt katımda oturması bana güven veriyor. Sohbet ettik oturduk ve çok tatlı müthiş insanlar ve alt katımda böyle insanların olması ve mahallemde böyle insanların, öğrencilerin seks işçilerinin transların oluşu beni çok rahat ve mutlu hissettiriyor. Memurlar ve aileler az olduğu ben burada yaşamayı tercih ediyorum. -L10
62. Herhangi bir ilişkilenmede saldırıya uğrama tehlikesi yoksa güvende hissederim. İnsani şartlar altında çalışmak bana güvende hissettiriyor. Patron eziyetine maruz kalmamak bana güvende hissettiriyor. Gerçekten insan olduğum için değer görmek, herhangi bir sıfata maruz kalmadan sadece insan olduğum için değer görmek benim aradığım güvenli alan. Sadece güvenli alanımı bulunca benim görevim bitmiyor. Benim görevim güvenli alan inşa edip güvenli alanı olmayan insanlara yardım etmek. Bu benim en büyük hayalim. -L10

APPENDIX B

APPROVAL OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (Sbinarek)

Sayı : E-84391427-050.04-181732 28.05.2024
Konu : 2024-13T Kayıt Numaralı Başvurunuz Hakkında

Sayın Doç. Dr. Bülent KÜÇÜK

Tez danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz öğrenciniz İrem Sumru Müftüoğlu'nun "Tracing the Resistance: Performative Strategies Against Hate Speech Based on Sexual Identity in Tukey / Direnişin İzini Sürmek: Türkiye'deki Cinsel Kimliğe Dayalı Nefret Söylemine Karşı Performatif Stratejiler" başlıklı projesi ile Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (SBİNAREK)'e yaptığınız 2024-13T kayıt numaralı başvuru 23.05.2024 tarih ve 2024/04 sayılı kurul toplantısında incelenmiş ve projeye etik onay verilmesi uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya on-line olarak katılımıyla ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. Onay mektubu tüm üyeler adına Komisyon Başkanı tarafından e-imzalanmıştır. Bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Saygılarımızla,

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Işıl ERDUYAN
Kurul Başkanı

Bu belge, güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.
Belge Doğrulama Kodu : 0E1G-VYGG-0UB1 Belge Doğrulama Adresi : https://www.turkiye.gov.tr/bogazici-universitesi-ebys

Adres: 34342 Bebek-İSTANBUL
Telefon No:
e-Posta:
Kep Adresi: bogaziciuniversitesi@hs01.kep.tr
Fax No:
İnternet Adresi: www.bogazici.edu.tr
Bilgi için: Nurşen MUNAR
Mühendis
Telefon No:

REFERENCES

Acar, F., & Altunok, G. (2013). The ‘politics of intimate’ at the intersection of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism in contemporary Turkey. Women's Studies International Forum, 41, 14-23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2012.10.001

Ahmed, S. (2004). Affective economies. Social Text, 22(2), 117-139. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-22-2_79-117

Ahmed, S. (2004). The cultural politics of emotion. Edinburgh University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2006). Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects, others. Duke University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2010). The promise of happiness. Duke University Press.

Anna T. (2014). The opacity of queer languages. e-flux Journal, 60. Retrieved from https://www.e-flux.com/journal/60/61045/the-opacity-of-queer-languages/

Article 19. (2009). The Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality. Retrieved from https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/standards/the-camden-principles-on-freedom-of-expression-and-equality.pdf

Arus, A. (2021). “The great chain of being” from religious worldview to secular nationalism. In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 11-25). HDV Publications.

Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. Clarendon Press.

Az, İ., Ensari, P., & Özkan, Ş. (2021). Hate speech in Turkey's print media: The experience of the Hrant Dink Foundation's Media Watch on Hate Speech project. In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 77-95). HDV Publications.

Bailey, J. (2000) Some meanings of ‘the private’ in sociological thought. Sociology Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 381–401. Published online by Cambridge University Press

Balibar, E. (2011). The 68 effect in French philosophy. In G. Elliott (Ed.), Althusser: The detour of theory (pp. 25-43). Brill.

Bennett, W. L., & Pfetsch, B. (2018). Rethinking political communication in a time of disrupted public spheres. Journal of Communication, 68(2), 243-253.

Bernard, H. R. (2002). Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches (4th ed.). AltaMira Press.

Bianet, (2024) Rights-oriented local election journalism guide https://static.bianet.org/2024/01/bianet-hak-odakli-yerel-secim-haberciligi-rehberi.pdf

Bildirici, F. (2021). Ten years of ombudsmen in Turkey's media: The role of the reader representative in the fight against hate speech and discrimination. In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 51-77). HDV Publications.

Bondi, L. (1998). Gender, class and urban space: Public and private space in contemporary urban landscapes, Urban Geography, 19:2, 160-185, DOI: 10.2747/0272-3638.19.2.160 To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.19.2.160

Bonu, G. (2018). Safe spaces as spaces of contention: Toward a feminist approach on contentious politics. 10th Graduate Network Conference 21-23 March 2018. Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences

Bora, E. (2021). Intersectional analysis of critical queer subjectivities in the case of Turkey. Doctoral dissertation, Middle East Technical University. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Ulusal Tez Merkezi.

Bora, T. (2021). Who will save you from the words? In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 11-25). HDV Publications.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). The logic of practice (R. Nice, Trans.). Stanford University Press. (Original work published 1980)

Boy, J. D., & Uitermark, J. (2016). How to study the city on Instagram. PLoS ONE, 11(6), e0158161. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0158161

Brighenti, A. M. (2007). Visibility: A category for the social sciences. Current Sociology, 55(3), 323-342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392107076079

Brown (2012). Homonormativity: A metropolitan concept that denigrates "ordinary" gay lives, Journal of Homosexuality, 59:7, 1065-1072, DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2012.699851 https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2012.699851

Brown, A. (2017). What is hate speech? Part 1: The myth of hate. Law and Philosophy, 36(4), 419–468. https://doi.org/10.1007/ s10982-017-9297-1

Browne, V., Danely, J., & Rosenow, D. (2021). Vulnerability and the politics of care: Transdisciplinary dialogues. British Academy. https://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197266830.003.0001

Butler, J. (1988) Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. Theatre Journal, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), pp. 519-531

Butler, J. (1990). Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993). Bodies That Matter: On the discursive limits of "sex". Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997). Excitable speech: A politics of the performative. Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999) Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. Routledge

Butler, J. (2004). Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence. Verso.

Butler, J. (2016). Frames of war: When is life grievable? Verso.

Butler, J. (2019). What threat? The campaign against “gender ideology”. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 44(3), 573-596. https://doi.org/10.1086/701171

Butler, J. (2021). The force of nonviolence: The ethical in the political. Verso.

Butler, J. (2024). Who’s afraid of gender? Penguin Books UK

Butler, J., Gambetti, Z., & Sabsay, L. (Eds.). (2016). Vulnerability in resistance. Duke University Press.

Çakırlar, C., & Delice, S. (Eds.). (2021). Cinsellik muamması. Metis Yayınları.

Çalı, B., & Helfer, L. R. (2021). The gender of treaty withdrawal: Lessons from the Istanbul Convention. European Journal of International Law. Retrieved from https://www.ejiltalk.org/the-gender-of-treaty-withdrawal-lessons-from-the-istanbul-convention/

Council of Europe. (1997). Recommendation No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on "Hate Speech". Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 30 October 1997. Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/1680505d5b

Council of Europe. (2022). ECRI Report on Turkey (sixth monitoring cycle). Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/ecri-sixth-report-on-turkey/1680a45c9d

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and aex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989(1), 139-167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. Stanford Law Review, 43(6), 1241-1299. doi:10.2307/1229039

Cvetkovich, A. (2003). An archive of feelings: Trauma, sexuality, and lesbian public Cultures. Duke University Press.

Dikmen, J. E. D. (2021). Queer translation of non-literary texts as activism in Turkey. Doctoral dissertation, Boğaziçi University. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Ulusal Tez Merkezi.

Duggan, L. (2002). The new homonormativity: The sexual politics of neo-liberalism. In Castronovo, R., Nelson, D.D. (ed) Materializing democracy: Toward a revitalized cultural politics. Duke University Press

Duong, K. (2012). What does queer theory teach us about intersectionality? Politics & Gender, 8(3), 370-396. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X12000360

DW. (2023, May 30). Turkey: Erdogan keeps up tough talk after election victory. DW. Retrieved from https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-erdogan-keeps-up-tough-talk-after-election-victory/a-65788734

Eng, D. L., Halberstam, J., & Muñoz, J. E. (Eds.). (2005). What's queer about queer studies now? Duke University Press.

Engin, C. (2015). LGBT in Turkey: Policies and experiences. Social Sciences, 4(3), 838-858. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci4030838

European Commission. (2019). Turkey 2019 Report. Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: 2019 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy (SWD(2019) 220 final).

Foucault, M. (1970). The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1972). The archaeology of knowledge. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). The history of sexuality, Volume 1: An introduction (R. Hurley, Trans.). Pantheon Books. (Original work published 1976)

Foucault, M. (1981). The order of discourse. In R. Young (Ed.), Untying the text: A post-structuralist reader (pp. 48-78). Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Foucault, M. (2007). Security, territory, population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978 (G. Burchell, Trans.). Palgrave Macmillan. (Original work published 2004)

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. Social Text, 25/26, 56-80. https://doi.org/10.2307/466240

French Penal Code (Code pénal). (2024). Article 132-76. Retrieved from https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/codes/id/LEGITEXT000006070719/

Gambetti, Z. (2022). Queering performativity. Representations, 158(1), 64-76. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2022.158.7.64

Gibbs, G. R. (2007). Analyzing qualitative data. SAGE Publications.

Göregenli, M. (2013). Nefret söylemi ve nefret suçları. In M. Çınar (ed.), Medya ve nefret söylemi: Kavramlar, mecralar, tartışmalar (pp. 57-75). HDV Publications.

Government Equalities Office. (2019). Hate Crime: A guide for those affected by hate crime. Retrieved from https://www.hampshire-pcc.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/A5-Hate-Crime-Guide-V03.pdf

Graff, A., & Korolczuk, E. (2021). Gender, anti-gender and right-wing populism: Mechanisms of exclusion and resistance. Routledge.

Grosz, E. (2011). Becoming undone: Darwinian reflections on life, politics, and art. Duke University Press.

Grzebalska, W., & Pető, A. (2020, March 30). Backlash: A misleading narrative? LSE Gender Studies Blog. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/03/30/backlash-a-misleading-narrative/

Habermas, J. (1989). The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society (T. Burger & F. Lawrence, Trans.). MIT Press. (Original work published 1962)

Hanhardt, C. B. (2013). Safe Space: Gay neighborhood history and the politics of violence. Duke University Press.

Heckert, J. (2018). Sexuality/identity/politics. In R. Kinna & E. Gordon (Eds.), The Routledge handbook of radical politics (pp. 218-232). Routledge.

İnce, D., & Bezirgan Arar, Y. (Eds.). (2020). Journalism in Turkey: Practices, challenges, opportunities. Peter Lang.

İnceoğlu, Y. (2013). Tartışmalı bir kavram: Nefret söylemi. In M. Çınar (ed.), Medya ve nefret söylemi: Kavramlar, mecralar, tartışmalar (pp. 75-95). HDV Publications.

Kaos GL (2020) "2019 Yılında Türkiye'de gerçekleşen homofobi ve transfobi temelli nefret suçları" Ankara

Kaos GL (2021). 2020 Medya izleme raporu. ed. Yıldız Tar, Ankara

Kaos GL Derneği. (2024). LGBTI+'ların insan hakları 2023 yılı raporu (K. Dikmen, Ed.). Kaos GL Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği.

Kaos GL, (2020). LGBTİ+'ların insan hakları 2019 yılı raporu (Y. Öz, Ed.). Ankara: Kaos GL Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği.

Kaos GL, (2023). 2022 Medya izleme raporu. ed. Yıldız Tar, Ankara

Kaos GL, (2024). 2023 Medya izleme raporu. ed. Yıldız Tar, Ankara

Kaos GL, (2024). LGBTİ+'ların insan hakları 2023 Yılı Raporu. ed. Kerem Dikmen, Ankara

Kaos GL. (2019). 2019 yılında Türkiye'de gerçekleşen homofobi ve transfobi temelli nefret suçları raporu. KAOS GL Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği.

Kaos GL. (2019). Annual Report on Human Rights of LGBTI+ People in Turkey. Retrieved from https://kaosgldernegi.org

Karan, U. (2013). Nefret söylemi ve yakından ilişkili diğer kavramlar: Ayrımcılık, nefret suçu, hakaret. In M. Çınar (ed.), Medya ve nefret söylemi: Kavramlar, mecralar, tartışmalar (pp. 95-127). HDV Publications.

Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (1999). Using Foucault's methods. Sage Publications.

Kentel, F. (2022). Türkiye'de Bir Arada Yaşarız Araştırması: Kutuplaşan toplumda bir arada yaşama kapasitesi. BAYETAV Yayınları.

Koivunen, A. (2010). Yes we can? The promises of affect for queer scholarship. Lambda Nordica, 15(2-3), 40-64.

Korolczuk, E. (2015). The War on Gender» from a Transnational perspective -Lessons for feminist strategising in Heinrich Böll Foundation, Anti-gender movements on the rise? Strategizing for gender equality in Central and Eastern Europe. Publication Series on Democracy, Volume 38. Edited by Katja Giebel and Gert Röhrborn. Heinrich Böll Foundation. https://www.boell.de

Korolczuk, E. (2021). The war on gender: How the global right is reshaping the world. Verso.

Koylu, C. (2020). The rise of anti-gender movements in Turkey. Journal of Gender Studies, 29(3), 343-357.

Kristeva, J. (1982). Powers of horror: An essay on abjection (L. S. Roudiez, Trans.). Columbia University Press.

Kuhar, R. (2022). The rise and success of the anti-gender movement in Europe and beyond. In D. Paternotte & R. Kuhar (Eds.), Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against Equality (pp. 115-122). Rowman & Littlefield.

Kuhar, R., & Paternotte, D. (2018). Disentangling and locating the "Global Right": Anti-gender campaigns in Europe. Politics and Governance, 6(3), 6-19. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v6i3.1557

Kuhar, R., & Zobec, A. (2017). The anti-gender movement in Europe and the educational process in public schools. CEPS Journal, 7(2), 29-46. https://doi.org/10.25656/01:14594

Lemke, T. (2001). 'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. Economy and Society, 30(2), 190-207. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140120042271

LİSTAG. (2023, September 16). Büyük aile buluşması'na dair ailelerimizin açıklaması. LİSTAG. https://listag.org/2023/09/16/buyuk-aile-bulusmasi/

Lloyd, M. (2015). Performativity and Performance. In L. Disch & M. Hawkesworth (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory (pp. 572-592). Oxford University Press.

López-Rabadán, P. (2022). Framing theory and its application in the digital age. Journal of Communication.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide. Family Health International.

Mahmut, Ç. (2013). Önsöz. In M. Çınar (ed.), Medya ve nefret söylemi: Kavramlar, mecralar, tartışmalar (pp. 15-23). HDV Publications.

McEwen, H., & Narayanaswamy, L. (2023). The international anti-gender Movement: Understanding the Rise of Anti-Gender Discourses in the Context of Development, Human Rights, and Social Protection. UNRISD Working Paper 2023-06.

Mill, J. S. (1859/2008). On Liberty. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Milosevic, T., & Livingstone, S. (2018). Protecting children online? Cyberbullying policies of social media companies. MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262037099.001.0001

Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People, 7(1), 23-48. Retrieved from https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=640546

Muñoz, J. E. (1999). Disidentifications: Queers of color and the performance of politics. University of Minnesota Press.

Nikoghosyan, A. (2015). Tools for Change: Collective actions of women's rights activists in Armenia in Heinrich Böll Foundation, Anti-gender movements on the rise? Strategizing for gender equality in Central and Eastern Europe. Publication Series on Democracy, Volume 38. Edited by Katja Giebel and Gert Röhrborn. Heinrich Böll Foundation. https://www.boell.de

Norwegian Penal Code. (2005). Section 185. Retrieved from https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/2005-05-20-28/KAPITTEL_2-11#KAPITTEL_2-11

Ozgul, B. A., & Veneti, A. (2022). The different organizational structures of alternative media: Through the perspective of alternative media journalists in Turkey and Greece. Digital Journalism, 10(8), 1302-1321. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1943482

Özkan, Ş. (2021). Hate speech in the print media of Turkey: A decade's worth of data In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 95-121). HDV Publications.

Özkazanç, A. (2015). Feminizm ve queer kuram. Dipnot Yayınları.

Özkazanç, A. (2020) Bir Musibet: Yeni Türkiye'de erillik, şiddet ve Feminist siyaset. Dipnot Yayınları.

Pascar, L., David, Y., Hartal, G., & Epstein, B. W. (2022). Queer safe spaces and communication. Oxford Research Encyclopedias, Communication. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.1197

Pascar, L., Hartal, G., & David, Y. (2018). Queering Safety? An introduction. Borderlands, 17(1). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326913857_Queering_Safety_An_Introduction

Paternotte, D. (2014). Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality. In R. Kuhar & D. Paternotte (Eds.), Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality (pp. 233-246). Rowman & Littlefield International.

Pető, A., & Grzebalska, W. (2016). The gendered modus operandi of the illiberal transformation in Hungary and Poland. Women's Studies International Forum, 68, 164-172. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2016.06.004

Phelan, S. (2001). Sexual Strangers: Gays, lesbians, and dilemmas of citizenship. Temple University Press.

Puar, J. K. (2007). Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times. Duke University Press.

Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5(4), 631-660.

Richardson, D., (2005). Desiring Sameness? The rise of a neoliberal politics of normalisation. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00509.x

Ringrose, J., & Renold, E. (2010). Normative cruelties and gender deviants: The performative effects of bully discourses for girls and boys in school. British Educational Research Journal, 36(4), 573-596. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920903018117

Robert, D., & Shenhav, S. (2014). Fundamental assumptions in narrative analysis: Mapping the field. The Qualitative Report, 19(38), 1-17. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol19/iss38/3

Salih, S. (2002). On Judith Butler and Performativity. In sexualities and communication. Reprinted by permission.

Savcı, E. (2021). Queer in translation: Sexual politics under neoliberal Islam. Duke University Press.

Scala, E. (2010). Abortion and Identity in Britain and France: From Rights to Practices. Routledge.

Sedgwick, E. K. (1993). Queer performativity: Henry James's The Art of the Novel. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 1(1), 1-16.

Self, J. M., & Hudson, K. D. (2015). Dangerous waters and brave space: A critical feminist inquiry of campus LGBTQ centers. Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 27(2), 216-245. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2015.1022272

Sirman, N. (2016). When Antigone is a man: Feminist 'trouble' in the late colony. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), Vulnerability in resistance (pp. 68-90). Duke University Press.

Stryker, S., & Whittle, S. (2006). The Transgender Studies Reader. Routledge.

Toker, A. (2022). Sosyal bilimlerde nitel veri analizi için bir kılavuz. Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 2022(51, Özel Sayı 1), Ö319-Ö345. https://doi.org/10.30794/pausbed.1112493

Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. Harvard Educational Review, 79(3), 409-427.

Türay, A. (2021). Freedom of expression and combating hate speech. In A. Yılmaz (ed.), Media and hate speech: Perennial questions, current debates (pp. 163-179). HDV Publications.

Türkmen, B. (2024). Gezi direnişinden ketum direnişlere kadınlar ve muhalif Öznellik.

van Dijk, T. A. (2000). Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. An earlier version of this book was used as an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (Open University).

van Dijk, T. A. (2010). Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach. Cambridge University Press

Waldron, J. (2012). The harm in hate speech. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Waldron, J. (2012). The Harm in Hate Speech. Harvard University Press.

Weinstein, J. (2019). Cyber Harassment and Free Speech: Drawing the Line Online. In S. J. Brison & K. Gelber (Eds.), Free Speech in the Digital Age (pp. 52-73). Oxford University Press.

Weintraub, D. (1997). The theory and politics of the public/private distinction. In Weintraub, D., & Kumar, N. (ed.) Public and private in thought and practice: Perspectives on a grand dichotomy (pp. 1-43)

Wikipedia contributors. (2021, June 28). 2021 Boğaziçi University protests. In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved June 30, 2024, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Boğaziçi_University_protests

Wikipedia contributors. (2024, May 16). Suruç bombing. In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 21:59, June 30, 2024, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Suru%C3%A7_bombing&oldid=1224198401

Wikipedia katılımcıları (2024). Ankara Garı Saldırısı. *Vikipedi, Özgür Ansiklopedi*. Erişim tarihi 22.02, Haziran 30, 2024 url:https://tr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ankara_Gar%C4%B1_Sald%C4%B1r%C4%B1s%C4%B1&oldid=33403664.

Wikipedia katılımcıları (2024). İmam hatip lisesi. *Vikipedi, Özgür Ansiklopedi*. Erişim tarihi 22.08, Haziran 30, 2024 url:https://tr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%C4%B0mam_hatip_lisesi&oldid=32662288.

Women's Studies Association (2018). Refugee women in the media: Rights-oriented journalism guide for local media workers https://aramizda.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/017-Medyada_Multeci_Kadinlar_Yerel_Medya_Cal.pdf

Workman, H., & Coleman, C. A. (2014). “The front page of the internet”: Safe Spaces and hyperpersonal communication among females in an online community. The Bob Schieffer College of Communication, Texas Christian University.

Yumul, A. (2013). Nefret suçu ya da ‘ölü vicdanlar ülkesi’. In M. Çınar (ed.), Medya ve nefret söylemi: Kavramlar, mecralar, tartışmalar (pp. 127-137). HDV Publications.

Zengin, A. (2024). Introduction. In Violent intimacies: The trans everyday and the making of an urban world (pp. 1-36). Duke University Press.