Reconceptualization Sexuality and Rethinking Homophobia in Metropolitan Campus Spaces

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Abstract

The Metropolitan city gives non-metropolitan students an opportunity to meet new social groups. In this article, the perceptions of sexuality of those students who come from provincial areas to a metropolitan city for university education are examined within a framework of semi-structured interviews. The study on which this article is based used a mixed-method design to discuss sociological typologies of youth and everyday life for young people in Turkey, particularly in the universities of Istanbul. As the biggest city of Turkey, Istanbul may be considered as the only metropolitan city in Turkey. My aim, in this qualitative study, is to discuss the opinions and perceptions of non-metropolitan students about the metropolitanized province, about relationships between men and women and about their experiences of LGBT student organisations in the metropolitan city.

Key Words: u*niversity youth, metropolitan cities, campus areas, homophobia, gender*

Ninety graduate and undergraduate university students constituted my sample for this study. I determined my test group and control group as the following: sixty five non-metropolitan students in the test group, all undergraduates, and, in the control group, twenty five metropolitan students, comprising both graduate and undergraduate students. Was a mixed group which includes undergraduate students from the metropolitan city, drop outs, and students who have graduated.

The findings are that their views about relationships between men and women and about homosexuality chabge in direct proportion to their process of becoming metropolitanized. When these students reconsider their hometowns in the provinces through existing consumption habits, gender perceptions and attitudes, they come to see the province as metropolitanizing. Based on the narratives of non-metropolitan students, this study tries to touch on how the province is metropolitanized and changes in how these students view relationships between men and women, and to what extent the organizational experiences affect them. In this context, this study shows how LGBT students, based on their organizations in campus areas, make themselves both the subject and the object of social relations.

According to the interviews, freshmen show less tolerance to homosexuality than other students- in the metropolis they become more aware of homosexual existence in the metropolitan city, and aware that homosexuals have their own organizations and institutions such as associations, cafes and bars. Another reason for them developing more tolerance is based on the fact that universities allow homosexual student organizations. Becoming acqainted with people of different sexual orientations through the `metropolization process' helps non-metropolitan students develop more inclusive discourse.

Introduction

Foucault (1982: 781) distinguished a form of power, which applies itself to immediate everyday life by categorizing the individual, marking him/her by his/her own individuality, attaching him/her to his/her own identity and imposing a law of truth which s/he must recognize and others have to recognize in him/her. This form of power makes individuals subjects. According to Foucault, there are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. Foucault asserts that there are three modes of objectification which transforms human beings into subjects (Foucault, 1982: 777-778):

> 1- Modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences; For example, the objectivizing of the speaking subject in *grammaire générale*, philology, linguistics, productive subject, the subject who labors, in the analysis of wealth and of economics, and objectivizing of the sheer fact of being alive in natural history and biology.
> 2- Objectivizing of the subject in what called "dividing practises". Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the "good boys."
> 3- A human being turns himself into a subject. For example, in the domain of sexuality – how men have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of "sexuality."

Foucault's mention of the last mode of objectification as a human being turning himself into a subject can also explain the self-transformation of non-metropolitan students into a university student or a metropolitan urbanite in the process of beginning a metropolitan university.

These students who have achieved metropolitan urbanite and university student identities are aware of discriminating practices between themselves. So, they may be preoccupied with these discriminating practices or internalizing them for their own good in the process of subjectification of themselves. Those practices are sometimes set in a written mode by the metropolis or the university presidency itself. Within all those processes in general, a non-metropolitan high school graduate is transformed

into a metropolitan university student, particularly, she/he is objectified through subjectification in a religious, ethnic, ideological or sexual identity. The form of power applied by the university and the metropolis, marks him/her and imposes him/her a new identity. Targeting the student's everyday life, this form of power subordinates him/her through control and subjection and at the same time, makes him/her attach to its identity. Hence, non-metropolitan students studying in the metropolitan city are objectified as the subject of a religious, ideological, ethnic or sexual identity and those young individuals, objectified through subjectification, are seperated into *translucent peer clans*.

In this work, the concept of *tribe* is taken in the sense that Zygmunt Bauman and Tim May use. Bauman and May (2001: 156) states that an individual "can join the tribe" by dressing in the appropriate code, buying the correct albums and listening to the right music, watching and discussing the same tv programs amd films, decorating their rooms with peculiar posters, spending evenings in the places or exhibiting particular behavioural and consversational patterns, that is, having group-specific things and showing them. The tribes–or *neo-tribes*, which are used by Bauman and May in order to avoid misunderstandings – are essentially lifestyles. They are almost nothing but consumption preferences and the market determines ins and outs of these tribes. For them, post-modernism creates neo-tribalism. Neo-tribes can also be considered as aestheticised communities. Leaving them is easier than leaving communities of kinship. They emerge in the symbols, i.e. appearances, rather than inner essences. Youth cultures deprived of a political program emerge in this way. The symbols representing an attachment are even more significant than social condition. This situation can even go further to mystify the social condition consciously through symbols (Richter, 2012: 237). Although Richter adduces the youth cultures deprived of a political program during this research, it is seen that the youth cultures having a political program can also be evaluated as neo-tribes in the sense Bauman and May suggest. In this context, whether they and their organisations have a political program or not, LGBT students in the metropolitan university campuses, correspond to transclucent tribes.

The general attitude towards sexual relationships and sexuality of the youth in the sample group can be described as libertarian. The non-metropolitan students, on the one hand, state that sexuality should be experienced liberally; on the other hand, they feel uncomfortable with such relationships being out in the open, on public display. In particular they found unacceptable openly sexual lives of the religious symbol-wearing women. Non-metropolitan students' reaction on this issue can be explained through the concept of *buffer mechanisms*. The concept *buffer mechanisms* (Kıray, 2000: 20; 141) was suggested by Mübeccel Belik Kıray as a result of the research

conducted in 1962 in Ereğli to explore how heavy industry enterprise affected a region and how- in which processes- the local inhabitants and the people, who migrated to the region for job opportunities, could adapt themselves to their new social conditions. This concept, can express how the emerging institutions, connections, values and functions, which are not found in both social structures, have roles as ensuring social transformation without conflict and preventing social disorganization. Even though they have differences in terms of purpose, the *buffer mechanisms* concept has some similarities with Harootunian's conceptualization of *in-betweenness*.

> Everyday life refers to the experience of the lived reality that marks the appearance and expansion of industrial capitalism and its propensity to install similar conditions everywhere it is established. [...] [T]he hybrid merely masks a more corrosive and destructive unevenness that distinguishes the everyday. That is, the realization of hybridity, the "in-betweenness," conceals the mix of elements that are being hybridized and thus works to smooth the experience of unevenness of both the colonized and the noncolonized everyday (Harootunian, 2006: 63).

Whereas *in-betweenness* is used to refer to the mechanisms masking inequalities, *buffer mechanisms* can be treated as a whole of solutions, generated to overcome these inequalites. This concept of *buffer mechanisms*, formerly suggested by Kıray to explain moderate social transformation in Ereğli, can be definitely applied to understand some levels of connection university students encounter during metropolitanization. It is possible to approach the mechanisms of reinterpretation and revolting as balancing mechanisms for youth in university because they are exposed to a kind of sharp social transformation and this transformation has impacts upon this subject being happening all at once at, aspects of the transformation at varied speeds.

The Metropolitanized Province and Changing Perception towards Women-Men Relationships

Non-metropolitan students state that consumption habits and moral criteria in the metropolis and in the province have gradually come to resemble each other. One of the reasons behind this resemblance is that producers, manufacturers, reach the provinces through advertisements and franchising. The other reason is the proliferation and distribution of non-traditional consumption patterns by the university students. For instance, Hale from İU talks about how sportswear is *'normalized'* on the streets of her province, Bingöl. While sportswear on the street was a citywide discussed phenomenon three or four years ago, today it is not worth mentioning. Hale has seen people with *'alternative styles'* in terms of clothes, haircut, etc. for the last three years. Nihal from BU also makes a similar observation with Hale.

> "My family lives in the town. Even though it's very small town, the university campuses that had been started there changed the social life. The local youth who see that men and women students are walking around hand in hand were also enlightened. But still, it's not a very comfortable place in terms of relationships between men and women because everybody knows each other. But here, in the city, no one knows anyone and so people can act more freely." (Nihal, BU, Guidance and Psychological Counselling, 1)

Emin from İU, stating he never saw a woman clothed decollete, that is, with a low neckline on her clothes, on the thoroughfare of his district when he just started high school, remarks that people are used to this kind of situation now and that such a transformation makes him sad and angry. Emin thinks that the state's and the private sector's attempts to found new universities in his province, Konya, are a planned operation aiming at violating the moral values there. According to Emin, for example, children of the elite who come to the private universities, pay no attention to neighbourhood pressure when they wear mini skirts and take up a position in favor of their freedoms, and if this happens, religious aspects of the city would be destroyed. It is surprising to hear these statements of Emin, who puts forward the cultural codes of the province when other people's freedom is an issue, since he was excluded from his religious sect and, in his word, he was '*exiled from region to region*', because of his free spirit. The behaviors of the students, who came to the provinces for university education, as a kind of *'change/transformation agency'* or *'pacesetters'* have become an issue, discussed not only among some conservative non-metropolitan university students, but also publicly. In this regard, Mardin Green Crescent chairperson Lütfü Günlüoğlu argued with a written statement that the students, coming from other cities and studying in Artuklu University, produced immorality, which was accelerating moral collapse in the city. Günlüoğlu claims that the day by day accellerating moral collapse and spiritual discontent have influenced everybody profoundly and argues that necessary precautions should be taken. His statement is given below as it is published in the newspapers (Radikal Gazetesi: 30.01.2012):

> "When we learnt that a university was going to be opened in our city, we were all very happy. Since then, our children was going to be able to study in their city, or the students from the close cities was going to come to Mardin which means it was going to develop in all sense. That's really what happened. Mardin started to develop everyday. That improvement was so major, it brought much immorality. Young men and women were hand in hand, arm in arm, necked, were walking for all the world to see, were making love without any shame in front of everyone on midday in the name of freedom and civilisation. The shamelessness that's happening in the big cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir started to be seen occasionally in Mardin, too. First, hand in hand, then snuggling and after kissing lip on the lips all the road to the de facto adultery are in progress. Those behaviours must be stopped right away. Those impertinent ones must be warned everywhere."

As can be seen, an NGO representative in a province feels obliged to warn the students, who come to the university founded in their city, because they try to behave accordingly to the lifestyle of the metropolis and the representative names this as shamelessness. Emin, one of the non-metropolitan students, expresses similar concerns.

Considering the result of the interviews, it can be inferred that moral values, consumption patterns and commodities or, broadly speaking, the execution, exhibiting, of lifestyles in public spaces all over Turkey have gradually differentiated and expanded to the the extent found in the metropolis. Non-metropolitan students' ideas on sexuality change/transform substantially in the process of metropolitanization. In this sense, it can be suggested that the inner province the non-metropolitan students have in their mind is also metropolitanized. This process is realized through a set of expectations, incentives and inhibitions. It seems that one of the non-academical expectations of non-metropolitan students is flirting openly in the university environment. Elif from İU thinks that non-metropolitan students consider the university environment as a kind of 'cruising' space because of the things told to them by others about the university:

> "It's been told to the people when they started to learn about their sexuality, in secondary school, in high school that it's better you don't experience a sexual relationship now because in university you'll be adult and you'll be able to find more conscious people there and you can experience there. The teachers, the families, everyone around says that. So, I'm sorry to tell that but when they're in university, they're just acting like obsessed with that, and just looking for this." (Elif, İ.U, Finance, 1)

It is also expected by acquaintances of the students studying in a university in the metropolis. Ozan from BU, mentioning that he is not able to find a girlfriend due to his concentration on political activism, says that he cannot express this to his family:

> " I'm telling my mum that I've never had a girlfriend. And she says, sonny you're fooling us. I've friends here who study too, they hear from their families. Their families are even more religious, so when my family learns about what their children do, they're thinking that our son is young, he can do too. But it's not making any change if I talk to my family." (Ozan, B.U, Economy, 1)

Ozan states in the interview later on that the reason of this perception is the high visibility of flirting from bilboards to TV series and it is so striking that it turns into an imposition, especially on young people. It means, flirting as a simulacrum presents itself as truth via media. Thus, life and media melt into each other once (Baudrillard, 1994: 55). For this reason, a non-metropolitan student's acquaintances, notably his/her

family, think that he/she has relationships necesarily and when he/she claims he/she doesn't have such a flirting/relationship, his/her family don't believe him/her. An imaginary relationship/flirt, turned into simulacrum, imposes itself as truth on everyday life.

Hale from İU, stating that she tries to preserve the relevance of conservative values in her life, considers that a university student should be able to have a free sexual life. However, owing to the aforementioned values, she tries to behave more carefully on this issue. For Hale, her headscarf is burden on her at this point. She states that if she sees a couple kissing each other and the girl doesn't have any headscarf, that would not make her uncomfortable, but the reverse would certainly make her uncomfortable. Although she describes this attitude as *'bigotry'*, she says that the reality she experiences is like this. Hale indicates additionally that if the male person of the kissing couple has any religious symbol such as a beard shaved appropriately for islamic rules, she would not feel uncomfortable. It is possible to interpret that Hale generates a tactic[i] to mitigate the burden of her personal choice by sharing it or wanting to share it with the other people similar to her. For Hale, who operates the buffer mechanisms that Kıray uses in her theoretical framework, woman, particularly those wearing the headscarf, must be "more morally justified." Ozan from BU thinks in a similar way to Hale. He mentions, a student should not have any social code about sexuality imposed, but the that student must have his/her personal boundaries.

> "If there's a rule on sexuality that needs to be within the individual. I guess this is conscious. I don't agree the moral codes on that topic. If the individual's conscience is comfortable, than s/he should act freely. Sexuality is also the people's weakest moment. I think that having a sexual relationship with someone you don't know about, is totally wrong. I'm wondering how someone can be open that much. In reality, in a sexual relationship you're sharing more than bodies, you're sharing emotions." (Ufuk, İU Mathematics, 1)

Sometimes, even a casual visit to the metropolis would make people feel more free. When Hale's cousin came to visit her in the metropolis together with her cousin's fiance(e), they wandered holding, joining hands. Hale states that she was so surprised to see them with joining hands. The impact of living in the metropolis as easing social pressures is again observed in this example. Derya from İBU, is also in the same camp with Hale, but despite thid. Derya has a very different world view and life style and thinks that people should not have boundaries in terms of sexuality. However, some of the other non-metropolitan students still do not take kindly to an active sexual life before marriage. Cansu from BU criticizes religious marriage practice among some conservative young people, which is carried out without notifying families, due to the role of this practice as associating marriage with sexuality.

" Halal is enough for pleasure.[*] But the religious marriage without notifying the family shouldn't be seen as wedding. But is that possible, yes, people can. In the dorm which my brother stays, it's been told that 'we'll be sponsor to anyone who likes to marry.' " (Cansu, BU, Psychology, 1)

Zahit, desribing himself as religious and conservative, opposes the relationships under religious marriages:

"Humankind is a caliph who's given life to the the world and who has will and brain. Sexuality needs to be experienced, it's not possible to chain yourself till the end of your university. But that needs to be lived in a system, an unity with a wedding, that's how you should live. That wedding doesn't even need to be a religous one, it can be a modern wedding too. But, living a life where you're here for one day, and there for another one is not a humanistic way, it's animalistic. And that can take you into the hell. I think that the marriage that is only a religious marriage is not good because I don't trust the men. It promotes men just using women and then divorcing them, that's what happens nowadays." (Zahit, İU, Faculty of Theology and Education of Religion and Ethics department in the Faculty of Education, 2)

Emin from İU thinks that the social athmosphere in Istanbul makes him vulnerable to sin at any moment:

" Even we're used to it, sometimes I feel very attracted to a woman that I see on the street. And then I think I'm commiting a sin. I'm asking forgiveness from God. I want myself to be strong. So, I'm trying to stay away from being attractive. " (Emin, İU, Theology, 3)

Ragıp states that the religious communities, where non-metropolitan students live, establish some rules as to how the students should behave in the faculties :

"The Gülen community tells about living in İstanbul. They say don't go often to Istiklal Avenue and entertainment venues. Even, do not have conversation with women. They are not even looking positively on students exchanginge lecture notes. Recently, I was talking with my friend from the Hüdayi community. He has got a girlfriend and of course he's not talking about that in the community, it's a secret because none of the communities would allow that. That friend told me, he was able to read two books every week, but now he's not able to finish even one. And I told him that you should talk less on the phone and message each other less." (Ragıp, İU, Theology, 3)

As can be seen in Ragıp's discourses, non-metropolitan students seek logical justifications as a coping mechanism with the rules imposed on them. The public and educational spaces of the entire Faculty of Theology and Education of Religion and Ethics department in the Faculty of Education in İU such as classrooms, lecture halls and canteens are gender segregated, with women and men sitting seperately. Any

violation of this rule, in fact, any exceptional *'uses'* (De Certeau, 1984:30) –modes of action, practice and production– in the sense that De Certeau applies, are directly *'corrected'* by the university instructors.

> "We, men and women are sitting seperately. It gives a kind of comfort here. The people who stay in the dorms of the community generally don't deal with us or other friends. In the lecture hall, if there's a noticeable affinity between a man and a woman student, we can see that the teacher criticizes with his glances and speeches. This is a gender seperation which is supported by the teachers too. Of course society has values too, especially the values that are important if you're dealing with the religion. We've a friend who doesn't wear a head scarf and the teachers are also criticising that. But that's not a concern among the students. Actually, I'm not sure if it's a good or bad thing to seperate men and women so much. There's just a conversation in the toilet. The women who don'tt know about the opposite sex create irrational fear barrier for themselves. Then, when they are faced with a situation, some women act silly because all the time she has suppressed the need for knowing about interacting with men. So, she acts silly. It even goes beyond that. The man asks for the lecture notes and the woman acts silly, that's happened. She's just giving the notes without saying anything." (Nejla, İU, Faculty of Theology and Education of Religion and Ethics department in the Faculty of Education, 2)

While Nejla, studying in Education of Religion and Ethics depatment of İU, brainstorms on to what extent existing gender based spatial divison is justifiable, Emin from the Faculty of Theology of İU even does not find it goes far enough. When he stated that "you have probably seen how these girls try to show themselves off to boys and how the boys swagger around to ingratiate themselves with the girls," the interviewer remarked that what she/he observed was a canteen where the boys and girls sit seperately. Emin continued as:

> "If we are going to look at them, they're not sitting together, but they have eyes to look at each other, don't they? The woman who sits, looks at the man foolishly, the man who sits looks at another woman foolishly. Everyone glances at each other in the canteen. This is what happens in the Theology department frequently and I like to look around." (Emin, İU, Theology, 3)

After pointing out that in the Faculty of Theology's canteen *'girls and boys throw glances at each other'* more than any other faculty canteen, Emin expresses his opinions about students studying in other faculties:

> "Except for the theology department, friendships between men and women turn into amusement. They start to go out together. Then they go to the bar in Taksim together, and after that it goes even beyond ugliest. What I mean by saying ugliest is that, the sexuality. You need to keep away yourself from that situations in İstanbul. I can even say that the ratio of graduat women who are virgins from some university departments is less

then 15-20 %. This has been told to us by our big brother who deals with them. I've stayed in the dorms of the Gülen community, I'm dealing with different people. I asked many people about the environment of the university. I went to spring festival last year, too. Feridun Düzağaç performed. Men and women couples were making love on each corner, the concert was just an excuse; it was dark at night, there's trees, all green, nobody was interested in the concert, everyone was in progress of making love. Youth has been put in that situation. I think that's beyond corruption. Many of them were coming from the other cities, but we're sent here by our families for education. They're just creating their fantasies like; If you're in İstanbul, will you not go to the Taksim? or to the bar, or visit Bebek, or do this in the Bosphorus or that, or if you'll not watch the sea by sitting beside with your lover on seaside. People are just thinking in that way, but forgetting their reasons to come here, putting aside their education. " (Emin, İU, Theology, 3)

The example given by Emin, who defends the idea that gender based discrimination is natural and religious, is interesting. He says that the Kapu Mosque neighbourhood, functioning as main market in his province Konya, was regarded as *'men's private area'* thirty years ago and a woman was not able to enter into this area; if a woman wanted to pass by, nitric acid was thrown at her face. Emin, emphasizing that he heard this from its witnesses, understands nitric acid throwing at those women's face, since they entered into men's place. One of the points he complains of is the fact that the neighbourhoods around the university, founded in his province, were transformed into hotbeds, where *'girls and boys swarm, wander and spoon together.'*

Erdal from BU argues that young people must go beyond the sexual taboos and live out their sexualities liberally. Besides, in the beginning of the interview, he declares, the virginity of the woman he would supposedly marry is important to him. Torn between liberal and public moralities, Erdal affims that this attitude he exhibits is a reaction to excessive degeneration. In spite of the fact that he reacts so ambivalently in terms of moral standing and attitude, he acts with the help of a buffer mechanism, smoothing the way of the metropolitanization process. A similar mechanism is generated by particularly women non-metropolitan students within a different framework. For instance, Çiğdem from BU, by pointing out her sexual perspective is divergent from any other man, remarks that:

"A woman wants to be loved, appreciated while in a sexual relationship. She wants to be able to feel that she's respected. She wants that the man is aware of the relationship which gives so much happiness to both of them, not just fulfilling the sexual need. I think it'll be harmful for a woman if she's in any other kind of relation than that one. That's against the nature of the woman." (Çiğdem, BU, Education of Science, 1)

Just after mentioning that she is against the commodification of women' bodies, Eda from İU adds that she has a metropolitan lover, even so, since she doesn't define

herself by this relationship, she doesn't put her lover at the center of her life. Her way of defining herself in terms of socialist ideology can be seen from what she says:

> "Since the university is a more libertarian space, the people who lives there are living their sexual life more freely. There needs to be some special cases for that. I think it doesn't need to be a place where the women's bodies are commoditized totally. Women need to be more conscious about that. I had a boyfriend who lives in İstanbul. He was not at the center of my life. I was in a relationship with him since he was in my life. Loving each other makes both life more beautiful, it enlivens my life, those are very nice feelings." (Eda, İU, Sociology, 3)

Reviewing Çiğdem's and Eda's words, it appears that women seem more vulnerable to be negatively affected by the liberal moralist discourses. This fact is also found in the moral dilemma of Erdal, who supports free love on the one hand and submits that he wants to marry with a virgin on the other hand. Albeit the non-metropolitan students utter that everybody can live their sexuality freely, they keep to the moral understanding, the moral code, they inherit from their provincial social life sneakingly, signifying a more closed cultural structure.

The needs of students, who start their university education in the metropolis, in finding a love partner are determined through media as a simulacrum. In the beginning, the family of a student does not believe that he/she lacks a partner. In the faculties and departments where religious education is central, a sharp gender based separation in the classrooms, in the canteens and in almost all realms of life is observed and this seperation is supported by those faculties' and departments' instructors. Non-metropolitan students think that women are more fragile in the flirting relationships and practices like religious marriage aggrieve especially women. The religious and ideological affiliation of persons also have impact upon their opinions on relationships between men and women. Even though non-metropolitan students acknowledge unrestrained relationships between men and women at a discursive level, it can be predicted that they would exhibit a more traditional attitude at the time of marriage due to their inherited moral understanding from provinces.

Changes in the Opinions of the University Students Towards LGBT Individuals and Towards Their Peers

The metropolis gives non-metropolitan students an oppourtunity to meet new social groups that they have not encountered before. When non-metropolitan students talk about the social groups that they encountered for the first time, they particularly talk about LGBT individuals. Meeting LGBT individuals and peers happens in public places in the city or in the university. The factors like LGBT individuals' relatively higher visibility in the metropolitan city space in comparison with the provinces, and

the existence of LGBT student organizations in the universities included in the sample, make these encounters easier. As an example, Yasin from İU states, the only social group he found strange when he arrived in İstanbul was transvestites. He indicates that he started to take them normally after a while. Ozan from BU, similar to many other non-metropolitan students, gives his encounter with homosexual students as an example in responding to the question of what kind of contact he has with different groups that he did not connect with before. He participated in the project 'Yaşayan Kütüphane [Living Library]', organized collectively by Boğaziçi Community Volunteers, Social Services and Lubunya student clubs, he visited one of LGBT organizations's office in Taksim for the first time during this event. Ozan talks about this experience as:

> "It was very different. When I looked at them, I saw the people who I was making fun of.... But since they're discriminated against so much, I realized that .... some of them were really very good. What I mean is that, like everyone else, there are some people who are going in the wrong direction, but also there are some of them who are going in the right direction, there's only one aspect that is different from other people in general. So, those experiences of mine really did not change any of my perspectives about homosexuality or lesbianism, but it has changed my view about the people who are homosexual and lesbian. I could normalise those people. So, I've normalised living with those people one way or another." (Ozan, BU, Economy, 1)

LGBT students, organized in all three universities included in the sample, do not have troubles in terms of visibility in these universities. Ozan notes how his viewpoint towards homosexuality has changed after his contact with Lubunya student club, active in BU, as:

> "I've looked in to homosexuality. Like who said what. But I couldn't find a reliable source. They're many different views. What I find out is that: they don't all have the same genetic common value. Circumstances or some other factors may affect that. But, I think this is not problem. It's not something that can create problems in terms of human relations. Lubunya has very big effect on my view about that. It's really very important. " (Ozan, BU, Economy, 1)

When they cannot obtain information about areas where there are complicated debates, university students try to gather these information from the reality of life. Ozan noted that going to an LGBT meeting one day and to a congregational meeting the next seems normal to him. Non-metropolitan individuals think that the metropolis normalizes coexistense of differences and even contradistinctions and as long as they string along with this normalization, they also change.

This position resembles Goffman's dramaturgical society approach to a large extent. According to Goffman (1956: 6), "Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in a correspondingly appropriate way." In this context, non-metropolitan students see that conceiving of homosexuality as an innate orientation is a metropolitan behaviour. For instance, Hasan from İU reflects that homosexuality is an innate orientation and a person's sexual orientation is determined when he/she is still a child. And, similarly, Nejla from İU thinks that homosexuality is an innate orientation, not an illness, which needs to be cured. Serkan from İBU mentions, as a result of research he did he was convinced that bisexuality is the natural orientation of humanity, however, due to religious norms and *simulations* that the market economy creates and imposes, he prefers to live heterosexual life.

> "I think we all have bisexual tendencies when we are born. The people may have lived bisexually when there were no religious laws or social impacts. This is not my choice now, but if this is natural so I might have been happier now, I don't know about that. But, today, aesthetical perception is something that can be formed artificially. There are women's bodies shown in both advertisements and porn. So, the woman body starts to excite me. I'm happy with that, but there're some people who are not." (Serkan, İBU, International Relations, 4)

Likewise, Ufuk from İU states that the human is bisexual in its natural condition and homosexuality is an orientation:

> "I started to think about homosexuality after I've started to live in İstanbul. I met with the Radar LGBT group, I had gay friends too. I think the natural condition of the every human being is bisexuality. Then, the individual chooses heterosexual or gay relationships. In that perspective, I think homosexuality is a natural orientation." (Ufuk, İU, Mathematics, 1)

The opinions of Başak from BU, who encountered homosexual people in the metropolis for the first time and became friends with them, are as following:

> "I think that homosexuality is not an illness but something genetic. Those people say that's how I was born, I was born differently. But what I think is that the first reason why people have a tendency toward that is their family life. All the gay and lesbian people that I know did not have normal family life. The researches say that especially the children whose' parents are seperated or the father's been cheated and the ones who was harassed and abused have that kind of tendency. I think the homosexuality is something which comes to light with all those other things. I think it's unnatural. And this is pointed in our religion too. I can not talk more deeply about that like what's the main reason of homosexuality, what kind of emotional situation the people are in and needing that, because I've limited knowledge. Indeed the existence of the gay student club in the

unversity, changed my view to become more tolerant and polite for gay people. But we never discussed homosexuality with my gay friends, like why they're feeling in that way because when i start to talk about those things, they're creating a barrier that's also because i'm wearing headscarf." (Başak, BU, Pre-school Teaching, 2)

Having a conservative worldview and demonstrating this view by means of wearing a headscarf, Başak notes that she does not consider homosexuality as an illness but it is the result of bad family life or sexual harrasment. Başak, who has homosexual friends, states that the existence of an organization defending homosexual rights softened her point of view and she is now more tolerant towards them. But still she avoids talking to them on the issue of homosexuality. Since the headscarf constitutes a kind of firewall between her and the others, she thinks that, it prevents her from talking about these issues. Elif from İU reflects that previously she thought homosexuality was something innate, but that now she does not think in this way, and this is under the influence of the bestseller novels she read:

"When I was in high school, I was thinking that the homosexuality is an innate orientation, that's choosen by them, that's how they feel and they must not be forced to anything else than what they are. But, with the effect of the some detective novels that I've read -like Jean Christophe Grange, Tess Garretsen-, I've started to think that some of the events which one has lived in childhood may trigger homosexuality and that's why those people have to choose that option." (Elif, İU, Finance, 1)

Hayrettin from İU attributes his opinions on homosexuality to the culture that he inherits from Gülen organization:

"I don't have deep knowledge about homosexuality but I've listened about it during one of the semons by Fethullah Gülen. There're some easy spirited people, this is something inborn. But it's not just inborn, it's starting by seeing lifestyle practices which affect you, and if you've also a potential for that, everything is set up. Potential is something that you may have these feelings inside you but you don't live in that way, because there's no social environment in which to do so. It can be rules or strong neighborhood pressure which stops that. It's kind of a dilemma, how you need to deal with homosexuals- you can not get angry, you can not stop getting angry. My religion certainly forbids homosexuality. But I do not feel comfortable with the fact that there's pressure against those people, they're getting oppressed. But in a religious perspective, how gay people live upsets me. I'm in that kind of dilemma. " (Hayrettin, İU, Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, 2)

Along with thinking that Islam forbids homosexual acts, Hayrettin reveals, he *feels offended by'* pressures upon homosexuals. Although he acknowledges the novelties brought by the metropolis, he propounds backtaking about the topic of homosexuality. Goffman approaches this kind of attitudes as a cycle of disbelief to belief. For

Goffman, who describes the acts of an individual (or of a performer) in the society as performances, sincerity and cynicism within an individual relocates in itself against peformances according to the existing circumstances and time. As an illustration, a raw recruit who conforms to the rules of army at the beginning 'to avoid physical punishment' may turn into an individual who conforms to these rules 'not to be ashamed' by his organization or to be respected by 'his officers and fellow-soldiers.' The recruits of the professions holding the public in religious awe follow in general a reverse direction as cycle (Goffman, 1956:12) . Probably Hayrettin that cannot associate the metropolitanization norm imposed on him with religious doctrine, however, he follows the path where he internalizes this norm. Although both have conservative world views, while Başak perceives homosexuality as an abnormality, Hayrettin, who has lived in the Gülen community for years, takes it as an innate orientation. This perceptional differentiation among conservative students is also seen among the students of the Faculty of Theology. Staying in the guest houses of Özgür-Der, which has an activist islamic ethos, Semra describes homosexuality as an illness. On the other hand, Bahar, who is affiliated with the Gülen community, views it as an orientation. Likewise, for Yasin from İU, homosexuality is not an illness, but an orientation. The increased visibility of homosexuality in the metropolitan spaces and in the universities made Yasin more tolerant towards it. He says:

> " By seeing them more and more, it was easy for me to say that this can be normal. If I had seen them in high school, there'd have even been a fight. Even if I was not going to do anything, I could attack them verbally while I was on the street, for sure. " (Yasin, İU, Geography, 1)

According to Meral from İBU, who is a member of the same community as Yasin, homosexuality is an innate orientation. And for Faruk from BU, who stayed in the guest houses of Gülen community when he just started at university, again, it is an orientation. Another student from this community, Ragıp, states that he perceives homosexuality as an orientation, however, he cannot help himself getting angry owing to the given information:

> "Homosexuality is not an illness, I think it's an orientation. But when I see them on the street, I get mad. I guess, somehow I've learned to be disgusted." (Ragıp, İU, Theology, 3)

Among others, Faruk from BU, who has been a follower of the Gülen community since high school and stayed in Gülen guest houses when he started university, has a homosexual relative, who came out to him:

> "When I first came to university I was impressed. There's an orientation program, and the first desk was the Lubunya student club. They're having a conversation, laughing, having fun. It was the first time in my life that I saw people like that expressing themselves so

> easely, I was impressed with that and I liked that because when I was in high school, my cousin told me that he was gay. At that time I was really surprised. I didn't know how to behave, what to say. I never would have guessed that people in the world can be in that situation. Someone could be a gay, but my cousin not. Even if I was not going to understand him, - and for sure I was not- I tried to help myself." (Faruk, BU, Education Faculty of Computer and Instructional Technologies Teaching, Prep-class)

The process of surprise and acceptance is expressed by a homosexual student, Burak, broadly as:

> "What I can say, based on my personal experiences is that: many of the homophobic people are finding themselves in a dilemma, when they find out that one of their close friend is gay. So they either need to continue their life as homophobes and stop that friendship, or they need to continue their friendship and stop being homophobic. In such cases many people choose their friends. In that sense, visibility of gays defeats homophobia. (Burak, İBU, Pyschology, 1)"

As Faruk from BU and Burak from İBU mention, finding out that a friend whom someone has close connection with is a LGBT individual pushes him/her to a compelling phase where he/she has to make a choice. LGBT bodies, rambling in the metropolitan university spaces more comfortably, help their peers overcome their biases concerning LGBT individuals' existences by means of the organizations they find. Yet, it is not enough by itself; factors like the opinions of the organizations/translucent tribes on the issue of homosexuality and university curriculums serve functions as preventers or facilitators in the processes of acceptance and normalization.

University Educational Curriculums and the Reproduction Process of Homophobia

In the light of the data, gathered in the field, the defeat of homophobia is not only dependent on the visibility of LGBT individuals. In addition to this, it seems, the state of to what extent a university curriculum includes or excludes gender and LGBT literatures is also a determinant in the levels of homophobia among non-metropolitan university students.

Neriman from İBU, describing herself as a modern-conservative, notes that she does not perceive homosexuality as an illness but an orientation. By saying "It does not seem bizarre to me; actually, owing to my university education I receive I began thinking so" Neriman states, the courses she took in the department of sociology in İ. Bilgi University have changed her mind on this issue. Another young woman with a

headscarf, Şermin from BU, explains that the atmosphere where she has been studying has changed her point of view towards homosexual people.

> "I'm thinking for a while that the homosexuality is an orientation. I've experienced that gay people are not bad and I do not understand why they're excluded. They're pretty much friendly, cosy. I'm totally against them being discriminated against just because they're different." (Şermin, Department of Early Childhood Education, 3)

In a focus group discussion with a cluster of metropolitan and non-metropolitan university students from İU Cerrahpaşa Faculty of Medicine, Alpaslan, who introduces himself as feeling affiliated with a conservative lifestyle, reflects that relationships with the opposite sex should not go beyond romanticism. He also adds that he has a partner now and he can talk about his problems regarding his partner with other girl friends. But when he first arrived in Istanbul, he says, he could not say even "hello" to anyone and his changed position now reminds him that he is metropolitanized enough to talk to his friends of the opposite sex comfortably. While Alpaslan, a doctoral student, pronounced that homosexuality is a pathological, unacceptable phenomenon that needs to be cured, his friends warned him that such an illness does not exist in the literature. In return for Alpaslan's insistence on his opinion, his classmate Alper responded as "homosexuality is an orientation but it is e homophobia that needs to be cured." This discussion initiated between two classmates demonstrates that non-metropolitan students may have different opinions on the same issue because- opinions conform to their lifestyles and ideological standpoints. While Alpaslan describes himself as a young man who changed his position from strict conservatism to more moderate conservatism, which he named as social conservatism, Alper describes himself as an activist who voluntarily supports LGBT organizations in his university and in İstanbul. Joining in the discussion, Ahmet asked Alper if the word orientation used for homosexuality refers to an innate characteristic. And Dilara contributed to the discussion by responding to Ahmet's question by saying that homosexuality is an impulsive behaviour. Alpaslan repeated that homosexuality is something that would cause disorder in society and needs to be cured. Whereupon, Dilara sparked the debate by stating "maybe it is the homophobic people who have the disorder." Following this, Alpaslan said that his "starting point is, actually, his perception as homosexuality is a sin since the God created humanity with a woman and a man; if homosexuality had been normal, the God would have created humanity unisexual but did not." As a counterposition to his words, Alper argued:

> "What I want to tell is that it's sin or not, that's something else. For example, we're not interfering the people who drink alchol even though they're muslim because that's something between God and the creature. If I'm a man and loving another man this is not anyone business even though this is a sin. That's something between me and God.

Therefore it's not true to say in public that that's a sin and forbidden so you're not allowed to do." (Alper, İU, Medicine, 4)

When Tayfun said to Alper "what you say is true but proliferation and publicity of this phenomenon may disorder society", Dilara reacted: " homosexuality is already there, common in society." Alpaslan put an end to the discussion on behalf of himself by remarking:

"Obviously I'm totaly disapproving and against those things. As I said, it's because of my religious opinions and also the fact that it will do no good to the pyschological and physical health of the society. That's something that doesn't need to exist for sure." (Alpaslan, İU, Medicine, 4)

Alper responded to Alpaslan's statements:

"I respect that even though I don't agree and I'm disapproving. Nobody has to agree or approve that. For example, I can be in a relation with a woman, and others can disapprove with that. That's normal, nothing to say about. This is your idea. But is it correct to call it pathological just because you're disapproving?" (Alper, İU, Medicine, 4)

As can be seen in the transcriptions of this focus group discussion among the students of faculty of medicine, even doctoral candidates are not furnished with academic information on whether homosexuality is an illness. This information deficit is a serious problem for the entire educational system, notably for the field of medicine because, in a field where information is lacking, assumptions and biases trigger young people's decision mechanisms. These young students have opinions through their lifestyles and ideological standpoints and while using these opinions as arguments in the discussions, they have difficulties. As another illustration to explain this situation, the viewpoints of Çiğdem from BU can be proposed. She is in the same vein with Alpaslan from İU. Çiğdem mentioned that she had a very serious relationship with a man who came out to her as a bisexual and she said that she did not have any problem with it. However, after a while, she realized that her partner was a gay and that he cheated on her with other men. This experience gave rise to reemergence of homophobia in her mind, even though she has close gay friends:

"I see the homosexuality as a sign of apocalypse for a while. It's something damned by the Koran. My best friends are homesexual but they need to be aware that what they do is damned. In my opinion, they need to find a way to be treated or they need to stop their sexual activities. I've talked with them too, but they're just brushing off by saying that God created us that way. But I don't judge anyone." (Çiğdem, BU, Education of Science, 1)

Seda, a student in BU Psychology department, claims that homosexuality is something innate but should be corrected. With regard to this, a friend of Seda sitting in the next table asked her: "Once the İstanbul University Vice Chancellor established persuasion rooms to rehabilitate women who wore the headscarf; what is the difference between that woman and you in terms of oppressive mentality?" Seda answered this question as "It was human beings who imposed the headscarf ban, thus it is a violation of freedom; whereas forbidding homosexuality comes from God; God the creator knows what human beings want, it is a trial and it must be corrected. After her friend said "you are studying psychology and you know that homosexuality is eliminated from the psychiatrical disorders list but why are you still talking about homosexuality as if it is a mental illness", Seda responded her friend:s "we know under which rationale it was eliminated from the list; I do not despise them and I would probably meet a homosexual individual when I become a therapist. I try to understand them; I think it is trial of God and must be corrected. This is my belief and I cannot change it, I think I should help them." Abdüssamet from İU, who stays in the student houses of the Süleymanist community, puts his reaction into words by saying 'For me, it is incomprehensible for a rational person to choose homosexuality.' Abdüssamet insists that homosexuality is a matter of choice.

Although university curriculums in the metropolis help vititating this ideological standpoint, which leads expecially conservative students to perceive LGBT existence as taboo, homophobia among the non-metropolitan students has also different roots than university curriculums.

Politics and LGBT Organization in the Metropolitan Universities

University atmosphere in the metropolis is largl affected by the ways in which politics is acted out, and by the political climate there. I already mentioned that LGBT organizations are transformed into translucent peer tribes. Within this scope, participation of LGBT organizations in anti-capitalist discourses and protests make people with a socialist worldview more sympathetic towards them. To give an example, Eda from İU states that she understands homosexuality as an orientation and LGBT organization in the university should work more vigorously:

> "Homosexuality is an orientation for sure, I'm totally against the argument that it's an illness, and I discuss with the ones who says that. I am even joining the discussions in women groups, there are two sexes- man and woman- but there are seven orientations. Homosexuality is also an orientation. Those people need to be living their life freely. I know people from the Radar. It would have been great if they're very active. If they're more powerfull, it would normalise homosexuality on in public opinion." (Eda, İU, Sociology, 3)

Hebun from BU who describes himself as a Kurdish activist and represents this symbolically –even he has a yellow, red and green coloured, knitted scrunchy on his hair– explained that the political party he supports, the BDP, is the only one who advocate in Patliament for homosexual identity. He talks about his willingness to collaborate with LGBT individuals both in his private life and under the name of his party, the BDP. Hebun comments on the issue of some LGBT individuals' assimilation into the political line of BDP:

> "When I was studying in prep class my best friend was in love with me. He also had a socialist background. I told him that, we need to give some time, let's not be enemies after starting a relation and brake up. In time, first he announced that he's gay and than a transsexual. We're still very good friends. He's a socialist, but nowadays he's known as a Kurdish supporter because of his political views." (Hebun, BU, English Literature and Language, 2)

LGBT friendly discourses of socialist groups and political parties constitutes a pervious strata between LGBT individuals and them. However, socialist discouses of LGBT organizations produced with the help of this perviousness prevent some homosexual individuals from taking part in these organizations. One of these people is Burak from İBU. This is his second university. He left the Engineering department in Middle East Technical University since he felt unhappy there. He says, he has now a great circle of friends, more appealing to him. Participating actually in the efforts of LGBT individuals in his university to found a club there and stating that he is a gay, he especially underlines the fact that he is not an activist. Indicating that he cannot understand what LGBT organizations share with socialist ones, Burak also describes himself as a solid capitalist. He argues that LGBT individuals can gain their freedom by means of money. As a gay, Burak states, he takes part in İstanbul's night life effortlessly since he has money to afford it. He associates his freedom discourse, which he constructs through being able to make fun, with his good financial situation. Another non-metropolitan student from the same university with Burak, Özcan, explains how his sexual identity politicized him as:

> "There are associations and spaces where I can be myself in Istanbul. I've a circle of friends. I'm not hiding myself and I don't have to live feeling guilty. But even that circle is too small, I'm being forced to go beyond that circle. That forces me to be political one way or another. For example, if I'm asked a question like if I've a girlfriend or not, that pressumes that I'm heterosexual. So, when I say, no, I'm a gay, what I'm doing is a kind of political act." (Özcan, İBU, Media and Communication Systems, 4)

Özcan notes that due to statements made by a wing of political institutions propounding that homosexuality as a mental illness or a deviance, he feels anxious

and inferior; and he announces, he thinks about leaving the country because of this feeling:

> "Homosexuality is an orientation, by the way, this is not my opinion. People always ask questions to understand; though they are friendly, it is something backbreaking at one point. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association and in 1993 the World Health Organization declassified homosexuality as a mental disorder. I was surprised because of the minister of family's claim as homosexuality is a disorder[ii], in a such way that she was very ignorant about the developments in the world. Then, the minister of health asserted that there is not such a disorder[iii], but it was not calming enough on LGBT individuals. Compared to Aliye Kavaf's statements, the minister of health's utterances remained very weak; maybe he should have made a more influential declaration. But the reason why he did not do so was, I guess, because they wanted to pretend as if there was no political split among the members of the party. Even, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Melih Gökçek spoke of homosexuality[iv] and on the other hand, the minister of internal affairs argued mentioning PKK that 'they have homosexual members as well and such a disgusting place it is, etc.' [v] But, for instance, fashion designer Cemil İpekçi is also an out gay and he supports explicitly the government[vi], and for that reason alone should people say, using the same logic, AKP is a very bad place? Homosexuals are everywhere. When I hear these statements, I feel myself as a second-class citizen and I am thinking to go somewhere abroad for that matter. I suppose, I would be outlawed and put in prison some day just because I am gay." (Özcan, İBU, Media and Communication Systems, 4)

The fact that political discourse excluding homosexual existence makes LGBT individuals think about leaving the country manifests itself within Özcan's statements quoted above. Regarding this, it becomes meaningful that homosexuals build affiliations with the political figures who support their existence. Even so, it can be observed that they do not engage in one way of politics but in different political stances for various reasons. As an illustration, there are students who see themselves as capitalist because they support to free capital circulation or there are also LGBT students who affiliate with BDP since they think it advocates homosexual rights in the national assembly and because of this they may be considered as Kurdish.

Conclusion

Manners and attitudes of non-metropolitan students develop towards relationships between men and women appear in the process of metropolitanization as varied hybridities. They exhibit hybrid manners and attitudes towards relationships between men and women which stand in between what they have already brought from their provinces and what they obtain from the metropolis. It seems possible to evaluate these hybridities with Kıray's buffers mechanism concept rather than Harootunian's concept of in-between. Non-metropolitan students claim that the university atmosphere in the metropolis is simulated as a flirting space through media. At this point conservative oriented students in particular try to cope with the burden of

conservative values and attitudes laid on them by applying the tactic of 'sharing it with the others similar to them.' For instance, women students with headscarf wait for their peers who choose to dress likewise to behave 'in a more moral way.' Relationships confirmed by religious marriages are not also generally taken so kindly. Within the faculties and departments where religious education is predominant, spatial division based on gender differences is strictly enforced and any violative uses in the De Certeauian sense are corrected by the university instructors personally. Women students within socialist groups in particular state that they have their ideologies at the center of their lives rather than their love relationships. Non-metropolitan students pronounce that provinces are also in a procces of metropolitanization in terms of consumption patterns and standpoints towards sexuality by means of both media imposed simulations and establishment of new universities. In this context, the universities founded in the provinces and the students being educated there emerge as pacesetter, as Yankelovich calls it.

Non-metropolitan students have negative opinions in general about LGBT individuals when they are in the first grade. Non-LGBT individuals are concerned about coming into contact with and knowing LGBT individuals because of the reasons such as publicity provided by LGBT organizations in the universities and the possibility of encounters with them in the metropolitan city space. The friendship built generally give chances to LGBT individuals to express themselves and eventually the majority of the non-metropolitan students come to the conclusion that homosexuality is an innate orientation. LGBT students studying in universities, located in the metropolis, are –as Bauman points out– tribalized through sexuality, similar to what their peers construct as translucent tribes on the basis of religion, ethnicity, politics and consumption patterns. Thus, LGBT individuals living in the metropolis and LGBT peers organized in the universities of the metropolis become objects of encounter and, besides, LGBT bodies change into the subjects of social acceptance or social refusal owing to cultural, moral, religious or ideological reasons.

The students with a conservative worldview, except the members of Gülen community, do not develop a tolerant discourse towards LGBT individuals. Most of Gülen-community-member students think, homosexuality is an innate orientation but they find performing homosexual sexual activity sinful. It can be broadly inferred that changing attitudes towards LGBT individuals is an important indicator in the process of metropolitization of non-metropolitan students. The discourse on the normalcy of homosexuality –also by means of the available data based on psychiatry– is acknowledged by the non-metropolitan students in the process of metropolitanization. At this point, it is observed that the existence of gender and LGBT topics in university curriculums make significant difference to homophobic attitudes of the sample. While

LGBT students cooperate with left wing politics generally, they say that their sexual identities make them feel compelled to politicize theselves. They feel that anti-LGBT rhetoric by politicians is a problem for them.

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[i] The concept of tactic is applied here, identical to the way Michel De Certeau uses it. According to De Certeau, a tactic is the art of the weak against the strategies of the ones with power. A tactic makes use of the cracks that it punctures upon the powerful's proprietary so carefully; so to speak, it poaches there. Cf. Michel De Certeau **The Practice of Everyday Life**, University of California Press, Berkeley.1984, p.37

[*] It is a saying in Nurcu Islamic movement meaning 'it is possible to get pleasure within the limits of what is permissible in Islam.'

[ii] The minister of family, Aliye Kavaf, explained on March 7, 2010, that she believes homosexuality is a biological defect, a disorder, which must be cured. Kavaf's these statements were criticized by many people, notably by her colleague from the cabinet, the minister of health. See **Devletin Bakanından Eşcinsellik Yorumu,** http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/devletin-bakanindan-escinsellik-yorumu/Blog/?BlogNo=232920 , (Online), 26.08.2012.

[iii] The old minister of health Recep Akdağ called for society to be merciful for homosexual people since it is a difficult experience.See **Toplum Sana Söylüyorum, Bakan Kavaf Sen Anla,** Radikal Gazetesi, 09.03.2010.

[iv] On April 2, 2012, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Melih Gökçek answered the question that Okan Bayülgen asked him as "Each society has a kind of moral value. Turkish society cannot be in harmony with the gay culture in Europe; it is impossible for us to approve this. We have different socialization, moral values and perceptions. İf god permits, there was not any gay in Turkey and will not be, hopefully. See **Okan Bayülgen'den Melih Gökçek'e Gay Sorusu**, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PhrojSySwVA , (Online), 26.08.2012.

[v] The old minister of internal affairs İdris Naim Şahin stated "it's a place where they eat pork meat, there're Zoroastrians, and many people from different nations, I'm sorry to tell that there're gays, all kinds of rascalities and immoralities goes on that is not humanistic." to describe how a bad setting PKK has. See **İçişleri Bakanı'ndan Yeni Terör Tarifleri**, Radikal Gazetesi, 26.12.2012.

[vi] For Cemil İpekçi's discourses praising the prime minister, see **Cemil İpekçi'den Başbakan'a Övgüler**, Star Gazetesi, September 16, 2008.