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**CONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION OF
GENDER IN DAVID EBERSHOFF'S THE DANISH GIRL
AND ATILA ILHAN'S FENA HALDE LEMAN**

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ÖZET

Tezli Yüksek Lisans

David Ebershoff'un *The Danish Girl* ve Attila İlhan'ın *Fena Halde Leman* Adlı Romanlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Yapılandırılması ve Yapısökümü
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Toplumların temel işleyişini oluşturan ve bireylerin kültür içinde varlığını oluşturan cinsiyet kavramı 1970'lerden günümüze sosyal bilimler başta olmak üzere disiplinler arası çalışmaların konusu olmuştur. Tarihsel, coğrafi, sosyal ve kültürel farklılıklara göre değişkenlik gösteren bu kavram, feminist eleştirmenler tarafından cinsiyet ve toplumsal cinsiyet olarak ayrılmıştır. Günümüzde egemen kültürün, yani ataerkinin ideolojik işleyişindeki temel araç olduğu iddia edilen toplumsal cinsiyet bireyleri heteroseksüel erkek ve kadın olarak sınıflandırmak için kullanılmaktadır. Güçlü, sert, otoriter ve heteroseksüel erkeği toplumsal cinsiyet yapılandırmasının en üstüne yerleştiren ataerki, kadınları ikincil konuma sokmakla beraber bu kategorilere uymayan bireyleri toplumun parçası dahi olmaktan men eder. Yarattığı kadınlık ve erkeklik yargı kalplarına uymayanları, yani gey, lezbiyen, biseksüel, trans eşcinselleri toplumun göz ardı edilmesi gereken anormal bireyleri olarak yaftalar ve azınlık konumuna sokar. Tarihten günümüze çeşitli kültürlerin cinsiyet yapılandırmalarına göre toplumda statü sahibi olan bu bireyler, günümüz egemen Batı kültüründe ayrımcılığa maruz kalmaktadırlar ve "varlık"larını duyurmak için mücadele etmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda cinsiyetin toplum tarafından, kültürün devamlılığını sürdürmesi için ihtiyaçlar ve ideoloji doğrultusunda yapılandırıldığı öne sürülmektedir.

Toplumsal cinsiyetin yapılandırılması ve bu doğrultuda oluşturulan kalıp yargılarına uymayan bireylerin sosyolojik ve psikolojik açımları David Ebershoff'un *The Danish Girl* (2000) ve Attila İlhan'ın *Fena Halde Leman* (2005) romanlarında örneklenmektedir. Tarihte ilk kadından erkeğe cinsiyet değiştirme operasyonu geçiren Einar Wegener'in gerçek hikâyesine dayanan David Ebershoff'un romanı 1930'lar Avrupası'nın toplumsal cinsiyet kavramına değinmesinin yanı sıra egemen kültürün trans birey üzerindeki baskısı ve bu baskının birey üzerindeki sonuçları açısından incelenmiştir. Türk edebiyatında tabuları yıkan roman olarak adlandırılan Attila İlhan'ın romanı ise heteroseksüelliği ve toplumun sadece iki karşıt cinsiyetten oluştuğu düşüncesini yıkan karakterleri açısından incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma tarihsel, sosyal incelemeler yaparak günümüz hegemonyasının toplumsal cinsiyeti ve sosyal varlık olarak bireylerin kimliklerini nasıl yapılandırırdığını ve bunun gey, lezbiyen, biseksüel ve trans homoseksüeller tarafından yapısökümünü yukarıda bahsedilen eserler ışığında incelenmesini amaçlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 1) Cinsiyet, 2) Toplumsal Cinsiyet, 3) Cinsiyet Yapılandırılması ve Yapısökümü, 4) David Ebershoff, 5) *The Danish Girl*, 6) Attila İlhan, 7) *Fena Halde Leman*.

ABSTRACT

Construction and Deconstruction of Gender in David Ebershoff's *The Danish Girl* and Attila İlhan's *Fena Halde Leman*

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Gender, which regulates the basic functioning of societies and individuals' existence in culture, has been a subject of interdisciplinary works and social sciences since the 1970s. Changing according to historical, geographical, social and cultural differences, this concept is divided as sex and gender by feminist critics. Asserted as the ideological tool of the dominant culture, that is patriarchy, gender is used to categorize the individuals as heterosexual men or women. While the dominant patriarchal culture locates strong, tough, authoritarian men at the top of the hierarchical order in society, it puts women in secondary positions as well as ostracizing the individuals who do not fit into categories of masculinity and femininity. Patriarchy labels gender non-conformists, who are gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans- people, as the abnormal members of society and puts them into minority status. Whereas these people have had non-discriminatory social statuses in various cultures existing from ancient times to present, they are subject to discrimination and they have to struggle to call for their "existence." In this context, it is asserted in this dissertation that gender is constructed depending on the dominant ideology and on its needs to maintain the social continuity.

Construction of gender along with sociological and psychological situations of gender non-conformists are exemplified by David Ebershoff's *The Danish Girl* (2000) and Attila İlhan's *Fena Halde Leman* (2005). Based on the real life story of the first person to undergo sex reassignment surgery, David Ebershoff's novel is examined focusing on the dominant culture's suppression and its results on the trans persona as well as touching upon the 1930s Europe's gender phenomenon. On the other hand, reviewed as a taboo breaking novel, Attila İlhan's *Fena Halde Leman* is studied from the point of view of characters that destroy the binary oppositions of gender. Through making historical and social examinations, this study aims to reveal how gender and social identities are constructed and deconstructed by gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans people in the light of the two selected novels mentioned above.

Key Words: 1) Sex, 2) Gender, 3) Gender Construction and Deconstruction, 4) David Ebershoff, 5) *The Danish Girl*, 6) Attila İlhan, 7) *Fena Halde Leman*.

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INTRODUCTION

[Gethenians] do not see each other as men or women. This is almost impossible for our imagination to accept. What is the first question we ask about a newborn baby?¹

The body, the means and the site of our existence in the social realm, has been subjected to various definitions for many years. It takes different forms and cultural masks depending on the historical period and culture, so it holds peculiar codes of culture. The system we live today assigns gender immediately after birth and biological-reproductive differences are assumed to compose the individual's identity. This dissertation approaches the body as a gendered instrument to sustain and maintain Western culture's gender ideology, that is, heteropatriarchy which assumes heterosexuality as the only form of gender in patriarchal foundation. Gendered body is examined to display the prescriptions of the culture which acknowledges every individual as either male or female. Namely, this thesis provides a critical approach to the gender phenomenon of Western culture within the framework social constructionism. Gender is handled as an invention of the dominant ideology and as a category that is deconstructed by gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans- people. Composed of four main chapters, this study analyzes the taken for granted patriarchal perception gender through an examination of *The Danish Girl* (2000) by David Ebershoff and *Fana Halde Leman* (2005) by Attila İlhan. By studying the two selected novels, it is also aimed to demonstrate the possibilities of gender beyond the categories of male and female such as homosexuality, androgyny, hermaphrodites, and transgender identities. Thus, the body is conceived as an active and receptive mechanism that has the potentiality to surpass the binary based construction of gender.

The first chapter, which is composed of two parts, clarifies the confused notion of sex and gender. It addresses the division of sex and gender to identify their different contexts. Besides giving introductory information, the first part of this chapter challenges the idea that anatomy determines the differences and boundaries of the sexes. The second part of the first chapter deals with cultural construction of gender. The somewhat artificial construction that there are only two sexes is destroyed by the examination of some non-Western cultures' gender biases. Also, the second part

¹ Ursula LeGuin. (1969,94). qtd. in Mark Hussey. (2003). *Masculinities: Interdisciplinary Readings*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall), p. 8

specifically focuses on historical periods which display the pliable nature of gender attributes changing according to necessities and objectives of societies.

On the other hand, the second part approaches gender within the regulatory structure of patriarchy that imposes heterosexuality in order to keep the hierarchical between the sexes intact. The power relations, which are regulated according to the gender of the individual, are studied to display the malleable nature of gender. Last part of the first chapter supplies definitions of ignored forms of gender. Those who do not adopt the normative heterosexuality are defined, and the difficulties they experience as non-conformists are conveyed in order to demonstrate the coercive functioning of heteronormativity. Different forms of gender, such as homosexuality, androgyny, hermaphrodites and transgenderism are explained to reveal the fact that the dichotomous thinking of gender cannot be fixed, and different gender forms may exist in spite of heteronormativity.

The second chapter of the dissertation centers on the politics of gender identity in terms of the formation of gender identity, its roles, and the psychic situation of individuals who do not adopt the assigned gender identities and roles. Formation of identity, gender and gender role identity comprise the first two parts of the second chapter. These parts aim to show how the individual's identity is generated according to the gender dichotomy. Constitution of self and significance of gender in this process are explained. It is found out that gender, the major part of identity, is the first thing to be recognized in social interaction. Therefore, it is assigned based on the heteropatriarchal ideals. As a result of which, individuals generate perception of themselves in masculine and feminine terms. It is also asserted that culture's expectations and attributions to serve its rules and norms are transmitted by naturalized masculine and feminine traits. That is to say, the peculiarity of gender identity which refers to the way how every individual bears her own identity of gender is highlighted.

In the last part of this chapter, inner worlds and psychological difficulties that non-heterosexuals experience are explored. Gay, lesbian, bi- and trans- people's psychic disorders are conveyed by researches made on non-heterosexuals. Binary oppositions of gender and heteronormativity are taken for granted so naturally that

non-heterosexuals confront discrimination, victimization and stigmatization. Feeling squeezed between the normative heterosexuality and being non-heterosexual, they undergo psychiatric dilemma. Thus, the cost of being non-conformist seems to take its toll in psychological terms.

The last part of the theoretical background of the dissertation turns to point out the functions and operations of social institutions on gender construction. This part takes a critical stance towards the institutions that embed dichotomous thinking as the only form of gender bias as well as invading every part of life. The institutions mentioned in the dissertation are family, traditions of Western culture, law and educational system. The individual's gender development is studied starting from the core unit of society, family. Through which, gender identity and roles are transmitted to the child from the very beginning of her life. Furthermore, naturalized knowledge of day-to-day practices of gender duality is examined. The body is handled as a "poetic object"² as it takes form, gender and cultural assignments beheld by both the individual herself and the other members of society. The gendered aspect of our repeated actions and practices are proclaimed in this chapter.

Additionally, formal institutions of society, law and education, are evaluated from a heteronormative point of view. It is demonstrated that those who acknowledge the appropriate gender peculiarities coded by heteropatriarchy are favored by the authorities of the state. Another formal institution promoting the dominant gender phenomenon is the educational system which characterizes the individual's gender based on the cultural norms. Having formed roles and stratification to provide an order to society, heteropatriarchal system heavily depends on the social institutions to practice its ideology and necessities. In order to indicate the construction of gender, the parallel working of heteronormative ideology and social institutions are scrutinized in this chapter.

The fourth part of the dissertation centers on two selected novels, *The Danish Girl* (2000) by David Ebershoff and *Fena Halde Leman* (2005) by Attila İlhan. The

² Amelia Jones. (1995). "Clothes Make the Man: The Male Artist as a Performative Function." In *Oxford Art Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 2 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360550> pp.18-32. p. 22

construction of gender is studied on these books by applying the theoretical frameworks mentioned above. The novels are aimed to confirm the artificial construction of heteropatriarchy. Including transgender, homosexual and bisexual characters, the selected works are conceived as ground breaking literary endeavors. Therefore, the reader is led to think critically about the “naturalized” division of gender categories because the characters remarkably destroy and blur the accepted notions of being woman and man.

To be more specific, characters are focused on because they deconstruct the established norms of gender bias. In the first part, David Ebershoff’s *The Danish Girl* (2000) is examined. The reason why this novel is selected is that it is based on the true story of the first person to have sex reassignment surgery. Mainly, the protagonist is handled in terms of his/her deconstruction of gender boundaries. Besides depicting the first transsexual’s inner world in the midst of heteropatriarchal society, the novel exemplifies the destruction of “biology-is-destiny” affirmation with regard to gendered social norms and the historical period it takes place in. More than that, the transformation of the protagonist is studied to make the reader realize the malleable nature of dichotomous thinking of gender.

The last part is the study of *Fena Halde Leman* (2005) by Attila İlhan. The novel is included especially for its challenging attitude toward gender norms, which is rare in Turkish literature. Construction and deconstruction of gender is stunningly represented by the characters, so this part deals with the analyses of them as they embody many fluctuating gender identities. Along with breaking the normative binary oppositions of gender established by heteropatriarchy, the characters serve as examples to non-heterosexuals who are to live with psychic disorder risks as a result of violating the gendered foundation of culture.

Briefly, this thesis, which consists of four parts, is a study of gender construction and deconstruction in heteronormative patriarchal society. It aims to introduce the possibilities of gender that destabilize our perceptions of established gender categories, and it serves to uncover the fictional gender attributes of the dominant ideology through studying David Ebershoff’s and Attila İlhan’s daring books.

PART ONE

CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

Culture creates the masculine and the feminine, and the contemporary world today allows only two categories of gender; man or woman. However, there are many possibilities of gender forms such as homosexuality, bisexuality and transsexuality, so the body is actually an active and perceiving mechanism that has incarnated throughout the cultural and historical conditions. It is an unstable genesis through which gender is constructed to perform heteropatriarchal aims and to carry out power relations. The anatomical structure of the body is used to justify the so-called stability of gender with the aid of the cultural construction in order to secure the functioning of the ongoing heteropatriarchal system.

1.1.1 Sex: Is Biology Destiny?

Recent discussions on gender and sex have become popular and multidimensional thanks to the readings of prominent feminists such as Kate Millett, Helené Cixous, Judith Butler, Monique Wittig and Julia Kristeva. The division between sex and gender has become clear when the former is categorized as a biological and the latter as a cultural element. In other words, sex refers to biology and the body while gender is a constructed etiquette. Thus, sex is based on physiology, gender is based on culture.

Development of human anatomy is complex and sexual differentiation is an extremely complicated process that includes chromosomal, hormonal and genetic effects. First, sexual differentiation begins after six weeks of embryonic development. All embryos are bipotential and sex is ambiguous until the contribution of X and Y chromosomes which have a significant role in designating the sex of the individual. Traditional views on sexual differentiation support male-centered mentality because the development of female fetus is explained in relation to the lack of male/Y chromosome. “The absence of a Y chromosome and the subsequent lack of testosterone production prompt the indifferent gonad of an XX embryo to transform

into ovaries.”³ Thus, stratification of man and woman begins from the very beginning grounded on this biological difference, which is read as “lack” on the part of the female. Second, hormones play significant role in sex differentiation. Androgens are defined as masculine hormones while estrogen and progesterone are identified as female hormones. Third, it is claimed that genes create differences in behavior and organize the activities of sex hormones, leading to remarkable distinctions between man and woman adolescence. Biological determinists base their claims of natural division of sexes upon these innate factors such as chromosomes, hormones and genes. According to them, there are only two sexes; male and female, and biology predetermines the individual’s personality and behavior. Yet, the biology-is-destiny conviction is challenged by recent researchers and feminists.

Anne Fausto-Sterling, who is a professor of biology and gender studies at Brown University, questions the biological determinism. She claims that if biology is the ultimate criteria defining sex, there are not only females and males but also other possible sexes. Five sexes are identified after examining the biological characteristics only; males, females, herms, merms and fermes so it is proved that there are not only two sexes but also different form of sexes. She is of the opinion that to a certain degree, people are under the effect of hormones, yet social conditions also affect human behaviors and actions. In other words, she asserts that biology affects particularities of sex but they are open to change in social environment. For instance, “elevated testosterone levels may, in fact, result from aggressive behavior.”⁴ Namely, social assignments such as roles, positions that vary in each society can change hormonal rate. The environment in which the individual lives has significant effect on not only on hormones but also on emotions, thoughts and behavior.

Not only biology but also culture determine the individual’s sexual identity, and the latter is quite affective on division of sexes. Sylviane Agacinski, philosopher and writer of *Parity of the Sexes*, disputes sexual division, based on anatomy. She asserts that natural division of sexes in birth does not posit the order of gender relations because they are fictive and derived from norms. As norms are ethical and

³ Clarie M. Renzetti and Daniel J. Curran. (2003). *Women, Men and Society*. 5th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu), p. 33.

⁴ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein. (1988). *Deceptive Distinctions Sex, Gender and the Social Order*. (USA: Yale UP), p. 57.

political, there is always sexual politics and everyone is to participate in this politics consciously or unconsciously.

The taken-for-granted “biology is destiny” assumption is also challenged by Carol Worthman. In her anthropological study “Hormones, Sex, and Gender,”⁵ she states that gender differences in morphology and behavior may vary. Circumstances such as adaptation process in childhood years, parental condition, social status, and experience affect and shape the differences.

Consequently, biological determinism cannot assert a stable and definite framework about sexes because XX or XY chromosomes alone cannot determine masculinity and femininity since biology is not fixed. Both anatomy and culture form the categories of sexes. Yet, the malleable nature of sex and gender allows cultures to construct the categories of sexes serviceable to their own means.

1.1.2 Cultural Construction of Gender

“[A]ll gender is, by definition, unnatural.”⁶

Culture is a range of learned behaviors and patterns that are transmitted by gender tool. It is a powerful tool for human life to maintain society because gender is the basic criterion for all cultures organizing society. Culture is a complex system including a set of expectations, values, beliefs, and norms that are taken for granted as natural and normal. It assigns social behaviors, and configures our life. Attributions and expectations of culture are built upon the categories of gender; female and male. Culture creates gendered stereotypes about individuals in a subtle way in order to make them components of the system, and to maintain and satisfy its ongoing structure. Society expects individuals to practice the concepts like manness and womanness, which are embedded every facet of society. “Culture . . . furnishes a blueprint for behavior in society. It furnishes a [gendered] program for human

⁵ Carol M. Worthan. (1995). “Hormones, Sex, and Gender.” In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155951> pp. 593-617.

⁶ Judith Butler. (1986). “Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir’s Second Sex.” In *Yale French Studies*, No. 72 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29302251> pp. 35-48. p.39.

action.”⁷ The program in question is called “enculturation” or “socialization” which not only prescribes gendered behaviors but also way of thinking. As a component of culture, the individual is expected to internalize the enculturation. The internalization is actualized mainly through gender tool. This is a process in which the individual is described as a gendered social fabrication. “Culture structures the data which a child uses to form gender-role stereotypes.”⁸ These stereotypes are blended into several practices including identity, behaviors and day-to-day life. Gender is assumed as natural. Therefore, many people are not aware of the fact that gender is a cultural construct. Namely, gender is assigned to the individual by culture. It is the public sign/expression with which the individual lives “appropriately.”

Gender can be seen as a kind of dependent norm and an accepted practice. As a public opinion, gender norm includes the sanction verified not only by law, but also by social actors. Also gender as a norm works in a standardized way. It expects to be internalized in order to operate. Since gender requires the practice of certain rules, it is a mechanism that governs individuals in the social arena. Nevertheless, the norm is not straightforward. It operates in such a tacit way that it seems natural. Moreover, the norm poses social viability which makes people acknowledgeable, “visible” in society. It defines “the parameters of what will and will not appear within the domain of the social.”⁹ By means of the gender identities we are assigned, we make sense of the environment we live as objects because gender—a daily working norm—standardizes our bodies and makes us common people. Gender norms compose the reality of being woman and man and it becomes a provision of having an identity in the social context. The more the individual fits into categories of man or woman, the more he or she becomes the member of the society.

To be more specific, gender norm is exclusionary like other norms and imposes the idea. The body is inevitably located into the gender norm to exist. Despite the differences, heterosexuality is presented as an accepted practice and the yardstick of culture that binds us toward the sameness of being “straight” to maintain patriarchy.

⁷ Frederick L. Bates and Harvey Clyde C. (1975). *The Structure of Social Systems*. (Florida: Gardner P), p. 66

⁸ Irene H. Frieze and Jacquelynne E. Parsons et al. (1978). *Women and Sex Roles: A Social Psychological Perspective*. 1st Ed. (New York: Norton and Company), p. 83

⁹ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 45

It is read and reread by gender and put in an active process of receiving cultural constructions through normative practices. Interpreting Simone de Beauvoir's statement "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman," Butler asserts that 'becoming' refers to gender's forming aspect, which is both a cultural construction imposed upon identity, and in a sense it is a process of constructing ourselves.¹⁰

Butler holds that gender is always in act of "doing". While some people act appropriately in accordance with their gender assigned from birth, some people impersonate gender that is inconsistent with their anatomy, so they might go beyond the attributions of culture. Specifically, a male may turn into female by either cross-dressing or surgery. Thus, gender is not only composed of binary oppositions but includes multiplicities. It is something dynamic outside the individual. The conditions that form the gender do not emerge from a single historical or social period or condition. Since gender is cultural construction of the societies, assigned roles and statuses are not fixed. Selected cross cultural data is examined to demonstrate the fact that Western conceptualization of gender is not universal but variable. First, the issue is displayed by Margaret Mead's study on three different societies; Arapesh, Mundugumor, and Tchambuli. These societies have peculiarities concerning gender and gender roles which prove the ever changing nature and flexibility of human behavior. Mead has found out that both Arapesh men and women display maternal and feminine aspects. Men are unaggressive, sensitive towards others' feeling and needs which are assumed as feminine traits. Unlike the Arapesh, both men and women of Mundugumor society are aggressive and ruthless which are identified as male characteristics in our culture. The practices of the third society —Tchambuli— demonstrate the reversal of our masculine and feminine concepts. Tchambuli woman is the dominant and ruling partner while Tchambuli man is dependent. Thus sex-based attitudes are not biological universals but cultural constructs. Fixed status of woman subordination and man domination in our lives are actually cultural and formed. As a result, what we call gender is the internalization of constructed notions of society's maleness and femaleness.

¹⁰ Judith Butler. (1986). "Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*." In *Yale French Studies*, No: 72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930225> pp.35–49. p.41

Perhaps the most stunning and unique example that deconstructs the gender institution is the Native American Navajos. They are described as “hermaphrodites or those who pretend to be.”¹¹ A Navajo takes the social role of the opposite sex. For instance, a male Navajo wears women’s dresses and engages in what is considered to be women’s work in the Western culture, such as washing, cleaning and having sexual intercourse with men. Moreover, “alternate gender/sexualities are the trunk of a family tree, from which ‘berdache/alternate gender’¹² and various forms of ‘homosexuality’ branch.”¹³

Navajos are called *berdache* which means that they practice ceremonial transvestism in which a person dresses up in the other gender for ceremonial purposes. A man may wear women’s clothes for the ceremony, and he is not marked as a transvestite since it is a ritual part in their culture. Hence the Navajo community has more than man and woman gender types. Four different genders are defined; female-bodied women, male-bodied men, female-bodied *nadleehi* (the term used by Natives to refer alternating gender practices yet its definition varies widely), male-bodied *nadleehi*. This kind of gender understanding provides a different perspective rather than conceiving gender as binary oppositions, and it prevents perceiving gender diversity as pathological. The point to be noted here is that Navajos differentiate their sexual practices and avoid Western terms such as gay or homosexual. Navajos gendered practices subvert the Western categories of man and woman as gender is culturally fluctuating.

Native Americans have generated the term “two-spirited” in order to point out the alternative genders which exceeds the prevalent Western gender forms. The two-spirited individual has both masculine and feminine peculiarities and embodies the changing and dynamic potential of human beings. Carolyn Epple claims that male and female are defined situationally by Native American Navajos, which means that what is male in one case can later be described as female, and the interpretation of

¹¹ Carolyn P. Epple. (1988). “Coming to Terms with Navajo ‘*nadleehi*’: A Critique of ‘berdache,’ ‘Gay,’ ‘Alternate Gender,’ and ‘Two-Spirit’.” In *American Ethnologist*. pp. 267-290. p. 270

¹²Berdache refers to two spirited Native Americans who usually adopt a gender identity different from their own, mix gender roles and claim to have both male and female spirits in one body.

¹³ Carolyn Epple. (1988). “Coming to Terms with Navajo ‘*nadleehi*’: A Critique of ‘berdache,’ ‘Gay,’ ‘Alternate Gender,’ and ‘Two-Spirit’.” In *American Ethnologist*. Vol. 25, No. 2. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/646695> pp. 267-290. p. 267

masculinity and femininity may change. There is a system called Sa'ah Naaghaf Bik'eh Hozho, a worldview held by the Navajos composed of basic observations of the universe. According to this view, the sun, just like our bodies, has both male and female aspects. It gives food, all sorts of productive things which are its female aspect and the sun also provides energy for protection, which is its male aspect. The universe has characteristics of both the male and the female that creates the cycle and the balance. Also, the female and male are in constant process of cycling and are not separate. As a result, the Navajo community stands as an example of inclusiveness, openness and tolerance with regard to variations of gender.

Another utmost example for gender reversal can be seen in a tribe called Etoro from Papua New Guinea. In fact the community favors men's superiority since women exist for reproduction, and they are condemned in case they enjoy sex. Therefore, heterosexual intercourse is practiced only for procreation. Young men have to obtain semen from older men as a ritual to gain status and life force so homosexual acts are normative in the community. When different cultural communities or tribes are examined, it can be concluded that heterosexuality is not the only sexual practice as the Western culture imposes. Namely, cross cultural differences clearly disclose the constructivism of gender institution.

Indian *Hijras* constitute another example that demonstrates the fluidity of gender regardless of dichotomous construction. Defined as *eunuchs* (castrated men), Hijras are males who dress and act like females. Similar to *berdaches*, *Hijras* are conceived as a third gender, but they avoid being identified as female or male. They undergo voluntarily emasculation. Thus, they stand out of the dichotomy beyond the categories of gender. Indian society believes that *Hijras* have special powers over fertility, so "they represent an important social role and as such they are an integral part of traditional Indian culture, despite being outcasts and outside the social hierarchy."¹⁴

To sum, gender cannot be definitely described since the origin of gender is not developed from a concrete, specific point in history. The parameters of gender are

¹⁴ Claudia Lang and Ursula Kuhnle. (2008). "Intersexuality and Alternative Gender Categories in Non-Western Cultures." In *Hormone Research*. No. 6 www.karger.com/hre (25.05.2009) pp. 240-250 . p. 244

fluctuating and gender is a cultural interpretation of biological sex which is unstable and lacks fixed identity. It has a function that organizes the present and future norms fed by past implicitly or explicitly. Its contingency stems from the changing socioeconomic interests and practices of the societies depending on the geographical, historical and political conditions. As a result, gender is an outcome of cultural and historical past and it is not static.

1.1.2.1 The Plastic Nature of Gender in the Historical Realm

Historical framework of gender might be examined in order to display its pliable nature. Context of gender has fluctuated across time and place stemming from the aims and objectives of power-state exercises. Gender's malleable and dynamic nature requires a brief study of history ranging from Ancient Greece to 20th century that enables us to realize the artificial construction of Western maleness and femaleness. Gender was formed and integrated according to historically specific needs and practices of the era. Every era seeks to satisfy them to preserve the present system by assigning roles and constructing gendered stereotypes.

To begin with, Ancient Greece has a unique and famous place in the story of gender variation that stands in opposition to our present society. Ancient Greek normalized and valued homosexual relations. The culture was male oriented and homosexuality was institutionalized. Greek boys were expected have a family and an affair with an adult man. The relationship was called *pederasty* in which the boy was educated, guided and loved by the man. Believing that homosexual love cultivates male's mind, the Greek society conceived homosexuality as "normal." Besides Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome had homosexual practices, too.

For example, Alexander the Great and the founder of Stoicism were known for their exclusive interest in boys and other men. Furthermore, the issue of what gender one is attracted to is seen as an issue of taste or preference, rather than as a moral issue . . . Plato, in the *Symposium*, argues for an army to be comprised of same-sex lovers.¹⁵

¹⁵ Brent Pickett. (2006). "Homosexuality." <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/homosexuality/> (28.12.2008)

Ancient Rome had same sex practices as casual part of the state. The expansion of Hellenistic imperialism and trade over long distances resulted in intense contact with monolithic religion, that is, Christianity.. Also, fertility became the primary concern of societies. Thus, heterosexuality was constructed as a norm especially with the advent of Christianity. It condemned homosexuality to advocate reproduction within the limits of marriage. Therefore, anti-homosexual discourse was constructed. Within the powerful discourse of Christianity, homosexuality is formed immoral. What is regarded as “normal” in Ancient times became a sign of perversion or deviance. Theological framework dominated sexuality and strictly prohibited any sexual act except heterosexuality; hence the foundation of bipolarity of gender began and was justified through religion. Therefore, individuals were expected to marry in order to reproduce. This normative heterosexuality was quite dominant over many centuries including Middle Ages, and it was Christianity that set the living standards of the Western World. Acting in accordance with religious practices, the church, the major institution of society, formed the dichotomy of gender as “natural.” The dichotomy was constituted in a hierarchical order. According to this stratification, women were to be secondary individuals, and they were “condemned as the vehicle through which the devil corrupted men.”¹⁶ The only appropriate form of gender was heterosexual male and female whose sexual practices were acceptable through marriages. Therefore, homosexuality was punished by Christian church as it was a major threat to procreation.

The authority of church deteriorated at the beginning of the fourteenth century due to rise of nation-states and geographical discoveries all around the world. As a result of these, authority of religion was shattered. In addition, the study of ancient history decreased the power of religious discourse not only on the state level but also on strict gendered phenomenon. As a result of these changes, Renaissance was born. As a turning point, the era ended dogmatic Middle Ages. Yet, stratification of gender categories did not diversify. That is to say, heterosexual man remained the only powerful and “acceptable” individual while women were denied from the society. Women’s roles were to hold the tasks of household, and they were supposed to be accomplices of their husbands at work. Women’s confinement created a homosocial

¹⁶ Stephen Garton. (2004). *Histories of Sexuality*. (London: Equinox Publishing), p. 65

atmosphere during the renaissance. Homosexual practices were common unlike those during Middle Ages. Renaissance was an intriguing era “in which a definite awareness . . . for a distinct homosexuality existed”¹⁷ Homosexuality was a prominent feature of life, and sodomy was a custom, yet it confronted vigorous opposition. Depending on the evidence of Florence’s judiciary records, Micheal Rocke puts forward in his book *Forbidden Friendships* that non-heterosexual acts or behaviors were subjected to persecution including castration or death by burning. In spite of great changes in religion, trade, art and politics, dichotomy of gender remained the same.

After the Renaissance, the 15th and the 16th centuries also encountered remarkable changes like Protestant Reformation. It created profound implications on the control authority of church leaders. Thanks to prominent leaders as Martin Luther and John Calvin, ultimate authority of church was challenged and human nature was questioned. They also commented on human sexuality with references to the Bible. Strikingly, Martin Luther “wrote commentaries on Genesis . . . that Eve was originally ‘in no respect inferior to Adam’.”¹⁸ Yet, that challenge did not result in gender equality or non-dichotomous thinking because Luther and Calvin “produced an age ‘when fathers ruled’.”¹⁹ As the family is the basic unit to sustain social stability and religious belief, it was the patriarchal family that was the ideal for the continuum of society. Women were to carry and educate their offspring. Despite the ‘reformation’ in the Western World, compulsory heterosexuality was the only form of acceptable gender from the 15th to the 17th centuries, and “the main function of sex is procreation, but recreational sex is OK within the bounds of marriage.”²⁰

Born as a reaction against religious doctrines, the Enlightenment Era emphasized the right to self-fulfillment and to think freely. The 18th century Enlightenment Era was enlightenment of mind which aimed to free human mind from scholastic thinking towards reason and rationalism, yet the gender issue was not considered. “The philosophers appeared generally unconcerned with the status of

¹⁷ Claude J. Summers. (1992). *Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment England*. (New York: The Haworth P), p. 12

¹⁸ Kristen E. Kvam and Linda S. Schearing et all. (1999). *Adam and Eve*. (USA: Indiana UP), p. 251

¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 251

²⁰ “Protestant Reformation & European Rivalries.” (23 May 2009).

<http://ocw.mit.edu/NR/rdonlyres/History/21H-912The-World-Since-1492Spring2003/AC192360-08C2-42DE-ACEA-A8EFD390A9C/0/horefhandwitch42.pdf>

women. Their preoccupation with the concepts of liberty and equality did not usually extend to women.”²¹ It was still patriarchy that dominated the society and gender relations. Women, especially lower class women, were bounded by patriarchal family household. Thus, the 18th century Western World sustained the predetermined gender roles. The ultimate gender form was the heterosexual patriarchal male who had the authority in public while the female was supposed to be a subservient daughter, wife or widow. Indeed, those who did not engage in the so-called binary system had to lead ostracized lives.

Having examined the 18th century Western societies, Randolph Trumbach²² found out that there were adult and adolescent men whose sexual desires were directed to each other. That is to say, there was a minority of men whose behaviors can be identified as homosexual in the Enlightenment Era. For instance, some men were involved in prostitution via adapting female identities. They dressed up as women and were called sodomites who were not totally feminine or masculine as they sometimes wore men’s clothes and became active partners or they sometimes became women prostitutes. The English sodomites created a subculture of their own. Moreover, “some man could not disguise their effeminacy in public and as a consequence were abused and blackmailed.”²³ As they were threat to heterosexual bias, they were to be dismissed, imprisoned, fined or subjected to public condemnation.

The 19th century Western World, which was called Victorian Age in England, was the most intriguing era of gender history since the gender hierarchy was kept the same, and gendered bodies were strictly controlled. The Victorian era is the period of hidden sexuality and bodies so sexual repression was era’s dominant characteristic through which females remained in private domestic sphere while heterosexual males practiced hegemony over women, family and society. It was again heterosexual male who was the provider, the head of the family, and he had ultimate the authority. On the contrary, the female was conceived only in two forms, “either the sinful ‘Eve’ or

²¹ Helen Tierney. Ed. (1999). *Women's Studies Encyclopedia*. (USA: Greenwood Publishing), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/deulibrary/Doc?id=10017897&ppg=448> (04.05.2008). p. 436

²² Randolph Trumbach. (1998). *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London*. (USA: U of Chicago P), p. 2

²³ *ibid*, p. 7

the pious ‘Virgin Mary’.”²⁴ Thus, women were to marry and men were to hold the family, and the marriages were supposed to be permanent. Therefore, any sexual act could only aim to create a traditional family. As Foucault states in *The History of Sexuality* (1998), sex was conceived only for reproduction that developed according to scientific normativity.²⁵

Indeed, homosexuality was accepted as a repulsive act throughout the century. The 19th century was an era when homosexuality became a social identity but it was defined as an illness, defect, sin or crime. Although “the term homosexual became common, it was used in the legal and medical paradigms to punish or suppress a positive same-sex identity.”²⁶ The anti-homosexual attitude of the century can be best observed by Oscar Wilde’s case. He was said to be involved in homosexual relationship with the son of a Marquess, called Lord Alfred Douglas. Yet, any homosexual act was illegal so Wilde had three trials, and he was sentenced to two years imprisonment in 1895. The case was defined as scandal. It proved the moral panic of Victorian Age. On the other hand, Oscar Wilde displayed the presence of homosexuals. However, the existence of homosexuality was denied again to reembed the heteronormativity for the continuum of present society.

Meanwhile, “the West has undergone a number of cataclysmic changes: industrial, economic, and political revolution”²⁷ during the end of the 19th century and the 20th century. The nineteenth century breakout of industrial revolution, growth of population, widespread settlements across Europe, urbanization, and the twentieth century acceleration of science and technology, world wars, continuing industrialization, and expanding trade resulted in diverse changes over the lives of millions of people. Naturally, these advances across the world influenced gender. As the nature of gender is subject to sociocultural moulding, diverse changes also happened in the realm of gender throughout these centuries. For example, the balance

²⁴ Aliona Pitchkar. “Gender Roles of the Victorian and Progressive Age: The Public Man, the Private Woman” (2007). <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/275256/Gender-Roles-of-the-Victorian-and-Progressive-Era> (06.12.2009). p. 2

²⁵ Michel Foucault. (1978). *The Will to Knowledge: History of Sexuality Volume 1*. USA: Penguin Books. p. 4.

²⁶ Micheal Petry. (2007). “Hidden Histories: the Experience of Curating a Male Same Sex Exhibition and the Problems Encountered.” In *Jade Blackwell Publishing*, Vol. 26, No.1 <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/118491797/PDFSTART> pp. 119–128. p. 120

²⁷ Kate Millett. (1990) *Sexual Politics*. (USA: Touchstone), p.65

of domesticity and labor force changed, and women's lives were mostly affected by the industrial revolution. Traditional role of women as domestic servants was altered in the labor market. They gained more space in the social realm in addition to home caring and child rearing. Thus, this did not lead to any change on the hierarchy of gender. Women also began to earn income that is less than men. Increasing rate of women in the market made the inequality visible. As a matter of fact, it was the urgent labor demand that led to change in women's roles. Socio-economic needs shaped the gender roles. Even though women were outside the home now, patriarchal hierarchy was still the same. This ongoing inequality led to the birth of First Wave Feminism which lasted from late 19th century to early 20th century. The movement aimed to stop the official inequalities, such as political, economic and sexual rights. Therefore, first wave feminism called for social and political justice.

These changes caused gender and gender roles to be examined at the beginning of the 20th century. Also, World Wars created great changes on gender roles and gender stratification because millions of men died, and families shattered and the impact of religion decreased, so patriarchic hierarchy of males and females was suspended in war periods. Since men were sent overseas, women were to fill "masculine roles" such as bread-winner and provider. Gradually, "gender gained public attention . . . in Europe and the USA. The body became an area of struggle "through such issues as divorce, free love, abortion, masturbation, homosexuality, prostitution, obscenity, and sex education."²⁸ However, heterosexuality was still a norm. Homosexuality was defined as a deviant condition, and non-heterosexuals were diagnosed as abnormal or perverts especially at the first of the century.

At the second half the 20th century, gender began to be studied by science. Through developing a scale measuring sexual orientation, Alfred Kinsey, an American biologist and sexologist, found out that there was a certain amount of homosexuals. He stated acts of homosexuals as normal variation of human sexuality. His study, also called Kinsey Reports, attracted the public attention on gender variety as the reports challenged the ignored fact of gender. The reports, *Sexual Behavior in the Human*

²⁸ Steven Seidman. (Jul., 1994). "Queer-Ing Sociology, Sociologizing Queer Theory: An Introduction." In *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 12, No. 2 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/201862> (31. 08.2008) pp. 166-177. p. 167

Male (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) pictured the existence of homosexuality in the United States. Kinsey uncovered a subculture that already existed. According to Joseph Bristow, the writer of *Sexuality*, such data caused extreme distress for Americans who ignored the reality of non-heterosexuality.

Although it seemed revolutionary, the Western scientific approach to gender highlighted the same mentality of previous centuries about gender. The boundaries of “normal” were redefined. Heterosexual married couples were seen as the perfect models. What stood outside the heterosexuality were its perversions named as homosexuality or deviant behaviors. “In 1952, with the American Psychiatric Association’s publication of its first official listing of mental disorders, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-I), homosexuality was officially classified as a psychopathology in the United States.”²⁹ Those who practiced homosexuality or those who displayed any homosexual tendency were not sinful or guilty anymore but they were “sick” to be treated medically and psychologically.

Besides being expelled from the “healthy” society, homosexuals were also literally dismissed from the state affairs in mid-20th century, especially in the United States. “Between 1947 and 1950, 1,700 federal job applications were denied, 4,380 people were discharged from the military, and 420 were fired from their government jobs for being suspected homosexuals.”³⁰ Because it was postwar era of U.S, and it was a period of dictating “nuclear family portraits.” The period aimed to increase consumption, prescribe parenting, and put women indoors which resulted in repression and exclusion of non-heterosexuals from many aspects of social life.

Analyst of the Gay Lesbian Activism, John D’Emilio, a professor of U.S history and gender studies, advocates the opinion that gay men and lesbians have created a mythology that focuses on personal experience because they lived in isolation unaware of others in 1960s. As a result, gay men and lesbians “constructed a myth of silence, invisibility . . . because [they] faced so many oppressive laws, public

²⁹ Howard H. Chiang. (Fall, 2008). “Effecting Science, Affecting Medicine: Homosexuality, The Kinsey Reports, and the Contested Boundaries of Psychopathology in the United States, 1948-1965” in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 44(4). www.interscience.wiley.com/jhbs.20343

³⁰ Barry Adam. (1987). *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement*. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co.), p. 8

policies, and cultural belief.”³¹ As a result of this, LGBT people (Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people) began to organize to acknowledge their social identity. The drive for consciousness stemmed from the emergence of the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s which aimed to stop discrimination across the world. Since collective actions for civil rights led to dramatic changes, sexuality was opened to discussion and studied more widely than before.

Gradually, anti-homosexual tendencies began to change, and activism was started. Firstly, homosexuality was illegal in Britain until the act of 1967 Sexual Offences. Homosexuality was partially decriminalized by this act. Secondly, LGBT people took action to proclaim themselves against the discrimination when The Stonewall Riots of 1969 broke out in the USA. The Stonewall Riot was gay people’s stand against the officers’ regular raid to a gay bar called Stonewall in New York, in 1969. It is a critical and symbolic event in the historical process of gender since it has changed the discrimination into something like a call for visibility and pride. Namely, the riot was a pivotal moment for the gay right activism heralding the “coming out” – public identification of the selves as homosexuals- decades. That is to say, Civil Rights Movements’ call for equal protection and treatment paved the way for LGBT people’s organized resistance against discrimination.

Civil rights movements not only triggered the Gay Rights Activism but also Second Wave Feminism. In the late 1960s, women wanted to liberate themselves from typical gender roles like wives, mothers, virgins and passive creatures. As Betty Friedan states in *Feminine Mystique* that women were kept from growing their full capacities so they sought to subvert the hierarchy of hegemonic masculinity and submissive femininity through Second Wave Feminism which reached its peak in the 1980s, and questioned both women’s position in society and the operation of gender in social institutions. Women called for equality beyond political arena. They challenged the status of women in workplace, education, at home.

The decades, 1960s and 1970s, were revolutionary and “social constructionism” was born as one of the most challenging movement. Its theory

³¹John D’Emilio. (1999). “Capitalism and Gay Identity.” In Abelove H. Barale M. A. and Halperin D. M. (Eds.) *A Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*. (New York: Routledge), p. 467.

opposed the ongoing system. The patriarchy, gendered attitudes, so-called gender differences and the social roles are declared to be outcomes of deliberate patriarchal and heterosexist mind. A breakdown in binary based gender trajectory has occurred as a result of radical gays, lesbians and transgender people and feminist movements. They have challenged the presumptions of gender. However, LGBT people still strive for tolerance and acceptance. Indeed, all these movements and protests have made useful contributions to their struggle for recognition. For instance, The American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses. Some states in the USA (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin) have enacted laws to provide equal job opportunity for homosexuals. Some European nations like Belgium, Canada, Norway and Denmark have legalized same-sex marriage at the end of the 20th century. In recent years, gay lesbian activism has made further steps towards equality and visibility; there are still strict prejudices and discrimination towards non-heterosexuals, though. Also, women gained more freedom. They have greater access to the social realm, education and politics, but the heteropatriarchy is still the dominant ideology that governs the Western World. As Simone de Beauvoir states that He, the heterosexual masculine, is the absolute, the Subject.³²

In short, it is the heteronormative hegemonic masculinity that dominated the Western World for many centuries, and gender is a beneficial and malleable tool to perform the ideology that the society needs. Gender and the roles are constituted and molded according to historically specific social practices, and deterministic social imperatives. Namely, gender is “useful for the greatest number maneuvers and capable of serving as a point of support, as linchpin, for the most varied strategies”³³ The arbitrary essence of culture shaped and reshaped the gender and gender roles over the centuries. The more societies developed the more relations between men and women, assignments of roles and so stratification have changed. Every civilization has defined appropriate and acceptable roles and behaviors. An understanding of these facts is crucial to this study because it is aimed to reveal the arbitrary construction of gender in terms of patriarchal structure.

³² Simone de Beauvoir. (1953). *The Second Sex*. (London: Jonathan Cape), p. 3

³³ Michel Foucault. (1978). *The Will to Knowledge: History of Sexuality Volume 1*. (USA: Penguin Books), p.103

1.1.2.2 Intertwined Ideologies: Patriarchy and Heterosexuality; Heteropatriarchy

“Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”³⁴

All structures, societies, communities and systems and their institutions are infused and regulated by power. Our contemporary world is dominated by patriarchic system in which power is distributed in a hierarchical arrangement, and the body is a site on which this patriarchal power is enacted. Thus, members of the society are positioned within the system based on their gender. In other words, gender is a useful tool to organize power relations in patriarchic system, and heterosexuality is assumed to be the only “appropriate” form of gender in this system. Patriarchy sets up a contract that enables only heterosexual men to assign the framework of present dominant life.

Accordingly, the life we are to live is based on the dichotomous thinking of gender; superior masculine, subservient feminine. The dichotomy is constructed in order to practice patriarchic expectations, strategies and ideologies. Kate Millet defines this heteropatriarchic system as a relationship of dominance and subordination which gives the birthright priority to males. Patriarchy values maleness and takes for granted heterosexuality as the only form of sexuality. For many thinkers, the social structure we live is the product of men; thus the body is gendered, specifically the female body is domesticated and made passive. “The very concept of gender is a pillar of women’s oppression.”³⁵ As Beauvoir clearly puts forward, women are negative of men and the absence through which masculine identity differentiates itself. It is the heterosexual matrix that justifies the stratification of gender because heterosexuality is standardized, and varieties of gender, homosexuality, bisexuality, transsexuality are erased in the domain of patriarchy. Although gender is not an intrinsic element born out of the anatomy, patriarchy asserts heterosexuality as the natural form of sex in the process of gendering.

³⁴ Judith Lorber. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. (New Haven: Vaill Ballou), p. 5

³⁵ James M. Jasper. (2007). “Cultural Approaches in the Sociology of Social Movements” In *Handbook of Sociology and Social Research*. <http://www.springerlink.com/content/u272p501084r875n/> (16. 05. 2008) p. 59-109 p. 68

In this process it is the heterosexual man to be defined first. Others are defined in their relation to man as he has superiority over them. Gender stratification, which is constructed by the heteropatriarchy, is defined as A/Not-A by Nancy Jay. According to her, man “. . . is A and pure. Not-A is necessarily impure, a random catchall, to which nothing is external except A, and the principle of order that separates it from Not-A.”³⁶ Namely, there are two genders; man and woman, and they set up an opposition as not “A” an “B” but as “A” and not-A”. Becoming A or not-A begins the moment we are born. A wide range of activities and gendered roles are imposed on us to take on the gender which makes us ‘normal’ men or ‘normal’ women. Dictated roles are supposed to be performed by us for the continuation of the present ideology that develops an andocentric³⁷ world in which females are defined as “daughters, wives or mothers” in terms of their relation to men. Hélène Cixous states, women are to be passive and subordinate while men are the opposites. “Indoor/outdoor, active/passive, nature/earth” are the dichotomies that have to be internalized to sustain and maintain the so-called male-dominated society we live in.

In sum, sex is subjected to discriminatory political uses to establish the dual based gender system in which non-heterosexuality is unacceptable. The system at issue creates heterosexual normativity. As a result of which, statuses and relationships are born that are predictable and efficient for the heteropatriarchy. For example, a male is supposed to have homosocial bonding in social realm, but he is to desire for females. Women are expected to be caring, nurturing, and domestic workers while men are the ‘head’ of the family dealing with politics and economics. Yet, those who confirm the prescribed gender roles are found to be more dissatisfied with their life than those who do not. “The higher rates of depression among women are related to women’s adherence to traditional feminine ideals”³⁸ and they tend to be anxious and have lower self-esteem than untraditional women. As a result, women develop “well-

³⁶ Judith Lorber. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. (New Haven: Vaill Ballou), p. 32

³⁷ Androcentrism refers to the ideologically male-centered thought which empowers male values. The term was coined by Charlotte Perkins Gilman in her work *Man Made-World or Our Androcentric Culture*. (New York; Charlton, 1911).

³⁸ Margaret L. Andersen. (2003). *Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*. 6th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education), p. 36

nurtured habit of silence and self-doubt”³⁹ as only the heterosexual male can hold the power and right to utter.

Only heterosexual male has the authority to operate the economic, political and social power. “One of the most efficient branches of patriarchal government lies in the agency of its economic hold over its female subjects.”⁴⁰ As the contemporary societies are mostly industrial and heavily based on labor force, its system operates on gender as it requires division of labor. The division is not only in domestic works but also in employment and working conditions as assignments and gender stereotypes mainly promote patriarchy. In capitalist societies, women are reserved as labor force in times of war, rapid economic expansion and recession. In the 20th century, a remarkable portion of women was employed in jobs fostering industrialization but even this fact could not stop the discrimination of sexes. According to U.S Department of Labor, 29% of all working women work in executive, managerial positions “which exceeded the comparable figure for men but . . . women continue to cluster near the bottom of organizational and professional hierarchies and have lower earnings, authority and advancement potential in comparison with men.”⁴¹ It is a controlling system that preserves patriarchy through prescribing certain roles and behaviors justified through anatomy to women and men, which serves the support the hierarchical structure in Western societies.

One of the most influential voices of gender studies, Adrienne Rich argues that patriarchy, a social institution of Western World, enforced and imposed compulsory heterosexuality. “Compulsory sexuality is an institution that punishes those who are not heterosexual and systematically ensures the power of men over women”⁴² so inequality among heterosexual males, females and homosexuals is created and preserved. Thus the hierarchic structure of gender is assured by means of compulsory heterosexuality to support patriarchic structuring.

³⁹ Anne E. Hunter And Forden Carie. (2000). *Readings in the Psychology of Gender*. Pg.19 chapter 3 “Female Powerlessness: Still a Case of ‘Cultural Preparedness?’” (Boston: Allyn&Bacon), p. 78

⁴⁰ Kate Millett. (1990). *Sexual Politics*. (USA: Touchstone), p. 40

⁴¹ Anne H. Hunter. and Carie Forden. (2002). *Readings in the Psychology of Gender*. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon), p. 301

⁴² Adrienne Rich. (2001). *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence*. In V. B. Leitch (Ed.) *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. (New York: Norton Publishing), pp. 1761-1780

Gender, as seen, is subjected to varying socio-economic power relations. It is an artificial and innovated category. Therefore, patriarchy, the dominant social structure of our lives, operates in relation to heterosexuality in order to set forth heteronormativity. In other words, patriarchy presumes heterosexuality as the “normal” form of lifestyle. The system functions through enforced heterosexuality as a mechanism of patriarchy. It encourages heterosexual male dominance, favors the male priority, and excludes those who do not conform to the dominant ideology. Patriarchy sets a strictly defined bipolar gender system in which only heterosexual males and females can exist.

1.1.2.3 Ignored Forms of Gender/ Gender Non-Conformists

“Gender in this story becomes something which is much more complex than a dichotomy, a series of categories, or a continuum.”⁴³

We have two bodies: the first one is our own personal body that provides the wholeness of the psyche, and the other one is the public one formed in the social environment. It is not possible to acquire complete autonomy on our bodies since we are dependent on others in our perceptions of our bodies. Social ties, rules and norms create selves beyond our selves. Cultural traits predetermine limits on gender of the body. We are supposed to conform the “natural” form of gender schema so we are to be either heterosexual male or heterosexual female. Thus, it is the moment when LGBT people realize that they do not conform the “natural” form of gender schema, and gender is constructed outside their selves. In her book *Undoing Gender*, Butler states this situation as “grief” because the constructed form of gender situates LGBT people into minority status by knitting a strict gendered limit on the body. For instance, the concept “biological essentialism” is used as a means of ostracizing non-heterosexuals. According to this theory, we are naturally heterosexual due to our genetic. Biological essentialism accentuates minority status of gay and lesbian people

⁴³ Richard Ekins and Dave King. (Eds.) (1996). *Blending Genders: Social Aspects of Cross-dressing and Sex-Changing*. (New York: Routledge), <http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=zASDEH0tkV0C&printsec=frontcover&lr=&sig=ACfU3U1z0SR-TgI0Iysu1AHyJyD1YX-egQ>
p. 596

as they do not fit in the “nature.” Gradually, like all minority groups, LBGT people become vulnerable both physically and psychologically.

There is a kind of master-slave dialectic between anchored straight minds and LGBT persons. As the masters are those who rule heteronormy, they define themselves in relation to those who are not straight and thus LGBT people become subject to oppression. Since they depend on the world of others as well as being marked as the ‘other,’ gay, lesbian, bi-, trans- people have to be sexual minorities, which opens a significant dimension to the gender issue. Being minority brings the issue into the political field as they struggle for rights to be part of society without any constraints and etiquettes. Yet, their sexual lives, appearances, ‘preferences’ are different from what we call “normal” so that anxiety and disturbance arise among the straight minds, or heterosexuals, often resulting in repulsion. In the face of such repulsion, LGBT people have to struggle to be regarded as ordinary, normal persons. Therefore, they gather for struggle to have control over their own bodies, and Gay Lesbian Politics is born that is actually a matter of survival looking for a world in which strictly framed gender norms are wiped out without enforcement, violence and discrimination. Indeed, it is not easy to strive for legitimacy. LGBT people struggle not only for recognition but also for finding a way to escape being pathologized. Activists intend to get rid of the minority status and they want to lead a life without discrimination, stigmatization and violence.

Basing her arguments on Spinoza’s thoughts, Butler claims that “being” is possible only when we are engaged in receiving and offering recognition. If LBGT people are not recognized, it means that they are foreclosed from the existing society. Thus, surviving and sustaining a normal life significantly depend on the social norms we are to adopt. In other words, contingency is our way of life and a path to maintain our lives that are outside us. “I” am born into an organized, socially, historically and politically constituted society. My existence in the community has already been predetermined and gendered. As an individual “my sexual identity” is attached at birth based on the genitalia. As Judith Butler points out there is a framework outside me where I will fit in as a sexual being. Therefore, the framed and written sexuality provides my precondition to exist.

From a Foucaultian point of view, our bodies are disciplined and subjected to manipulation. The contemporary world puts the standards of gender limited to heterosexuality which is acknowledged as normal. The body is in a “process of normalization”⁴⁴ all through life and all the regulations and discourses serve to sustain and maintain the norm of what a man or a woman ‘is’. In this framework, being a gay, lesbian, bi- or trans- means “abnormal.” Therefore, they are discriminated, and can only live as second citizens. Discrimination is the common cost that LGBT people have to pay. For instance, heterosexism is a concept that discriminates LGBT people and operates in favor of heterosexual people through giving privilege to them in every aspect of life. In that manner it rejects non-heterosexual behaviors and relations by encoding heterosexuality as natural by means of social institutions. It is a measurement to judge people’s sexuality today. It functions as a cultural ideology because it promotes bias and social hierarchy towards LGBT people. Therefore heterosexism is “analogous to racism and sexism.”⁴⁵ Since heterosexism creates negative portrayals and stereotyping, gay, lesbian, bi- and trans- sexual people have to hide their sexual identities to get a job and make social interactions because they especially face discrimination in access to education, employment, housing and social services.

From a Marxist feminist point of view, those who are not normal -do not fit into binary gender category- are to be ignored because the capitalist system handles individuals regarding their usefulness or uselessness. The state enforces heterosexuality so as to keep “a particular hetero-patriarchal, economic system.”⁴⁶ Dominated by this kind of ideology, medical science and public opinion treat non-heterosexuals as freakish and invisible since they do not conform to the norms of heterosexuality. Non-heterosexuals threaten the dominant view of “natural” ideology on gender. “Male homosexuality threatens male solidarity and super ordination because some men take on what are thought of as female characteristics. Lesbianism is likewise seen as threatening to male superiority because the women who engage in it

⁴⁴ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 55

⁴⁵ Patricia B. Jung and Ralph F. S. (1994). *Heterosexism*. (New York: State U of New York P), p. 14

⁴⁶ Nadia Guidotto. (Summer, 2007). “Monsters in the Closet: Biopolitics and Intersexuality” from *Wagadu: Intersecting Gender and Disability Perspectives in Rethinking Postcolonial Identities*. Vol. 4 No: 48 - (12.09.2008). pp. 48-62. p. 50.

<http://web.cortland.edu/wagadu/Volume%204/Vol4pdfs/Chapter%204.pdf>

appear not to need men.”⁴⁷ Heterosexuality is central form of gender because it ensures the stability of community through marriages which last in reproduction. Thus, those who do not conform the dominant form of gender is punished by means of discrimination.

LGBT people are not only discriminated but also stigmatized in social context which has many social psychological affects on the individual. Firstly, stigmatization bears negative valuation. Secondly, “the attribute is understood by all to signify that its bearer is a criminal, villain, or otherwise deserving of social ostracism, infamy, shame, and condemnation.”⁴⁸ Thirdly, the stigmas attached to the LGBT submerge into their identities that make them feel incomplete and defected. More than that, stigmatization brings about social ostracism. Thus, only limited access and political power are allowed to LGBT people as they are not ‘normal.’ That is to say, labeling supplies hierarchical order that favors heterosexuals against homo-, bi-, trans- people.

Moreover, in 1972 George Weinberg coined the term homophobia to denote hatred against homosexuals. The term implies brutality, hatred, oppression, prejudices and violence towards LGBT persons. It is a kind of strategy to prevent homosexuals’ visibility which is actually political like racism and sexism because it stems from a discriminatory mind that bases its rationale on sexuality. Also the term identifies the problem of those who have to struggle to achieve their self-esteem. In fact homophobia is seen as the fear of individual’s own repressed homosexual desires as a result of which violence bursts out. Hence, homophobia is some kind of a social control applied on the bodies to promote masculinity and it is a part of the “gender trouble,” as Butler puts it, that reveals the dyspepsia of the patriarchic society.

Dr. Evelyn Hooker made a research on homosexuals to test the assumption that homosexuality is an illness in 1954.⁴⁹ She took one group of heterosexual and one group of homosexual men and applied them a wide range of psychological tests. Evaluated by experts, the tests displayed the fact that there is no difference between

⁴⁷ Patricia Caplan. (1987). *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. (New York: Routledge), p. 38

⁴⁸ Gregory M. Herek. (April, 2004). “Beyond ”Homophobia: Thinking About Sexual Prejudice and Stigma in the Twenty-First Century” In *Sexuality Research & Social Policy Journal of NSR*, Vol. 1, No. 2 <http://nsrc.sfsu.edu> pp. 6-24. p.14

⁴⁹ Shirley J. Braverman. (Apr., 1973). “Homosexuality.” In *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 73, No:4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3422972> (17.07.2008) pp. 652-655. p. 652

the two groups since both were well adjusted. Dr. Hooker has concluded that there is no intrinsic relation between homosexuality and mental illness. “She found that some traits and attitudes regarded as ‘typically sick,’ homosexual behaviors are, in reality, characteristic of other rejected minority group members. Such characteristics were defensive attitudes in response to a hostile environment, protective clowning, hatred of self and group, dependence, and passivity.”⁵⁰

Also, if one does not adopt the standards of gender, s/he faces oppression and violence. Actually, the oppression stems from the aim to preserve the normative heterosexuality, which is equated with the natural state of humanity. Therefore, “nature of human” is to be sustained to keep the preestablished order. Hence, anyone who tends to be bi-, trans- or homosexual are torn apart and put aside of society. The different is never allowed to survive. Thus, the violence practiced on the bodies that defy the norms of gender can be observed everywhere. When we take a transsexual person as an example, it can picture the significance of the situation. For example male to female transsexuals are common, but they cannot have social recognition, decent jobs and homes in Turkey. They are dismissed from practices of daily life. Consequently, most have to sustain their lives by means of prostitution. Thus, their supposed “violation” of gender norms results in LGBT people’s social isolation, and suppression which in turn causes discrimination, violence and hate crimes against them. A research made on New York City on gay men and lesbians has demonstrated the fact that physical and verbal attacks by heterosexuals are common especially among young LGBT people, and victimization is highest among younger women.⁵¹

As a result a serious, huge and destructive cost has to be paid if one wants to perform the gender s/he feels. For instance, transsexuals are punished as if they use their own free will to change their gender that is destructive for the hetero-patriarchal system. Therefore, violence, discrimination, harassment, subordination are practiced. Transgendered people are outcasts and dismissed from the community. This is how regulatory force of gender works. Indeed, discrimination, labeling, exclusion and

⁵⁰ Shirley J. Braverman. (Apr., 1973). “Homosexuality.” In *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 73, No:4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3422972> (17.07.2008) pp. 652-655, p. 654

⁵¹ This study is concluded by Anthony D’Augelli’s essay, (2002). “Mental Health Problems among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths Ages 14 to 21” In *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. Vol. 7, No. 3 <http://ccp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/7/3/433> pp. 433-456

violence that LGBT people confront across several domains of their lives result in negative psychological morbidity. Social stigma of sexual minority even leads to significant mental problems. American Psychological Association draws attention to the relation between visibility, violence and the psychological outcome of being nonconformist,⁵² so the difficulties that LGBT people encounter affect the quality of their lives and mental health. Having examined lifetime suicide attempts and psychosocial correlates in a large group of LGBT people, Dr. Jay P. Paul and a group of experts found out that risk for serious suicide attempts among gay and bisexuals is greater than that among their heterosexual counterparts.

We would anticipate that gay-related stressors (e.g., experiences of antigay victimization, the sense of deviance and stigmatization prompted by an awareness of one's non-heterosexual orientation) and the paucity of psychological resources (characteristic of relative youth) are associated with greater vulnerability to suicidal behavior.⁵³

As a result, bodies, which do not conform to the 'natural' form of gender, are subjected to discrimination, stigmatization and violence which result in psychiatric disorders, even suicide. LGBT people are to be minority and ignored because they not only threaten but also allow fluidity against heteronormativity. Notwithstanding the hardships they are to endure, LGBT people call for equal treatment and rights to have full representation of their bodies.

To be more specific, concepts are defined and examined in order to display how double minded gender institution has developed terms to sustain and maintain the present heterosexual male dominated society by means of encoding the presumption that human being is heterosexual.

⁵² Ilan H. Meyer. (Mar., 1995). "Minority Stress and Mental Health in Gay Men." In *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 36, No.1 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2137286> pp.38-56. p. 41

⁵³ Jay P. Paul and Joseph Catania et al. (August, 2002). "Suicide Attempts Among Gay and Bisexual Men: Lifetime Prevalence and Antecedents." In *Research and Practice*, Vol. 92, No. 8 <http://www.ajph.org/cgi/reprint/92/8/1338> pp.1338-1345. p.1338

Homosexuality:

The most common stereotype that challenges the dual perception of gender normativity is homosexuality. Homosexuality is defined as same-sex attraction or sexual orientation to person of the same sex. It is the opposite concept of heterosexuality by definition so it was identified as a mental disorder by American Psychiatric Association until the 1970s. It is considered an unacceptable form of gender in contemporary Western World. Alfred Kinsey, who is an American biologist and also known as the father of sexology, has a far-reaching impact on perception of homosexuality. According to Kinsey, homosexuals are normal manifestation of human sexuality. Through his reports, Kinsey proved the existence of homosexuals but they are still subordinated as abnormal in our society. Being a gay or lesbian both results in social exclusion and puts heavy burden on the individual as s/he is stereotyped and labeled. As it is heterosexuality that is recognized as natural among the members of the society, homosexuals suffer discrimination, and often feel they have to hide their gender identity. The general homosexual portrays him/her lusting after the “normal” men or women in society. It is probably for this fear that “roughly two-thirds of Americans condemn homosexuality or homosexual behavior as morally wrong or a sin.”⁵⁴

Homosexuality is still dictated as infectious disease that disseminates via sexual intercourse. Homophobia acts upon the same logic with racism and sexism, for in each of these forms of discrimination, the different one from the patriarchic supremacy is to be expelled. “The fear of being labeled homosexual serves to keep men within the confines of what the culture defines as sex-appropriate behavior.”⁵⁵ Thus, individuals are condemned to be homosexuals and they are to be kept heterosexuals so as to prevent any threat to hegemonic patriarchy.

⁵⁴ Gregory M. Herek. (April, 2004). “Beyond ”Homophobia: Thinking About Sexual Prejudice and Stigma in the Twenty-First Century” In *Sexuality Research & Social Policy Journal of NSR*, Vol. 1, No. 2 <http://nsrc.sfsu.edu> pp. 8-24. p. 11

⁵⁵ Margaret L. Andersen. (2003). *Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*. 6th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education), p. 63

Androgyny:

The term refers to those who are physically both male and female. It is the state of being neither man nor woman. Both of the sexual characteristics are presented unambiguously. Since an androgynous person is not “normal”, s/he has to be ignored or corrected in accordance with “appropriate” gender form. Firstly, an androgynous child is defined as abnormal/defected, then the child undergoes many surgeries to be ‘corrected’. Thus the child is operated on in the name of normalization. Family of the child also supports the surgery as they are warned that their children will be isolated, subordinated etc. thus standardization of child’s body seems right disregarding the physical and psychic traumatic experience. The child is expected to ‘live appropriately’ by science. The individual biologically different from the norm is to be corrected. “Each intersexed person who has been subject to surgery bears the wounds of the violation. Their gender transgression is written on the body, etched out between their legs.”⁵⁶ Not only the body but also the psyche is cut which makes the individual scarred. As androgyny does not fit in the dichotomy of gender, it destroys the constructed gender ideology of patriarchy so an androgynous person is to be adjusted to heterosexual bias.

Hermaphroditism

While androgynous people have ambiguous characteristics of male and female genitals, hermaphrodites possess both of the reproductive organs. As Fausto-Sterling puts it “hermaphrodites have unruly bodies. They do not fall naturally into a binary classification; only a surgical shoehorn can put them there.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Nadia Guidotto. (Summer, 2007). “Monsters in the Closet: Biopolitics and Intersexuality.” In *Wagadu: Intersecting Gender and Disability Perspectives in Rethinking Postcolonial Identities*, Vol 4 <http://web.cortland.edu/wagadu/Volume%204/Vol4pdfs/Chapter%204.pdf> pp. 48-65. p. 58

⁵⁷ Richard Ekins and Dave King. (Eds.) (1996). *Blending Genders: Social Aspects of Cross-Dressing and Sex-Changing*. (New York: Routledge), <http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=zASDEH0tkV0C&printsec=frontcover&lr=&sig=ACfU3U1z0SR-TgI0Iysu1AHyJyD1YX-egQ> p. 598

Hermaphroditism refers to the body “that inhabits the margins of the political order and cannot be circumscribed by law.”⁵⁸ Western mind has created stable gender concepts and fixed the roles based on doubleness to discipline the bodies that are to be submissive and work productively; then being male and female are normativized which guarantees heterosexuality and justifies invisibility of non-heterosexuals and intersexed people.

Of the many ignored sexual identities which is the binary based gender system, hermaphroditism is the most complex one that blurs the defined gender identities. As sex of a person is assigned at birth by looking at external genitalia, hermaphrodites challenge the stability of biological determinism. “These are bodies that medical authorities, from the nineteenth century to more recent times, have deemed ‘defective’ as a result of the abnormal development of the sexual organs.”⁵⁹ Hermaphrodites are disturbing for both sciences and ordinary people as they subvert the ‘nature.’ Their anatomy threatens the authority so they are conceived as monsters or freaks. Thus, hermaphroditism is one of the most challenging gender form to be ignored as it suspends the constructed male and female dichotomy.

Transgender Identities/Changing Subjects

Transgender identities are the most striking examples of gender blending. Generally, transgender identities refer to the sex role inversion either through sex reassignment or cross-dressing. Transgender people are those who primarily feel discomfort about their biological sex. Basically, transgendered people subvert the predestined gender identity linked to anatomy because they reproduce their own gendered body in contrast to bodies they have from birth. They apply gender management free from dominant social mandate.

Transgender identities include many overlapping subcategories such as transvestites/cross-dressers, transsexuals, drag queens and drag kings. A transvestite is

⁵⁸Yancey Patricia Martin. (June, 2004). “Gender as Social Institution.” In *Social Forces*, Vol. 82, No.4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598436> pp. 1249-1273. p. 1259

⁵⁹ Nadia Guidotto. (Summer, 2007). “Monsters in the Closet: Biopolitics and Intersexuality”. In *Wagadu: Intersecting Gender and Disability Perspectives in Rethinking Postcolonial Identities*. Vol. 4. <http://web.cortland.edu/wagadu/Volume%204/Vol4pdfs/Chapter%204.pdf> pp. 48-65. p. 49

a person who cross-dresses, and gets sexual gratification from wearing the clothes of the opposite sex while a transsexual feels discontent with her/his assigned sex. Transsexuals have a desire to change their bodies through hormonal or surgical treatment so they rebuild their own gender. On the other hand, drag queens and kings adopt the appearance and character of the opposite sex for performance, acting or entertainment. Drag queens and kings make public shows, and they are public performers who deliberately impersonate the opposite gender in an exaggerated way. Actually, they show the potentiality of the shifting gendered body in the form of art.

Transgender identities are the most controversial form of gender as they remarkably deconstruct, move across or transfer the normative heterosexuality. Thus, transgenderism exceeds the idea of permanent binaries of gender. Transgressors are the obvious models of gender fluidity as they deliberately and carefully change and build up their gender by gestures cross-dressing and surgery. Ekins and King define transgender bodies as ‘migrating’, ‘oscillating’, ‘erasing’ and ‘transcending’ moving to and fro between male and female polarities, across and between the binary divide.”⁶⁰ Transgendering is a kind of personal blueprint that breaks down the standardizing mechanism of the present gender ideology.

Being a transgender requires virtual or surgical gender switching, which deconstructs the defined body forms, and pre-established categories of gender. As a result of transsexual operations, gender gains new meanings. Transgendered bodies are to be expelled and despised viciously as they reveal the fact that gender and sex are adaptable. They rewrite their personal narrative by determining their own sex which disturbs the preestablished gender categories. Disturbance leads to ‘othering’ to secure the normative gender forms.

As a result homosexuals, trans- people, and their way of life reveal the fact that there can be variables except binaries of sex, and sexuality is changeable. To sum up, “[b]odies are not inhabited as spatial givens. They are, in their spatiality, also

⁶⁰ Richard Ekins and Dave King. (Eds.) (1996). *Blending Genders: Social Aspects of Cross-Dressing and Sex-Changing*. (New York: Routledge), <http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=zASDEH0tkV0C&printsec> p.588

underway in time: aging, altering shape, altering signification.”⁶¹ The more gender is performed by LGBT, drag queens, butches etc., the more we can realize how norms are operated on bodies and how they naturalize their norms in our lives. They demonstrate that what we call as male or female can change, and the body becomes fluid disregarding the dichotomous normativity. Therefore, those who do not conform to the taken for granted gender schema are ignored since they reconstruct what has already been constructed as “normal.”

1.2 Politics of Gender Identity

Gender identity is the personal perception of oneself as male or female. Gender identity is a combination of inside and outside factors manifested through character, behaviors and appearance. Yet, politics of gender identity creates typical roles and traits for the individuals to take on in public realm. As gender identity and gender roles are compatible, mannerism of the individual is expected to be consistent with gender identity. Gender identity is generated by the heteropatriarhic ideology to make the individual “docile.” To clarify the working of the present system on identities, formation of gender identity and gender roles are examined.

1.2.1 Identity Formation and Gender

An individual cannot originate an identity on her own because the acquisition for a social self requires a conscious effort that takes place in a social environment. The individual needs responses of others and a social mechanism to constitute an identity. That is to say, a dialectical process helps individual’s becoming which involves “dimensions such as modeling, calculating rewards and punishments and learning desirable social arrangements.”⁶² “I” find myself in an interactional chain in which I am dependent on the norms as well as formed by them and I become identifiable and knowable as I exist in a social context.

Sex of the child is identified immediately after birth in order to forge an identity and impose predetermined roles. Gender is a powerful aspect of identity

⁶¹ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 217

⁶² Andrew J. Weigert. (1986). *Society and Identity*. (USA: Cambridge UP), p. 39

construction since it is the first to be recognized when one enters a social environment. Furthermore, it functions as a background identity since it contributes to the “quick cognitive start to making sense of another in relation to self.”⁶³ First of all, the child is expected to learn and act according to gendered roles to attain web of relationships. Every step, gesture, interests and characteristics that the child has adopted are to be approved by parents, teachers, peers and the culture. Simply a boy’s aggressive or assertive behaviors are praised and encouraged whereas a girl is expected to be the obedient daughter of her father. When the child realizes that the more s/he satisfies the traits of culture, the more he or she is cherished, he or she learns conformity. As a result, the child’s identity formation is achieved in accordance with the gendered norms.

Also, one becomes an individual because of her social status. The individual leans on his or her status and meaning as a subject on others and creates relationships as a social being. Status is to be determined by gender. A boy is brought up to be a strong masculine heterosexual as he would be the one who holds the authority in the family, has the power and higher positions in the workplace. Namely, the individual has to build up a gender identity that is compatible with the assigned roles of institutionalized structures of society.

Furthermore, physical appearances form a remarkable part of the self in society because individuals can exist through their bodies as how they appear in public sphere. People may emphasize their gender by clothes, symbols, behaviors etc. to display their gender. It reveals the fact that gender can be made up grounded on the cultural gender forms. For example, a man to woman transvestite can be seen as a woman although he is a male. Or, he may dress as a man in the day while as a woman at night. Both appearances can be sex-categorized easily in a public place. There is an illusion created by binary based system. Thus, misperception makes a transvestite temporarily ‘normal’ and provides social recognition.

⁶³ Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Shelley J. Correll. (Aug., 2008). “Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations.” In *Gender and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448> pp. 510-531. p. 515

As gender is the major background of identity, the transvestite inevitably has identity problems. That is to say, private and public selves become two different parts of an individual that leads to a kind of identity crisis. Not only transvestites but also gays and lesbians lead split lives. Even though a gay or lesbian does not cross-dress, and does not create fake appearances, s/he has to have a double life. This situation brings about identity problems because the lives LGBT people are supposed to have is the 'straight' one. Since these people are not straight, they have to "perform" lives that are already constructed for them. Those who are not straight are always dismissed from the society they live in. As a result, they lead double lives, public and private ones, that include role playing and masking. As social recognition is the key to have a decent life, there becomes a personal identity and a presented, social one. Therefore, identity is not spontaneous; it needs a component to exist in society. As the definition of identity conveys the answer of 'Who am I?' and addresses the way of living, feeling, speaking, thinking, acting, the not-straight person cannot achieve the self construction because of her/his contradictory state squeezed between compulsory heterosexuality and non-heterosexuality.

1.2.1 Gender Role Identity

Culture creates behavioral structures and gendered norms that are intermingled with every organization of society. Individuals are expected to adopt gender role identities that are characterized as masculine and feminine. Specifically, gender role identity is the recognition of defined masculine and feminine behavior traits. The individual performs a kind of interactive and dialectical play as she or he is to manage the gendered expectations, roles and behavioral practices to fit in society. Thus, the self is shaped depending on the responses of others. Hence, this process assigns identities to classify individuals as woman/girl or man/boy, and this classification changes over time and place depending on the needs of society so "there are social histories for each of term. Their meanings change radically depending upon geopolitical boundaries and cultural constraints on who is imagining whom and for what purpose."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 10

Gender roles are masculine or feminine traits displayed in public sphere stemming from the imposition of society. Masculinity and femininity, the concepts of gender categorization, are culturally constructed stereotypes and ideals by which the individual is addressed in social context. They are complementary of gender that presupposes a series of roles. These gender roles are variable and changeable depending on the society or culture. Contemporary society expects a man to be active, aggressive, ruler, leader and money-maker while leaving only domestic sphere for women such as being nurturer/caretaker, housewife, and child bearer.

Gender identity refers to a person's psychological commitment to maleness or femaleness. Gender role identity is comprised through the internalization of gender roles. Gender roles are culturally relative and attributions of society. They refer to the cultural expectations, duties and rights within the framework of social interaction. The identification of the individual as male or female may not be compatible with the person's body or assigned sex written on the birth certificate.

As a result, we cannot develop universal patterns of the man and the woman. Meaning of gender and gender identity are comprised by "an individual, intrapsychic animation and a putting together of cultural categories."⁶⁵ Indeed, we can conclude with some statistical generalizations about femininity and masculinity, yet they would omit the individual's own gender peculiarities. Since each individual develops a personal gender form, there are many masculinities and femininities. There cannot be universal gender differences because gender is interpreted differently by each emotional self who is fed by different biographies and cultures.

1.2.2 The Psychological State of the Individual

There are a set of evolving structures throughout history. Those are determinants of the individual's life such as social roles or assigned attitudes. They create identity models through which the individual makes sense of his or her life. That is to say, the individual is fitted into a binary limited community in which heterosexuality is naturalized. Apart from the genetic heritage of character and

⁶⁵ Nancy J. Chodorow. (Spring, 1995). "Gender as a Personal and Cultural Construction". In *Signs*, Vol. 20, No. 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174832> pp. 516-544. p. 520

biological structure of the individual, situational demands and societal norms require an adaptable single identity either as a heterosexual man or as a woman.

Heterosexuality was coined in the nineteenth century when industrial revolution happened. Significant changes on socioeconomic and cultural conditions spread all over the world owing to industrial revolution. Therefore, gender roles and relations were firmly assigned for the new developing system in which men have come first as the powerful actors while women are to be secondary part of the system to constitute the working class, or homemakers. Also, heterosexuality turns into a norm especially at this period to carry on the labor based market. New market needed labor force that required increase of population. Namely, heterosexuality is naturalized for procreation as a result of which heterocentric culture was engraved. As members of society, individuals inevitably “internalize their culture, which shapes both experience of desire and expression of sexuality.”⁶⁶ The culture presupposes heteronormativity as normal in order to maintain the growing industrial society which needs to encourage procreation for sufficient laborers. Naturally, those who cannot fit in the binary construction are accepted as useless for the welfare of society and they are stuck between the boundaries of standardized gender schema.

Gradually, breaking the standards, LGBT people, herms, intersexed people are located into minority status. They develop chronic stress as a result of stigmatizations which is called *minority stress*. “Minority stress can be described as being related to juxtaposition of minority and dominant values and the resultant conflict with the social environment experienced by minority group members.”⁶⁷ As members of sexual minority group, LGBT people are not perceived as “normal” so they inevitably undergo diverse psychological difficulties. In betweenness, falsity of interpersonal work, gender based role playing results in unhealthy psychological state of mind. The research studied among lesbian, gay and bisexual adolescents between 14 to 21 ages is done by Anthony R. D’Augelli (licensed clinical psychologist whose primary interest has been research and writing on sexual orientation and human development at Penn State University) to display the problems related to sexual orientation, parents’

⁶⁶ Ethel S. Person. (1980). “Sexuality as the Mainstay of Identity: Psychoanalytic Perspectives.” In *Signs*. Vol. 5, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173833> pp.605-630. p. 605

⁶⁷ Ilan H. Meyer. (Mar., 1995). “Minority Stress and Mental Health in Gay Men.” In *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 36, No.1 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2137286> pp.38-56. p. 39

reactions, victimization based on sexual orientation and their relation to mental health and suicidality. “The rates of suicide attempts for lgb youths found in these studies are considerably higher than estimates of suicide attempts among high school students in general.”⁶⁸ This study is useful and salient since it presents a wide range of data taken from many communities, agencies and regions in the USA to display the devastating effect of binarism on young population. Such researches unfold the fact that LGBT people literally suffer and live in diverse psychic conflicts. What’s more, the conflicts bring about not only problems in adaptation to daily life but also in mental problems mostly ending in acute depression and social behavioral disorders. Studied on the experiences of non-heterosexuals, Vickie Mays and Susan D. Cochran found out that homosexual and bisexual individuals are at higher psychiatric morbidity risk than heterosexuals. “In particular, experiences with discrimination and stigmatization have been shown to lead to greater vulnerability to depressive distress and anxiety and perhaps to higher rates of some psychiatric disorders.”⁶⁹

Also, heteronormative order causes individuals to experience internalized homophobia. It is born as a result of acknowledging society’s antigay approaches which means self-loathing of the individual’s own homosexuality. Internalized homophobia is a heavy psychological conflict experienced by the individual since he or she is torn between the state of practicing assigned roles and sexuality and experiencing his or her own sexuality. Accordingly severe, internal struggle occurs resulting from “the internalization of negative attitudes and assumptions about homosexual people.”⁷⁰ Thereby, the wholeness of the psyche is shattered. As the wholeness comprises the identity, non-heterosexuals lose the sense of wholeness, and they feel “abnormal” because of heteronormative bias. Don Kilhefner, a long time gay activist, expresses his feelings; "When you find yourself constantly called abnormal and sick it ruins your self-esteem and erodes your humanity. We have looked into the

⁶⁸ Anthony R. D’Augelli. (2002). “Mental Health Problems among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths Ages 14 to 21.” In *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. Vol. 7, No. 433. <http://ccp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/7/3/433> pp. 434-456. p. 434

⁶⁹ Vickie M. Mays and Susan D. Cochran. (Nov., 2001). “Mental Health Correlates of Perceived Discrimination Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Adults in the United States.” In *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 91, No.11 <http://www.ajph.org/cgi/content/abstract/91/11/1869> pp. 1869-1876 p. 1869

⁷⁰ Micheal W. Ross and B. R. Simon Rosser. (January, 1996). “Measurements and Correlates of Internalized Homophobia: A Factor Analytic Study.” In *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 52, No.1 <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/62408/abstract> pp. 15-21. p. 16

eyes of society and seen that we are considered repulsive, undesirable people. Many of my brothers and sisters have internalized these values and hate themselves. They are ashamed, guilt-ridden, and afraid.”⁷¹ Considered to be freaks, atypical, deviant, repulsive or abnormal make them feel having anomalies. That is to say, they are set apart from ‘humanness’. Their lives are not worth mentioning except for ridicule which provokes physical and psychological violence. Gender as an institution is so powerful that one who is abnormal is to be merged into the normative field by daily bodily practices. Gay, lesbian, bi-, trans- and intersexed people are acknowledged as ‘other’ but they disclose the fact that the other is actually part of gender variance, and the body includes many possibilities.

Moreover, androgynies and hermaphrodites are diagnosed and treated as pathological cases by so-called medical authorities. Diagnosis may result in emotional disruption on the individual through fracturing self-confidence. It accelerates the risk of committing suicide. For example, intersexed children are operated on for sexual correction in order to have coherent social identity. Yet, the effects of the operation, phases that the child undergoes create fissures on the psyche. Focusing on the individual’s psyche, David Reimer’s case, also called John/Joan Case, is examined to display the paradoxical, complex and changeable aspects of the gender identity. Reimer was born as a healthy male identical twin but he and his brother were diagnosed with phimosis which is a problem of urination. Both boys were decided to be circumcised, yet Reimer lost his complete penis because of malpractice. Not knowing what to do with their child who has lost his sexual organ, they have decided to take Reimer to John Hopkins Medical Center whose experts took him sex-change operation including genital surgery and sex reassignment. Reimer has become a tool for the experts to practice the plasticity of gender disregarding his intrapsychic situation. They have decided that he should be raised as a girl. Thus he has been placed into a program that lasted 12 years and the program includes social, hormonal and mental transformation.

⁷¹ Shirley J. Braverman. (Apr., 1973). “Homosexuality.” In *The American Journal of Nursing*. Vol. 73, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3422972> pp. 652-655. p. 654.

David Reimer says in his interview for Rolling Stones Magazine that he wanted to erase his past and begged psychologists to hypnotize him. Also he expresses that your quality of life depends on gender, and an individual's worth and status in the public sphere are decided by the body representation disregarding his/her real self so the individual experiences in-betweenness and disorientation both inside the self and the society. Those who cannot succeed in being gendered properly encounter the problem of existence as it can be seen in David Reimer Case (John/Joan Case). Gender is based heavily on dual perception of the body and it has immense social limits and sanctions on the individual. When the individual fails to adopt and internalize the manness or womanness, the meaning of the social self is disrupted, and conflict prevails on the psyche. Several theorists imply that the conflict between individuals' internal world and societal experience result in mental problems and "traits due to victimization"⁷² such as self-hatred, aggression and obsessiveness with the attached prejudices. "The available evidence suggests that the relative risk for serious suicide attempts among gay and bisexual males is substantially greater than that among their heterosexual counterparts."⁷³

Science constructs binaries on gender through pathologizing trans- people. Individuals under discussion are diagnosed with GID (Gender Identity Disorder) which is practiced against their will which results in identity confusion. For instance, an eight year old boy whose name is Carl is treated by doctors as a pathological case. George A. Rekers, Ph.D is Professor of Neuropsychiatry and Behavioral Science, having examined the boy, claims that the boy needs specific medical intervention by a clinician because the boy has feminine gestures, behaviors and speech such as donning women clothes, preferring female's roles in plays and using female remarks with his friends. As Carl is not "normal" and experiences gender identity problem, he is not only excluded and labeled as "effeminate", "sissy" or "fag" by his environment but also he consequently experiences interpersonal affliction, teasing, confinement and chronic unhappiness. "Carl's case illustrates how any incongruity across any two of these psychosexual dimensions can create psychological conflict and associated

⁷² Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, MA: Adison-Wesley, 1954.

(Quoted in Meyer, H.Ilan . "Minority Stres and Mental Health in Gay Men." In *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*. Vol.36, No.1, March 1995: 38-56.

⁷³ Jay P. Paul and Joseph Catania et al. (August, 2002). "Suicide Attempts Among Gay and Bisexual Men: Lifetime Prevalence and Antecedents." In *Research and Practice*, Vol. 92, No. 8 <http://www.ajph.org/cgi/reprint/92/8/1338> pp.1338-1345. p. 1338

maladjustment problems.”⁷⁴ At a very young age, Carl is marked as having disorder of Cross Gender Identification so a youngster is ostracized and diagnosed by science disregarding the psychic situation of him. That is to say, those who do not fit in the typical gender schema experience identity conflicts as they surpass the constructed framework of society. A healthy identity requires organic unity with the society so adjusted self comes as a result of a compliant self that fits communal and social norms. When the individual fails the performance of being “normal”, s/he will be inevitably marked as having disorder that means a break in constituting a continuous, consistent identity.

Consequently, gender gives ontological status to the body. It assigns identities and makes us “visible.” It normalizes the body according to present ideology, and puts a cultural mask over the body. When we take off the mask, discursive realm of the body disappears. In other words, when the individual does not conform to the present gender schema, s/he is ignored, minoritized and thus experiences psychological morbidity. Although LGBT people try hard to call for their existence, the ideology, heteropatriarchy, still applies gendering and its standardization through power relations constituted by social institutions.

1.3 Construction of Gender through Institutions

Human beings established particular groups and shared common economic, political, religious and cultural interests that have progressed toward a complex and organized system called society. It includes subgroups, maps of relationships, interrelations and order. Hence, society is “a complex system of groups; each group consists of actions performed by group members in relation to each other.”⁷⁵ As a result of this, social institutions are formed including specific members and expectations such as roles and behaviors to be the practiced by the individual. From birth we are socialized and become members of society as a result of a process whereby we become actors and internalize the cultural norms. Gender functions as a means of providing social order. Thus, institutions, their functioning and means are

⁷⁴ George A. Rekers. (2002). “Gender Identity Disorder.” <http://www.leaderu.com/jhs/rekers.html> (13. 05. 2009).

⁷⁵ Frederick L. Bates and Harvey Clyde C. (1975). *The Structure of Social Systems*. (Florida: Gardner P), p. 38

formed and operated based on the society they originate in. Private and public institutions of the society are molded with gender forms. They supply an order to live through in an interactive way by which our lives are directed collectively so we are engaged in a process of shaping and ‘forming’ in which we become objects as well as being subjects.

According to Bates and Harvey, order has two dimensions; replication and persistence of structure. These dimensions reveal the fact that the construction of gender repeats itself over and over. Namely, the society we live in presents “idealized” human types and differentiates the ideal/normal and not-ideal/abnormal by means of encoding roles, behaviors and social stratification which are practiced by social institutions. In other words, society “imposes a model of coherent gendered life”⁷⁶ to regulate social order. Our being in society acquires adopting appropriate attitudes and behaviors that are conveyed via parents, “images provided by the media, and the communications of teachers and friends; these messages are then internalized, with consequences for adult life.”⁷⁷

Gender is born out of societal “necessities” as a product of historical, economic and political circumstances. In short, gender is a social institution to be internalized by the individuals who have also formed it. All social institutions are intertwined with each other, and gender as an institution creates proper sex characteristics embedded into practices of everyday life that are also reproduced by the social institutions. After reviewing many noteworthy analyses and reviewing Anthony Giddens’ work, Patricia Yancey Martin identifies the criteria for defining a social institution. First of all, it is “norm-governed social practices”⁷⁸ which constrain and shape our daily life and individual experiences. Like all social institutions, gender is internalized and becomes part of the personality. We, as members of society, fulfill positions and expectations formed by gender institution which is conceived and practiced as a legitimizing ideology by other institutions.

⁷⁶ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 5.

⁷⁷ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein. (1988). *Deceptive Distinctions Sex, Gender and the Social Order*. (USA: Yale UP), p. 137

⁷⁸ Yancey Patricia Martin. (June, 2004). “Gender as Social Institution.” In *Social Forces*, Vol. 82, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598436>. pp. 1249-1273

As a matter of fact, gender displays a wide range of variables because gendered body bears not only personal interpretation but also assigned traits of structures based on its sex. Moreover allocations of gender are systematically implanted into the institutions of the society such as family, law, traditions and education.

1.3.1 Family

Gendering is an act of social learning process, and mechanism of gender construction begins to work by means of the family, cornerstone of the society. Family operates as the basic unit when other social institutions are inadequate in forming gender.

Diverse messages about the assigned gender are transmitted to the child as soon as s/he is born. Explicit and unconscious modeling by the family reproduces the gender schema. Mother and father carry out the social roles of woman and man. As a result of parents' treatment, gendered roles, gendered behaviors, and gendered feelings are learned, composing "the contextual nature of our behavior."⁷⁹ Namely, family is one of the basic elements constituting the appropriate gender for the society. Researches made on parental socialization of children reveal the fact that parents encourage sex-typed behaviors and gender roles via rewarding their children. The family is the primary actor on fostering the patriarchic structure. It has two pivotal functions: "First the primary socialization of children so that they can truly become members of the society; second the stabilization of adult personalities of population of the society"⁸⁰

Indeed, parents are primary actors of gender socialization as they treat their boys or girls differently and raise them in accordance with gender stereotypes consciously or unconsciously. In a research on infancy, first-time parents are asked to describe their babies twenty-four hours after the birth and parents of girls are reported

⁷⁹ Anne E. Hunter and Carie Forden. (2002). *Readings in the Psychology of Gender*. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon), p. 168.

⁸⁰ Claire M. Renzetti and Daniel J. Curran. (2003). *Women, Men and Society*. 5th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu), p.167

to describe their daughters as soft and small whereas parents of boys, especially fathers describe their sons as better coordinated, more alert and stronger than girls.⁸¹

Children are socialized in accordance with what is identified as the socially appropriate roles, tasks or jobs. Of the many researches made on parent-children interaction about gender socialization, Claire Renzetti and Daniel Curran's work clearly reveals the fact that the parents' treatment of their sons and daughters are mostly based on gender stereotypes. Their survey indicates that fathers encourage their sons to play games that require more physical strength and interactivity than they do with their daughters. "Both fathers and mothers are more likely to believe and to act on the belief that daughters need more help than sons."⁸² What patriarchy imposes is primarily practiced by parents. Thus, girls are brought up as passive and dependent while boys are encouraged to be assertive and aggressive.

Since social roles –daughter, wife, mother, son, husband, father, "head of the family"- are generated through the articulation of sociocultural genesis and geopolitical conditions, the child needs to be approved and receive social rewards on the condition that he or she acknowledges the assigned roles so as to be defined as a member of the society. Thus, the member is expected to adopt heterosexual normativity because socialization functions as a controlling apparatus of the system. For example, there are fixed roles of males and females imitated by children since they tend to copy the behaviors of those who are in close relationship to them. This process is called "imitation stage" of the socialization by American sociologist George H. Mead. According to him, children are very likely to take the role of their parents. By taking their same-sex parents as models, children learn gendered behaviors and skills.

Also, games and toys that children play with in their early childhood are of essential influence on gender construction as they acquire cognitive abilities, skills of social interaction and gendered traits of culture. Therefore, toys and games that

⁸¹ The research is retrieved from Margaret L. Andersen's work on social perspectives on sex and gender. Andersen, Margaret L. (2003). *Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*. 6th ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu.), p. 122

⁸² Claire M. Renzetti and Daniel J. Curran. (2003). *Women, Men and Society*. 5th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu), p. 88.

children play under the direction of parents have an outstanding effect on constituting gender stereotypes. A group of researchers examined the middle class houses. They found out that the children's rooms are full of gendered concepts and toys. Traditional feminine toys such as baby dolls, miniature kitchen toys are found in girls' rooms whereas boys' rooms include athletic equipment, militaristic toys. "Toys for boys tend to encourage exploration, manipulation, invention and aggression. In contrast, girls' toys typically rate high on manipulability but also creativity, nurturance and attractiveness."⁸³ From role modeling of parents to games played at home, the heteropatriarchic gender stratification is embedded to the child in the family. Nancy Chodorow's analysis of nuclear family sheds light on patriarchic structure of the modern family. She asserts that nuclear families are formed by unequal structure of parenting because division of labor in the family is distributed so unequally that women/mothers' work is devalued. Hence "this creates a dynamic of identification in which only girls adopt the personality characteristics associated with mothering"⁸⁴ whose role in the family is dependency on others.

That is to say, contemporary family structure is one of the primary institutions that enforces and perpetuates heteronormative patriarchy of modern world. As a basic institution of society, family operates as one of the major unit on constituting the gender binarism from the very beginning of the individual's life.

1.3.2 Traditions

Traditions are set of beliefs, rules and practices that act on overtly or subtly in day-to-day life. Traditions are the basic foundation of society. They are to be repeated and internalized until they are practiced automatically as a continuation of the past. They compose, regulate and hold society. These set of rules and practices, mostly operate in a gendered way, are in charge with every slightest part of the life that they are taken for granted as natural. Indeed, gender is the essential element in organizing and applying the traditions. The body becomes signifier of traditions and so culture as

⁸³ Claire M. Renzetti and Daniel J. Curran. (2003). *Women, Men and Society*. 5th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu), p. 91.

⁸⁴ Margaret L. Andersen. (2003). *Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*. 6th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu), p. 45

well. As our bodies are means of our existence, we are categorized and molded in accordance with the traditions of the community we live so as to be a member of society; we are expected to acknowledge the established set of rules and practices of society.

Gender operates in such a ubiquitous way that we fail to notice gendered practices. For instance, clothes are significant part of the gender construction which actually constitutes conditions of femininity and masculinity. Of course clothing involves wide range of debatable issues varying from capitalist marketing to expressive characteristic of race, class, and nation, but the aim here is to point out the usage of clothing that accelerates the traits of masculinity and femininity. Clothes, products of culture, are the mediators of our bodies. Clothes are the instruments by which individuals put forward their assumed sexual identity so clothes can be tricky since they define and hide our sexual bodies. That is to say, dress “acts as what Roland Barthes calls a ‘poetic object’ to be exchanged between wearer and observer in the negotiation of identities (which, while clothing works to fix them, always remain to open in ‘a double dream...of identity and play).”⁸⁵

How gender makes us ‘real’ in social environment, clothing mundane to our everyday living gives the traditional frame which supplies interactivity as subjects. Although firm distinction of woman and man clothes has gradually disappeared with the industrial age, the division made by clothing that marks the feminine and masculine traits conforming the heterosexist idea still continues. Gendering through dress begins from immediately after the sex identification of the baby in the uterus. Pink and blue garments are the markers of the baby; pink for girls, blue for boys so colors secure the gender of the baby. In adulthood, sexy clothes are worn to attract the ‘opposite sex’. For example, various kinds of advertisements are exposed for consumption of the garments by emphasizing masculinity and femininity. Hence, constructed gender, an institution intermingled with a set of rules, invades our daily life.

⁸⁵ Amelia Jones. (1995). “Clothes Make the Man: The Male Artist as a Performative Function.” In *Oxford Art Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 2 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360550> pp.18-32. p. 18

“In most contexts, gender becomes a bias in the way one enacts the role of manager, clerk, flight attendant, or student rather than a coherent and independent set of behaviors in itself. This is another way of understanding the insight that gender is something one ‘does’ rather than ‘is’.”⁸⁶ Gender is a very useful tool to establish conventional perception of femaleness and maleness that is reproduced through social roles in the community. Dual perceptions of gender have created expectations and practices for social roles which carry sociocultural meanings and cues taken for granted as normal. Roles and their attributions in social context are fixed; man is supposed to be caretaker, active, powerful, dominant, father, lawmaker, constructor. All of those roles make men ‘masculine’ while woman is expected to internalize opposite features that constitutes the binaries. Thus, woman turns into subordinate members to be cared who is passive and powerless. To sum up, contemporary gender institution put the man at the centre and the others are defined in relation to man.

If the individual does not fit in the roles mentioned above, s/he is not normal as the normal is determined by those who have created duplicities. Outsider of the duplicity is named as the third but the third is a danger for the society who may shatter the norms by subverting the given gender roles. Thus, there is no place for the third and the punishment of the society is deprivation from ‘normal’ life or lives based on lies are led as the third has to keep its gender identity as a secret.

According to cognitive psychologists, the first thing we recognize on a person when we encounter or start a relationship on a social scale is that we unconsciously identify the person’s gender. We categorize the sex of the person immediately after the social eye contact. Sorting out the sex of the person is an automatic response in defining ourselves. We are programmed to think according to the gendered groundwork of the society we live since we are subjected to established set of conventions from birth. We posit ourselves depending on the person we contact because it makes us feel safe to categorize a person in accordance with the preestablished gender schema so that we know how to respond based on the constructed rules whether the other person is male or female. When the person cannot

⁸⁶ Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Shelley J. Correll. (Aug., 2008). “Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations.” In *Gender and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448> pp. 510-531. p. 516

be classified, s/he is conceived as a threat to the conventional gendered structure. Excluding the different one out of the two, gender as an institution works as patriarchy's instrument in which gender roles are established as granting men the ruling position while subordinating women as second sex. As a result, distribution of gender roles leads to inequality between men and women that especially work in the workplace, authority lines and household labor of division. Gender functions as a prominent factor in governing our social relations. Since social structures act interdependently with other institutions, we are gendered to live which affect all aspect of our lives.

1.3.3. Law

Institutions of the society are formed to serve the system and all of them are intertwined with gender. Bodies of rules imposed by authority, laws conduct and bind society. State, which is the most powerful and regulating system of the society, uses laws to encode its practices mostly depending on gender. Besides, regulating and imposing family structure, education and traditions, heteropatriarchy also holds the power of state laws. "Laws both reflect and create gender inequality when they lend state authority to gender institutional practices assigning women to inferior status as citizens and workers."⁸⁷ Law is a powerful element to classify heterosexual men, women and LGBT people. Women are given status and social identity as "wives" by means of marriage law. It ascribes some duties for women such as bearer, cook, babysitter or homemaker. Marriage, institutionalized by law, draws the limits on women in terms of heteropatriarchal structure.

Also, it even took seventy years for American women to gain the right to vote. They began asking for suffrage with Seneca Falls Declaration in the early nineteenth century but the amendment was enacted in the early twentieth century. "Even after suffrage, women were routinely excluded from serving on juries well into the 1960's. Women's participation in the military has traditionally been limited to auxiliary

⁸⁷ Yancey Patricia Martin. (June, 2004). "Gender as Social Institution." In *Social Forces*, Vol. 82, No.4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598436>. pp. 1249-1273. p.1259

positions, secure from the opportunities for glory, if not from danger.”⁸⁸ Women were systematically excluded from apparatuses of the state in past and present.

Laws favor those who act in accordance with gender appropriate traits and repudiate those who do not, either through excluding or punishing. For example, the military –the most masculinized institution of patriarchy- does not include any homosexuals in Turkey. Unfortunately, gay people are required to prove their homosexuality by means of photos taken in act of sexual intercourse or they are subjected to ‘physical treatment’. They are insulted by the authority of state because of their sexual orientation so a state authority makes LGBT people feel inferior due to their nonconformity to standards of gender binarism.

As a result, the parallel between heteropatriarhic ideology and its practices should be consistent. Like all the social institutions of society, state laws reproduce the gender hierarchy. This is applied not only by state laws or culture’s conventions but also education.

1.3.4. Education

Education is the conveyance of knowledge and skills that characterize society. It imposes formative instructions and aim to develop the individual to make her adaptable and compatible element of society.

Children are educated and molded according to the norms and cultural structure of the society. Education is a powerful instrument for embedding the gender-typical behaviors. Namely, shaping of gender continues with the education after the familial process. Margaret Andersen claims in her book, *Thinking about Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*, schools are influential in ‘teaching’ gendered attitudes. Learning gendered behaviors and internalization process of gender might be considered as a hidden curriculum in schools. Hidden curriculum refers to covert teaching of practices of social control like gender stereotyping and its

⁸⁸Katharine T. Bartlett and Angela Harris. (1998). “Gender and Law: Theory, Doctrine, Commentary.” <http://academic.udayton.edu/gender/01Unit/index.htm>. (17.07. 2009)

stratification. It is not a set of written documents to teach but social expectations and behaviors to be adopted by students. It is also a way of learning social conformity.

Practices of schools, hidden curriculum, and attitudes of teachers are significant factors through which children obtain gendered behaviors and skills. Although they seem to have equal access and opportunities for education today, classroom seating and playing are practiced on the basis of gender. Researches about teaching material, specifically textbooks, display that males and females are pictured in stereotypical gendered roles. Men are depicted in more occupational positions than women, and girls are portrayed to be more obedient than boys in the school books. Thus, school books are one of the most crucial components of gender construction. Children learn how to act, think and feel as boys or girls via education. In short, books teach what the society expects from them. “It is significant that preschool books show women’s roles as confined to the home and either cleaning or caring for others.”⁸⁹ Moreover, American Association of University Women Educational Foundation (1992) has found out that girls are motivated to be passive in schools whereas boys take more responses from teachers and become center of the attention even in a case of disruptive misbehavior.

Aiming at satisfying the present heteropatriarchic ideology, gender roles are embedded either subtly or implicitly at the schools. Being one of the important institutions of gender socialization, education acts formatively via embedding the constructed gender stereotypes.

In conclusion, the gendered body is studied as an active and perceiving mechanism to display the construction of gender according to needs and benefits of society depending on the changing historical, economic and political conditions. The Western World of gender is constructed to perform heteropatriarchal aims and power relations. Deliberate construction of gender prescribes the binary opposition of sexes, and sets heterosexuality as the only form of sexual orientation. One has to be either heterosexual male or heterosexual female so they become members of society on the condition that they fit into these categories.

⁸⁹ Margaret L. Andersen. (2003). *Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*. 6th Ed. (Boston: Pearson Edu.), p. 54

We become members of society through socialization. We put on social identities while making contacts in the community. We are expected to fulfill the roles assigned as men or women. Yet, LGBT people, who break the normative frame, lead lives with the risk of stigmatization and rejection by dominant group. To specify and picture the lives, psychology and experiences of LGBT people, *The Danish Girl* by David Ebershoff and *Fena Halde Leman* by Attila İlhan are analyzed in terms of construction and deconstruction of gender.

2.1 PART TWO

Gender is a powerful tool that establishes the ways of thinking, behaving, and thus living. It forms the borders between categories of man and woman. It is the “natural attitude” of heteropatriarchal structure that one has to be either male or female. Based on dichotomous thinking, it is believed that man and woman have basically different capacities. Men are disposed as superior either physically or mentally through creating hierarchies at home, education and workplace. However, characters in *The Danish Girl* and *Fena Halde Lemman* radically violate the construction of heteropatriarchy. The two chapters below are designed in terms of construction and deconstruction of gender.

2.1.1 The Girl Born as a Boy on a Bog of Denmark: *The Danish Girl* by David Ebershoff

The Danish Girl is David Ebershoff’s first novel which is based on the real life story of the first person to have sex reassignment surgery. It is Einar Wegener’s transformation story into Lili Elbe. Having read a short paragraph about Einar Wegener in a gender theory book sent via mail by his friend, David Ebershoff searched for the story of the first person to undergo sex change; Einar Wegener whose wife helped him in his transgressing. Mostly based on the references appeared in Danish press in the 1930s and Einar’s diary written as Lili, *The Danish Girl* is a novel of a fascinating real life story. It is a transformation story of Einar Wegener into Lili Elbe. Ebershoff portrays not only a transgender story but also the inner sight of a Danish painter. Through the story of Einar Wegener, boundaries of gender are redefined. Also, construction and deconstruction of gender is represented by the protagonist’s body.

To begin with, the story of Einar Wegener subverts the biology-is-destiny phenomenon. Born with a male external genitalia, Einar Wegener is certified as male immediately after birth because the first criterion of gender assignment is anatomy. Raised as a boy, Einar is expected to display masculine traits. He is defined to carry a boy’s face “like china-doll face”⁹⁰ and a boy’s shoulder although he is a grown up

⁹⁰ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Boks), p. 23

man. As a male, he is expected to have wide shoulders and muscular body which are the signs of a strong, protective and assertive male image. “ Physically, Einar was an unusual man. . . when his shirt would split open further. . . everyone at the table could get peek of his chest which was as obscene as the breast of a girl a few days in to puberty.”⁹¹ His physical appearance is confusing for a male as it conveys the feminine peculiarities. It is also because the biological determinism and heteropatriarchy that prescribes the appearances, way to live and act. These two ideologies assert a stable and definite schema about sexes. The idea that biology is the only criteria to define sex is deconstructed by the Danish painter, Einar. The doctor to transform Einar finds out that Einar has got underdeveloped ovaries. According to him, it almost explains everything about Einar’s situation but “no, Greta thought. The ovaries couldn’t explain everything.”⁹² Greta, who knows the inner world of Einar as his wife, is of opinion that it is not a simple biological situation. While anything different from the established schema can be explained and cured by science, it is just “a natural progression of events”⁹³ for Einar. As the biologist and gender studies Professor Anna Fausto Sterling asserts, we cannot fix a person’s gender depending solely on biology, and we cannot claim that there are only two sexes. Sterling’s claim is realized by the protagonist of *The Danish Girl*. Einar Wegener’s body breaks the framed gender. Einar has a feminine body, and he transgresses into Lili via both cross-dressing and surgical operation. Namely, Einar/Lili “does” his own gender. This displays the fact that biology cannot determine the individual’s gender, rather gender can be reassigned by the individual herself.

To be a social member of society, Einar Wegener has to learn gendered roles since social domain rolls on a gendered framework. He becomes professor of art at a university in Denmark. As a lecturer, he is depicted as “shy, easily embarrassed around teenagers.”⁹⁴ Besides his physical appearance, his patterns of behaviors show feminine traits but he is supposed to engage in a set of behaviors called masculine. He is raised as a boy and is “naturally” expected to demonstrate masculine tendencies from clothing to attitudes in social domain. The culture he grows up in presumes he is a heterosexual male from the very beginning as a result of his apparent anatomical

⁹¹ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 25

⁹² *ibid*, p. 210

⁹³ *ibid*, p. 192

⁹⁴ *ibid*, p. 12

structure. Einar's father finds him in the drawers one day, the amber beads twisted around his neck and his mother's yellow scarf on his head like hair when Einar was a child. The portrait that his father sees is shocking which makes him furious because Einar does what "little boys can't do!"⁹⁵ He transgresses the gendered roles which are determinants of social relations. Moreover, Einar experiences emotional and sexual intimacy with his childhood friend, Hans. Though he seems to be socializing with his peers like a typical boy, Einar actually deviates from the prescriptions of sexual orientation. Einar and Hans play games like playing tennis as naked, floating kites. While floating kites at the age of thirteen, they get closer. At that moment Einar wanted to lie close to Hans and he "seemed to open to anything at all."⁹⁶ The more the boys become adolescent, the more they feel intimate with each other. Their close relationship stands against the cultural expectations established by society. Gender is a major organizer of social relations in heteropatriarchy. According to which, Einar is to engage in gender-stereotypic activities like his father. As a male, he is not expected to be domestic which is a feminine peculiarity. Yet, Einar and Hans played a game at home in which Einar "pretends" to be a woman who is cooking for Hans. When the boys were about to kiss, Einar's father sees them, and reacts with physical aggression. The protagonist violates the gender distinctions created by patriarchy. He enters into the realm of femininity by overturning the gendered roles.

Not only in his childhood but also in adult life, Einar destroys the cultural construction of gender by heteropatriarchy. Culture furnishes two categories of gender. One has to be either female or male. Einar Wegener, shy, reserved art professor portrays an ordinary life with his job and marriage. Yet, the portrait, framed by culture's gendered program, is shattered when Einar begins cross-dressing at home. Actually, it all starts with his wife, Greta's request from Einar to take on woman's shoes in order to finish a portrait of a performance artist. When shoes are not enough to complete the painting, Einar is asked to wear the woman's dress. It is not a simple request done by Einar because dressing up women clothes makes him "enter a shadowy world of dreams where Anna's dress could belong to anyone, even to him."⁹⁷ Without realizing the confusing feelings of her husband, Greta names cross-dressed

⁹⁵David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 28

⁹⁶ *ibid*, p. 31

⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 11

Einar as Lili. Though it seems that Lili is born as a result of coincidence, she is actually the woman residing inside Einar. Cross-dressing becomes a routine for Einar, and Lili turns into another person at home and in public sphere. S/he attends concerts, goes to cafes and even works as a saleslady in a shop under the name of Lili with the encouragement of his wife. Thus, the protagonist is in constant act of “doing” gender by simply cross-dressing which shows the fact that gender is fluctuating, and one can be both male and female in public by satisfying the cultural traits. Einar Wegener/Lili transcends the binary categories of gender through not only cross-dressing but also through his surgical operation. He literally changes his gender. Disregarding the gender norm, Einar challenges the fixed status of maleness and femaleness constructed by heteropatriarchy. His deliberate and obvious transformation is an example of the plastic nature of gender. This implies the fact that gender is not a fixed category, but rather it is culturally constructed and creates expectations to be fulfilled by the individual. For instance, Einar and Greta who have a decent life fit into gendered roles as a married couple but strikingly they go beyond the cultural limits on gender because Greta encourages her husband to socialize as Lili and help for the surgery. That is to say, a body can be confined by culture, but the protagonist paradoxically breaks the borders of normative gender roles by turning into Lili from Einar.

Einar’s transformation is also a remarkable story with regard to its setting. It is the era of post-World War I when “the dark cloud of economic disaster, fascism, and, eventually Nazism had already rolled over the continent.”⁹⁸ Set in 1920s of Denmark, Germany and France, the novel transmits the gender notion of Western World. It also bears the existence of non-heterosexuality that is already practiced from Ancient Greece to modern times. In other words, it represents the undeniable fact of gender variance. The secret transaction of the protagonist begins when Greta and he live in Copenhagen. It was believed that “the world of a female or male homosexual is perverted; it is alien to the normal sexual attraction that exists in a normal person.”⁹⁹ In a socially constructed environment like that, Einar plays a secret game dressed in chiffon dresses with accessories and make-up in Denmark streets. Ironically, transgressed Einar easily socializes at balls or concerts. “Lili felt as if she were

⁹⁸ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 7

⁹⁹ Wayne R. Daynes and Stephen Donaldson. (1992). *History of Homosexuality in Europe and America*. (New York: Routledge), p. 358.

carrying the greatest secret in the world—she was about to fool all of Copenhagen.”¹⁰⁰ S/he even dates with guys which shows the fact that gender can be reconstructed by applying apparent gendered clothes and attitudes in public realm. Gradually, his wife directs Einar to a doctor in Denmark due to his mysterious bleeding between his legs and cross-dressing. Rather than dealing with the bleeding, the doctor concerned about Einar’s turning into Lili. It was a typical concern of the period since World War I devastated established norms and beliefs. As a result of which social anxiety prevailed so non-heterosexuality was diagnosed as “abnormal.” Therefore, doctor tells Greta, “Denmark is very open, but this isn’t about openness. It’s about sanity . . . there is something not quite sane about your husband’s desires? That you and I, as responsible citizens, cannot let your husband free to roam as Lili?”¹⁰¹ Strikingly, doctor claims to get the “demon” out of Einar. Disregarding the psychic situation of the protagonist, doctor is in pursuit of pleasing the needs and practices of the era. In spite of the heteronormative patriarchy, Einar’s wife, Greta who is depicted as radical and rebellious towards her Californian high class family, is the greatest supporter of Einar’s transformation. The couple moves to Paris in 1929 where Einar/Lili feels freer. Paris embraces more multiplicities than Denmark. The growth of homosexual subculture offers a wide range of bars, clubs or bars so Lili had more space to socialize in Paris in the post World War I era. With the encouragement of his wife, Einar tries to rebuild his life as Lili.

Hence, Einar and his Californian wife Greta are ahead of their time with regard to power relations, rights and privileges created by the period. At a time when heterosexual males had the authority to dominate home and politics, Einar Wegener and his wife shatter the gender specific practices of heteropatriarchy. Thus, the Danish painter’s life is not just a story of transgender that takes place in 1930s Europe, but it also manifests the fact that the past infuses our vision of fixed status of gender and the world. Yet, Einar Wegener’s daring transformation is forgotten today as a norm breaking event. It is a natural outcome of heteropatriarchal system to ignore the story of first person to undergo sex reassignment. David Ebershoff states, the story is disregarded because of the “nature of Wegener’s transformation. Even today transgendered people struggle to incorporate themselves into society, without much

¹⁰⁰ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 44

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, p. 99

assistance from us.”¹⁰² Transgendering is to be ignored as it stands out of the binary opposition. Einar’s transgressing is controversial because what is constructed by heteropatriarchal system as “normal” is destroyed. The anchored view of gender binarism is collapsed by Einar/Lili case since Einar/Lili’s gender goes beyond the dichotomy. The heteronormative system requires him to be masculine all thorough his life because of socio-economic conditions. If changing one’s gender is conceived as normal, it will literally destruct the system, power relations and stratification of man and woman. When Einar and his wife, Greta tries to consult another doctor, he treats Einar as if he is “abnormal” because he transgresses the maintenance of the gender binarism and compulsory heterosexuality. As a result, institutionalized heterosexuality diagnoses Einar Wegener, and those who feel discomfort with their biological gender, to be afflicted with Gender Identity Disorder (GID). Therefore, Einar’s cross-identification with opposite sex makes him a pathological case. “The transsexual suffering from an extreme form of gender dysphoria syndrome often invests all his/her hopes on surgical reassignment . . . This diagnosis is difficult and necessitates a multidisciplinary approach.”¹⁰³ It is believed that early intervention is significant to prevent the individual’s transgressing or else disconformity “causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.”¹⁰⁴ Also, “cases” like Einar Wegener are encouraged to seek for professional consultation. However, he feels as an outcast. Therefore, he avoids being pathologized;

“I am not a homosexual. That isn’t my problem. There’s another person living inside me, Einar said, rising from the chair. “A girl named Lili.”
 “And it breaks my heart.” Dr. Mc Bride, continued . . . “My only advice is that you restrain yourself. You’re going to have to always fight your desires. Ignore them, Mr. Wegener. If you don’t, well, then, you’ll always be alone.”¹⁰⁵

Showing that gender categories do not only consist of female and male, Lili is ostracized by physicians as the norm requires a stable gender identity which is

¹⁰² David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 23

¹⁰³ Michel A. and C. Mormont. (2001). “A Psycho-endocrinological Overview of Transsexualism” In *European Journal of Endocrinology No: 145* www.eje.org (15.07.2008). pp. 365-376. p. 373

¹⁰⁴ O’Neil Maya E. and Ellen Hawley McWhiter. (March, 2008). “Transgender Identities and Gender Variance in Vocational Psychology” In *Journal of Career Development Vol. 34, No: 3* <http://jcd.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/3/286> (12.08.2008). pp. 286–308 p. 288

¹⁰⁵ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 146

assigned from birth. The doctors' reactions stem from the present system's manipulation of bodies. Einar/Lili's situation overreaches what is constructed as normal. Not knowing what to do with Einar's wish to become Lili, Einar, Greta and their friends need to counsel physicians owing to the anxiety created by non-conformity of the protagonist. Einar and one of his friends try another doctor for the "problem." The doctor suspects of schizophrenia when he learns about Einar and Lili. It is the heteropatriarhal system that needs to label those who do not fit into dichotomous thinking of gender. Standing out of the gender norm leads to uncertainty and anxiety in straight minds whose reactions result in vulnerability on the non-conformists like Einar Wegener.

Thus, Einar's self-esteem is shattered after the treatments. He asks his friend after the treatment "But you don't think I'm schizophrenic, do you? That just doesn't make any sense. . . Do you think she believes I'm insane?"¹⁰⁶ Inevitably, the protagonist's state of mind is confused. He does not know how to feel due to the treatments he experienced. The more he tries to be visible as Lili, the more his situation is problematized. Looking from the protagonist's point of view, his desire to become Lili is quite normal. Conversely, the environment he lives in makes him feel abnormal like all other LGBT people. Because of this, Einar/Lili tries to find out his "problem," and he reads about gender development theories such as *The Sexes; the Normal and Abnormal; a Scientific Study of Sexual Immorality*. He needs to search because the community he lives in makes him feel "different" from the majority. As Judith Butler states in *Undoing Gender*, the body is in a constant process of normalization regulated by discourses. Therefore, Einar's body has to be kept "normal" to sustain and maintain the norm of what a man and woman is. That is why the doctor in Denmark and the American doctor in Paris treat Einar as mentally sick and abnormal. Einar/Lili, a transgender character, represents the most striking form of gender. S/he blends the established gender forms by virtual and surgical change. Einar's passing from man into woman is not a simple operation. It challenges the compelled conformity. Einar Wegener is transformed into Lili Elbe with his own free will along with going beyond the institutionalized form of gender after having three surgeries.

¹⁰⁶ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 149

Additionally, the Danish painter's story highlights the personal reflections of a trans- person. Einar Wegener seems to have male gender identity since he ostensibly carries the roles and traits to be demonstrated public. He portrays a decent life in which he is an art professor and married to an artist. Yet, he does not exactly fit into the politics of gender identity. He thinks he is "a girl born as a boy on a bog."¹⁰⁷ Although Einar Wegener's gender identity is male in social realm, his perception of himself is female. Paradoxically, the protagonist leads half of his life conforming the heteropatriarchy's gender policy. He is required to have a life of male because he finds himself in a formed chain of gendered roles and behaviors to be obtained beginning from his childhood years. Therefore, any attempt to cross the assigned gender identity cause overreaction by his father. Einar is expected to "perform" a life that is already constructed for him, but "Einar was a guise"¹⁰⁸ because he feels that he is filled with Lili. Einar, the girl born as a boy, carries a female inside him which is easily burst out by a pair of women's shoes worn because of his painter wife's request to complete a portrait.

That is to say, Einar believes that he has wrong gender identity. As a result, his persona is split between the institutionalized heterosexuality and his wish to become Lili. His stuck psyche leads to identity crisis like all other trans- people. He has got two identities; one belongs to Einar Wegener who is a model of the present system, and the other one is Lili Elbe with whom the protagonist constitutes his real self. He has got to create double identity because Einar's psychological commitment is femaleness although his gender identity is prescribed as male. In one of his cross-dressings of Einar, he goes on a date with a man called Henrik. Becoming Lili makes her freer, but she sometimes feels that Einar is another person watching Lili. Feeling Lili in Einar's body, the protagonist is squeezed as well as feeling free when he is socializing as Lili. Paradoxically, Lili needs to confess that she is Einar when she is on a date with Henrik. On the one hand the protagonist is happy to "be" Lili. On the other hand "a terrible shudder rose through Lili, and it suddenly was as if Einar was a third person —as if he were one step removed from Lili and Henrik's intimate circle of confession, witnessing at all. There he was, Einar in the young girl's dress, flirting

¹⁰⁷ DavidEbershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p.173

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*, p.125

with a younger man. It was an awful sight.”¹⁰⁹ Einar/Lili is in such a complicated state of mind that he sometimes thinks Einar and Lili are two separate persons. After Einar/Lili dates with his childhood friend, Hans, Greta tells Einar that Hans wants to go out again.

“He was happy to meet Lili. And he spoke so fondly of Einar. He can’t wait to see you again. Do you remember that?” Greta asked. “You promised him that he could see Lili again today.”
“It wasn’t me,” Einar said. “It was Lili.”¹¹⁰

Having duality inside, Einar experiences unbalanced psychic changes about his gender identity. Einar finds Lili inside himself. In addition to his ongoing doubleness, Einar is hurt talking about his shared body. Holding two gender identities in one body, the protagonist feels that there is something wrong with him. The chaos results from the institutionalized heterosexuality which creates the “naturalized” binarism, and “constitutes the limit of gendered possibilities within an oppositional binary gender system.”¹¹¹ The culture requires him to have one stable coherent gender. Namely, Einar’s bearing Lili from his inside, and his transformation lead to both identity crisis, and deconstruct the myth of universalized gender binarism.

His fluid state of gender identity bears psychological morbidity which stems from the standardized heterosexuality. As a member of Western Culture, Einar Wegener is supposed to be heterosexual male. It is normal to be heterosexual as the culture he lives is constituted on binary based gender schema. Einar Wegener, the girl born as a boy, is expected to have one single stable gender to accomplish the roles and duties built by heteronormative patriarchy. He is constricted between fulfilling the expectations and his wish to become Lili. The complicated state of his gender “made him feel as if his soul were trapped in a wrought-iron cage . . . Lili stirring from him, shaking herself awake, rubbing her side against the bars of Einar’s body.”¹¹² Torn between the practices of masculine ideology —imposes as set of roles and believes that tell about what it means to be a man— and his intrinsic perception of himself, Einar/Lili suffers from this intricate situation. Bonded by emotional and sexual

¹⁰⁹ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 61

¹¹⁰ *ibid*, p. 98

¹¹¹ Judith Butler. (2004). *Gender Trouble*. (New York: Routledge), p. 30

¹¹² David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 73

feelings towards Hans in his childhood, turned into Lili Elbe through cross-dressing and dated with adult men, Einar Wegener's psyche is split and distorted as a trans-person. Aside from his diverse feelings, bleeding between his legs and his nose were both terrifying and welcoming for Einar. Amidst inexhaustible doubleness, not only wholeness of the psyche but also wholeness of identity of "the girl born as a boy in a bog" is shattered. Looking from the society's point of view, Einar/Lili's feels uprooted. When he is on an appointment with a doctor, he could not explain why he is required to have treatment. "I don't now what kind of help I'm looking for. . . I don't think I can keep living like this . . . Like I don't know who I really am."¹¹³ Psychological difficulties that Einar suffers from are actually common among LGBT people because they all go beyond the parameters of gender phenomenon, and destruction of codes of dichotomous thinking brings about the culture's pressure on the non-conformist body which is usually diagnosed as abnormal or sick. In another appointment with doctor, he is asked questions about his sexual life and his need to become Lili.

Thus, his psychology is turned down as he is felt sick because of what he feels inside. After the doctor's questions, "around Einar, bricks of indignity were being laid. Each insult . . . from Dr. Hexler was a red brick of hurt stacking with the others to build a wall."¹¹⁴ The protagonist sets a model for the alterable nature of gender. He is led to enigmatic psychic dilemma since he problematizes what is taken for granted as normal. In her research on dehumanizing effects of stereotyping and stigmatization on gender non-conformists, Shirley Braverman found out that if a person is treated as sick and called abnormal all through her life, her self-esteem is eroded.¹¹⁵ As Einar blends the categories of gender, his doubleness is pathologized so he needs to affirm that his situation is not "abnormal." He is such an impenetrable condition that what he naturally feels becomes a case to be examined and treated. He wants to clarify his complicated situation to regain his wholeness and self-confidence.

"Do you think I'm going to be insane?" he said.
Greta sat up. "Insane? Who told you that?"
"No one. But do you?"

¹¹³ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 148

¹¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 90

¹¹⁵ Shirley J. Braverman. (Apr., 1973). "Homosexuality." In *The American Journal of Nursing*. Vol. 73, No. 4. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3422972>.(18.072008). pp. 652-655

“That’s the most ridiculous thing I’ve ever heard. Who’s has been telling you that?”

“It’s just that sometimes I don’t know what’s going on with me.

“But that’s not true,” she said. “We know exactly what’s going on with you. Inside you lives Lili. In your soul is a pretty young lady named Lili. It’s a simple as that.”¹¹⁶

Einar’s transforming into Lili destroys the stability of gender in social domain in turn, he pays for it; his psyche is distorted. In other words, Einar is punished as he chooses his own gender by rebuilding it through cross-dressing and sex reassignment surgery. However, inner world of Einar/Lili bares the fact that gender provides the precondition to exist. When Einar/Lili goes out the boundaries of institutionalized heterosexuality, his ontological status is questioned. He is asked to constrain himself or choose one gender identity to “exist” in society. Fluctuating between being Einar and Lili, and going to women’s clinics to cure his “anomaly”, the protagonist “became exhausted by the world failing to know who he was.”¹¹⁷ In a long lasting confusion, the protagonist sometimes feels indeterminacy about his gender.

Thus, s/he necessarily experiences intense personal anguish. “Factors such as negative body image, sexual minority stress, and lack of affirmation of transgender identity in important social relationships can contribute to anxiety and depression.”¹¹⁸ At the beginning of his cross-dressings, he thinks it is just a game, then he feels he is a girl born as a boy. After reading lots of books about gender development to clarify his confused state of mind, the protagonist believes “that this wasn’t a mental problem but a physical one”¹¹⁹ obsessed with stable gendered selves, heterosexual normativity makes Einar/Lili feel trapped because of her non-conformity. That is to say, being born into wrong body makes Einar different. Einar Wegener who is actually filled with Lili Elbe turns the fixed status of gender into changeable circumstance. Two separate categories; female and male becomes one in the protagonist’s body. Yet, his organic unity with society is broken by Einar/Lili dichotomy. Even after his decision for sex reassignment surgery, s/he still experiences the in-betweenness. When s/he is about to have operation, the chaos pervades her mind in addition to his anxiety.

¹¹⁶ Ebershoff, David. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. New York: Penguin Books, p. 150

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 188

¹¹⁸ Maya E. O’Neil and Ellen Hawley McWhiter. (March, 2008). “Transgender Identities and Gender Variance in Vocational Psychology” In *Journal of Career Development Vol. 34, No: 3* <http://jcd.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/3/286> (12.08.2008). pp. 286–308 pp.298

¹¹⁹ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 139

“Would it all be over, and she would rest? Would Einar and Lili exit, hand in hand? Bones buried in the bog.”¹²⁰ Thus, his constant doubleness is actually caused by cultural discourse on gender. By subverting the mainstream dichotomy of gender, Einar Wegener point out the fact that naturalized heterosexuality is a cultural mask put on the individuals as well as imposing fixed roles and attributes to gender categories. This cultural mask is constituted through institutions of society. Because of legitimized institutions of society like family, law, traditions and education, Einar Wegener, the girl born as a boy on a bog of Denmark is required to adopt a coherent gender identity in accordance with anatomical structure in order to have a place in the community.

According to recent studies on psychosexual development, gender coherency is achieved through the social institutions of society. This is primarily maintained by the family which is a significant element to promote the prescribed gendered roles, way of thinking so Einar Wegener’s family is examined to display the gendered effects of parent-child interaction, parental attitudes and the family notion. The protagonist grows up a poor family. His mother dies when she gives birth to Einar, and his father is lack of communication. Einar Wegener’s mother died while she was giving birth to him. Having experienced the trauma as a child, Einar is deprived of love, care and nurturing as well as communication and observing his mother so the protagonist’s separation from his mother is dramatic. This inevitably affects the relationship with his father and his gender identity. Robert Stoller is of opinion that gender conflicts happened later years of life result from unusual experiences in the early years of life and difficulties in separating their own identity from their mother’s. Applying Stoller’s theory, the protagonist’s doubleness can be dated back to his birth. Loss of mother and father’s reserved attitudes towards Einar after the death of his wife cause Einar to grow up in an atmosphere deprived of parental modeling. Parents, who are the primary actors of gendering, transmit “appropriate” sex-typed behaviors and gender roles to the child either through consciously or unconsciously. Unfortunately, Einar’s father is not capable of serving as a role model for the protagonist due to his malady. Although Einar longs for his father’s fatherhood, he “. . . resented his father, sometimes cursing

¹²⁰ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 180

him as Einar dug in the bog.”¹²¹ Even when Einar wants to look at his mother’s framed picture, he is warned not to disturb her mother.

Deprived of mother and parenthood of his father, Einar displays feminine attitudes like wearing his mother’s accessories, and making an intimate homosexual friendship with Hans. Yet, Einar’s feminine tendencies are suppressed by his father. Besides his lack of communication with Einar, his father warns or beats the protagonist. In their kitchen Einar and his childhood friend play a game, they pretend to be husband and wife. Einar who takes the role of wife pretends to be cooking with an apron. When the apron is tied by Hans, he “touched the nape of Einar’s neck as there were a panel of hair he needed to lift aside. ‘You never played this game?’ Hans whispered, his voice hot and creamy on Einar’s ear . . . Hans pulled the apron tighter until Einar had to lift his ribs with an astonished, grateful breath, his lungs filling just as Einar’s father padded into the kitchen, his eyes wide and his mouth puckered into a large O.”¹²² Seeing her child close to a homosexual act, Einar’s father blows up, yells at Hans by holding his walking stick and slaps Einar’s cheek. Norm breaking act of the protagonist is aggressively suppressed by the parent. In addition to failure at his job as cereal farmer, father of Einar fails at being a parent who is supposed to function as an intermediary in acquiring the appropriate gender of his child. Therefore, he overreacts Einar’s sexual tendency as he is expected to sustain heteropatriarchal gender structure. Einar is to be a heterosexual male and he has to behave in accordance with the masculine attributions. It is believed that gender development of the child depends not only on the family but also on traditions, law and education.

The terms that individuals are recognized as members of society are heavily conducted by traditions which regulate and pervade daily life. They are conceived so natural that members of society cannot recognize traditional gendered practices. As the society Einar lives prescribes heteronormative traditions, he is supposed to have a life of standardized male. He actually portrays a “normal” life. When he grows up, he becomes an art professor and marries one of his students, Greta. According to social learning theory, gendered life is constituted by postnatal learning. Grown up without parental interaction, Einar adopts a standardized life to take the confirmation of

¹²¹ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 28

¹²² *ibid*, p.32

society. Yet, his so-called conformist life is destroyed by a simple cross-dressing of Einar for Greta to finish a painting. Though his apparent anatomical structure ‘naturally’ makes him male, he feels as a female that goes beyond the social and cultural domain of maleness. Namely, Einar and his wife’s encouragement towards Einar to lead life as Lili overturn the traditional perception of gender. Einar Wegener multiplies the body by recreating his own gender. Ironically Lili Elbe takes place as a different individual in the social realm which refers to the fact that gender assessment can be achieved only through appearance. Deliberate clothing and make-up, which signify the femininity, are the major elements of construction of femaleness. As they form the female specific traits, Einar turns into Lili Elbe very easily. Cognitive psychologists assert that people tend to categorize the individual’s gender before the social interaction. Transgressed Einar socializes as Lili Elbe by wearing chiffon dresses and applying powder, lipstick. His socialization is fulfilled by changing his appearance in terms of established feminine traits. While heteropatriarchy forms stable and distinct categories of gender, Einar/Lili mobilizes gender notion by holding both maleness and femaleness in one body. The protagonist shows that the nature of gender is reversible and changeable. Deconstruction of gender and forming Lili Elbe is depicted as:

He chose a dress. . . Now Einar removed his clothes, turning back to the mirror. In the drawer of the bed stand was a roll of white medical tape and scissors. . . , and Einar pulled out a length and cut into five pieces. Each piece he stuck to the edge of the bedpost. Then, shutting his eyes and feeling himself slide down through the tunnel of his soul, Einar pulled his penis back and taped it up in the blank space just beneath his groin.¹²³

Deliberate use of gendered practices like clothing, cosmetics and behaving can make a person masculine or feminine. When Einar turns into Lili, s/he uproots his gender step by step. That is to say, gender can be constructed even in a playful way like Einar Wegener’s daily cross-dressing. The major rationale, static aspect, of gender binarism is mobilized via Einar’s deliberate dressing into female. By reading Simone de Beauvoir’s statement “one is not born woman rather becomes one”, Judith Butler sheds a light on Einar’s becoming Lili; “if gender is something that one becomes, then

¹²³ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 73

gender itself is a kind of becoming or activity.”¹²⁴ When programmed gender groundwork is examined carefully, it can be reconstructed without being noticed through applying traditional assumptions and practices of gender like Einar does in public domain as Lili.

In addition to traditions that construct the dichotomous thinking of gender, laws also operate to keep the heteropatriarchic gendered formation. After Einar has surgical operation to become Lili Elbe in a hospital in Germany, Greta has to legalize the loss of Einar Wegener through a death certificate in Denmark. Besides experiencing the trauma of his husband’s transformation, their marriage is invalidated by the king immediately after the operation. Though Denmark was ahead of its time in 1930s, it was impossible to stay as a couple; “now they were both women and Einar lay in memory’s coffin. Even so, the officials . . . whose fingers shook nervously, surprised Greta when they filed the paperwork with an uncharacteristic alacrity.”¹²⁵ The legal authority ignores the reality of Einar/Lili because all the structures of society including legal system encode its practices depending on the present system’s gender foundation which requires fixed gendered selves. When Greta wants to press death certificate for Einar after the surgery, her efforts are denied as there is no law for this kind of case. “And so Einar Wegener officially disappeared, graveless and gone.”¹²⁶ The protagonist blurs the boundaries of maleness and femaleness so transgressing should be ignored as much as possible owing to its shattering impact on heteronormativity. Laws, the formal operative of compulsory heterosexuality, do not let those who overreach the standardized maleness and femaleness because the validity of constructed dichotomy of gender would be destroyed.

Hence, the story of the Danish painter, Einar Wegener highlights the cultural construction of maleness and femaleness by becoming Lili Elbe. Although the naturalized concept of gender assumes that people can only be male or female in terms of binary oppositions, the protagonist holds both of them. By cross-dressing and undergoing sex reassignment surgery, the protagonist manifests that anatomy does not ground gender and gender roles. In other words, concepts such as woman/man or

¹²⁴ Judith Butler. (1999). *Gender Trouble*. (New York: Routledge), p. 143

¹²⁵ David Ebershoff. (2000). *The Danish Girl*. (New York: Penguin Books), p. 225

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p. 225

female/male become fluid. As a result, the story of Lili stresses the subversion of biological determinism as well as portraying the psychological state of a non-conformist who is the first person to switch his gender, gender roles, and eventually experiences identity crisis. So intense and complicated is his wish to become a woman that he creates two distinct personas; Lili and Einar in order to avoid any social disapproval, condemnation and ostracization. However, he manages to socialize as Lili because he carefully reconstructs his gender identity by dressing and behaving in the ways attributed for women. Einar Wegener, “the girl born as a boy on a bog of Denmark,” breaks the boundaries of social institutions and deconstructs the “reality” of compulsory heteronormativity.

2.1.2 Pluralistic, Multidimensional and Fluctuating Gendered Bodies in Attila İlhan's *Fena Halde Leman*

Attila İlhan, who is one of the most controversial Turkish authors, writes politically and sexually daring books throughout his career. He challenged the normative dichotomous thinking of heteropatriarchy through *Fena Halde Leman*. It is said to be a norm-breaking novel because it makes non-heterosexuality a negotiable and comprehensible theme. In other words, invisibility of homosexuality becomes recognizable in contemporary Turkish literature via *Fena Halde Leman*. In his article "Türk edebiyatında eşcinsellik"¹²⁷, A. Ömer Türkeş asserts that homosexuality as a theme is handled for the first time with *Fena Halde Leman*, and same-sex intercourse is conveyed as normal similar to the works of art of Ancient Greece. The novel at hand is remarkably striking owing to its diverse characters, their multiple sexual orientations and overflowing gender identities.

To start with, *Fena Halde Leman* is a unique example in Turkish literature because it subverts the biological essentialism's theory. According to which, biology predetermines the individual's destiny. As Judith Butler asserts, gender is a different sort of identity and its relation to anatomy is complex,¹²⁸ so biology cannot simply determine the individual's gender. Leman, the protagonist is one of the most complicated characters of the novel. Based on her anatomical structure, she is identified as female, and she is "naturally" expected to be heterosexual. Leman Korkut, alias Jeanne Courtine, is a half-Jewish French orphan who becomes Turkish as a wife of Ekrem Korkut. When she is twenty years old, she has to stay with the masculine domineering woman, Miss Higgins in order to survive. Yet, Miss Higgins is a lesbian who abuses young girls. Leman is to engage in homosexual intercourse with Miss Higgins who is defined as; "ilk bakışta kadın mı erkek mi olduğu anlaşılamayan, kaşsız, kirpiksiz yamyamsı bir yaratık. Yaşı da belirsiz."¹²⁹ When she is a young woman, Leman already destructs the heteronormativity by having affair with Miss Higgins who goes beyond the defined gendered norms with her masculine attitudes, sexual life and manly appearance.

¹²⁷ Ömer A. Türkeş. (2002). "Türk Edebiyatında Eşcinsellik." In *Milliyet Sanat*. pp. 1-80. p. 57

¹²⁸ Judith Butler. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge), p. 63

¹²⁹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 66

Leman reverses the present ideology not only through her sexual acts but also her cross-dressing. After having intercourse with Lili, a male to female transgressor, Leman is convinced to turn into a man by Lili. As a couple, they contradict their gender assigned from birth by means of cross-dressing. It is Lili's dream to turn into reverse gendered couple. She wants to normalize what is actually labeled as abnormal. She wants to make atypical gendered bodies as ordinary couple. "Herkes sıradan, denk düşmüş bir çift sanıyor, gerçek tam tersine. . . Onlar nasıl yaşıyorsa, aynıını yaşayarak; yalnız üst üste bindirilmiş ikinci bir gerçek haline, içimizdeki öteki cinsten olmanın farkını duyuyoruz . . . İyice aşırı uçlara götürülmüş aykırılık, olağanlığa dönüşmüştür."¹³⁰ In such a situation, it can be concluded that gender is not based on physiology, rather it is a construction. In other words, biological determinists claim — XX and XY chromosomes decide female and male identities— is destroyed by the characters.

Moreover, Lili alias Georges deconstructs the biology-is-destiny assumption by means of her careful and exaggerated construction of femaleness. Apart from having male anatomy, Georges transgresses into Lili. He becomes a woman by applying the culture's preestablished feminine traits. Lili is one of Ekrem Korkut's friends. The protagonist meets Lili when she returns to Paris to investigate her husband's suicide. Lili, an affair of Leman's husband, is a striking character of the novel as she subverts the naturalized idea of gender binarism. She makes fixed status of gender a changing phenomenon as she spends all her life cross-dressed in pursuit of having real female genitalia. Having both breasts and penis, s/he carries multiple genders in her body, and she works as a singer at a night club to save money for her sex reassignment surgery. Leman calls Lili a "cover-girl" because of her exaggerated feminine appearance. However, Leman could not realize that Lili has actually a male organ until one of Ekrem's friends tells her. Leman is sexually attracted to Lili due to her mimicry and extravagant behaving. While Leman is thinking about Lili's attractiveness, she realizes Lili's "unusual" aspect of gender and her being neither man nor woman status is irresistible. Along with the salient destruction of biological determinism of sexes, womenliness is impersonated in a theatrical way by Lili/Georges. Another character that destroys the biology-is-destiny theory is Bobby.

¹³⁰ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 207

Born as a female, Bobby, alias Victorie Kaunda, is an African woman who “feels” himself as a male and has a fake penis. In contrast to biological determinists, Bobby, the man born as a girl in Africa, constantly transgresses the boundaries of gender dichotomy as he works as a female dancer at a night club in Paris. As opposed to his biology, Victorie Kaunda becomes Bobby during the day while he is a femme fatale on stage. The protagonist, Leman Korkut meets Bobby at the same club where Lili works. Leman sees Bobby both as a man in his daily life and on the stage as a female femme fatale performer. She depicts the conspicuous difference of male Bobby and female Bobby as;

Önce Lili’yi gördüm, sadece onu. İri yapılı bir zenciyle oturduğunu farketmedim bile. Zencide zenciydi hani, her köşe başında rastlanmayacak birisi, koyu renk giyimli, kafayı usturayla kazıtmış, gözünde kalın çerçeveli “entellektüel” gözlükleri, koca dudaklı anıtsal ağzında piposu. Bobby’ydi bu. Daha önce sahnede gördüğüm kadınla hiçbir benzerliği olmayan bir yaratık. Sahnedeki, hükmedici ve farklı görünse de, yüksek ve diri göğüsleri, şaşırtıcı peruğuyla olsun, kadın görünmesini, kadın kalmsını beceriyordu, oysa gördüğüm tartışmasız erkek, hem ne erkek!¹³¹

Lili, born as a male but who becomes a female, and Bobby, born as a female but who becomes a male, compose a devastating portrait together. They overturn the “naturalized” knowledge of heteropatriarchy, so stable judgements of gender phenomenon are extinguished. As Judith Lorber states in *Paradoxes of Gender*, if gender differences are physiological, genetic or hormonal, gender bending would occur only in hermaphrodites.¹³² Therefore, ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are empty and overflowing categories. Hence, *Fena Halde Leman* breaks the norms by displaying the fact that gender has many variables, and the body can go beyond its constraints. The characters remarkably destroy the stable framework about sexes. They display the fact that gender is a mode of becoming which “involves psychological, social and cultural factors that have no connection to genetics.”¹³³

The novel takes place in France and Turkey where gender is constructed based on the Western culture. According to this culture, gender is composed of two

¹³¹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 222

¹³² Judith Lorber. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. (New Haven: Vaill Ballou), p. 112

¹³³ Jeffrey B. Leak. (March, 1999) “American and European Masculinity.” In *American Quarterly*, Vol.51, No.1. pp. 147-156. p. 35

categories, and everyone has to be either male or female. On the contrary, every character in *Fena Halde Leman* switches to the opposite gender. At the beginning of the novel, Leman Korkut is portrayed as a rich businesswoman who lives in Turkey as she is married to a Turkish businessman. Having become a widow, she takes over her husband's business, so she seems to have a standardized life. Yet, her challenging life is revealed by a file written by herself which is sent to a journalist after her death with a note; "Müdür bey/ Bir akşamüstü beni 'şahsen' merak ettiğinizi, yakından tanımak, 'daha, iyi' anlamak istediğinizi söylemişsiniz . . . Okuyunca sandığınız kadın olmadığımı göreceksiniz ama aldırmayın: Hayatımızı hep yanlışlar üzerine kurmuyor muyuz/ Leman."¹³⁴ Her note refers to the fact that her gender and sexual life differ from the cultural gender patterns. Also, she points out the stereotypical assumptions about being female by emphasizing that she is not the "woman" the journalist thinks of.

Namely, her file about her "real" life reflects the performative deconstructive bodies although she seems to have a convenient life. Leman has to live with a masculine woman with whom she is to have a lesbian relationship in exchange for shelter and money. When she meets Ekrem, called "Prens" in Paris, she expects to have a "normal" life by marrying him, and moving to Izmir. As a member of Western society, Leman, alias Jeanne, is programmed to be heterosexual feminine. Therefore, she thinks she would have a decent life when she settles in Izmir with Ekrem instead of having lesbian relationship with Miss Higgins in Paris. In short, Leman intends to "save" her unusual life. Afraid of Ekrem's reactions, she cannot explain her non-heterosexual intercourse with Miss Higgins. "Ekrem Miss Higgins'i bilmezdi, aramızdaki 'özel' ilişkiden habersiz . . . Hayatım zaten kaymış, olağandışı yanlarını niye açıklayacakmışım?"¹³⁵ Her keeping it secret actually stems from the gender norms working in a standardized way. As a result of them, Leman and all gender non-conformists feel "abnormal." To secure her affair with Ekrem Korkut, Leman tries to be more feminine as she is lesbian and her voice sounds like male. She unconsciously wants to fit into the established gender norms so she naturally thinks that Ekrem is a heterosexual rich Turkish man to marry. Yet, Ekrem does not display the standardized masculine traits while they are dating. "Başbaşa geçirdiğimiz aylara rağmen rollerimiz

¹³⁴ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 53

¹³⁵ *ibid*, p. 101

değişmiyor. Arkadaşlığımız yine arkadaşlık, sadece arkadaşlık. . . Ekrem'in erkekliğinden kuşkulandım. İster misin acıklı halk piyeslerindeki 'iktidarsız' zavallılardan birisi olsun?" Leman's judgment here is a product of heteronormative cultural construction. A man is naturally supposed to engage in heterosexual activity, otherwise he is labeled because "the institution of a compulsory and naturalized heterosexuality requires and regulates gender as a binary relation in which the masculine term is differentiated from a feminine term and this differentiation is accomplished through the practices of heterosexual desire."¹³⁶

While Ekrem's reserved sexuality makes Leman surprised, her lesbianism is reborn by her mother-in-law, Haco Hanım. What's more, Haco Hanım dies having intercourse with Leman. The protagonist clearly stands as an example of performative aspect of gender and sexuality. Prominent figure of gender theory, Judith Butler asserts gender is act of "doing". Butler's theory is impersonated by the protagonist. Leman is the unique character of the novel because she goes beyond the binary oppositions of gender. She engages in both heterosexual and homosexual activities in addition to her transgressing. Namely, Leman is an exemplary of gender possibilities, so she deconstructs the culture's dichotomous thinking. Western culture's natural stability of gender becomes fluid. Leman includes multiplicity; she is feminine with her husband and mother-in-law, masculine with transvestite Lili and narcissistic frigid Cecile, and both masculine and feminine with over masculine female Bobby. Exceeding the limits of anatomy already, Leman interprets her body as "singing flesh."¹³⁷ She celebrates the potentialities of the body in spite of heteropatriarchic standardization. Beyond the cultural constraints, the protagonist cherishes her mode of continuous becoming. "She surprises herself at seeing, being, pleasuring in her gift of changeability. I am singing flesh: onto which is grafted no one knows which masculine or feminine, more or less human but above all living because changing I."¹³⁸

Leman's husband, Ekrem Korkut is a politician committed suicide in Paris. When he is examined, the regulating power of culture can be acknowledged. Ekrem, called 'Prens' in Paris, is portrayed as a mysterious, rich, sexually reserved

¹³⁶ Judith Butler. (1999). *Gender Trouble*. (New York: Routledge), p. 30

¹³⁷ Helene Cixous. (1997). "Sorties: Out & out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays." In Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore, *The Feminist Reader*. 2nd Ed. (USA: McMillan P), p.97

¹³⁸ *ibid*, p. 97

businessman, so he seems to fit in the stereotyped Western heterosexual male. He conforms to the established gender bias to avoid the public opinion while he is actually transgressing the dual and oppositional gender categories. Besides, being sexually passive, Leman finds out that Ekrem has had affairs with transvestite Lili, and frigid Cecile. It can be derived that Ekrem married Leman to satisfy both heteropatriarchy and his latent homosexuality. After realizing that Lili is actually a man, Leman finds out her husband's non-heterosexual tendencies. "En çok korktuğum dolayı yoldan onaylanmış oluyor: Lili, kadın değil. İçimdeki kargaşalık büyüyor. . . Ekrem'in evlenirken bende bulmak istediği şey, benim onu memnun edeyim diye terk etmek istediğim şeydi. Üçüncü cinsten olmak!"¹³⁹ In opposition to the binarism of culture, Ekrem looks for multiple genders in one body. "Ben birbirini iten iki cinsi tek vücutta, bir arada arıyorum."¹⁴⁰ He goes beyond the cultural imperatives of gender duality by having affairs with Leman and Lili who bear multiple sexualities and genders. Thus, Attila İlhan deliberately creates sexually complicated subversive characters that provoke our cognition programmed for heterosexuality. They perform different form of genders in their bodies, so they violate the cultural construction of binary opposition by their own interpretation of gender. Gender turns into a free-floating fact. As Judith Butler points out in *Paradoxes of Gender*, the cognitive world is ordered by gender schema, but it is questioned by the characters of *Fena Halde Leman*. They recreate the categories of man and woman by means of their fluid, overflowing gendered personalities. As well as problematizing the fixed status of binarism, characters mentioned above deconstruct the cultural construction of gender. In addition to cultural destructiveness, the novel also sheds a light on the gender bias of the time it takes place.

The novel takes place in Paris and Turkey through flashbacks from 1960s to early 1980s. Attila İlhan conveys the sociopolitical atmosphere of the time as a background to gender. "Homosexuality in Turkey, in general, is perceived as a phenomenon which obscures gender patterns and disrupts the social order. In this context, male homosexuality is considered as a disapproved pattern of masculinity and

¹³⁹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 198

¹⁴⁰ *ibid*, p. 199

a conduct threatening masculinity.”¹⁴¹ As in every society, gender is a powerful tool defining power relations in society, but the climate of late 1960s and 1970s were politically complex. They were the decades of industrialization and military intervention for Turkey. The problem of social order was more significant than sexuality and gender. Therefore, variety of gender was not allowed to secure the preestablished social order. Social norms were strengthened, so was duality of gender. “Military regime exercised repressive policies against homosexuals”¹⁴² For these reasons Ekrem lives in Paris where sexuality is experienced freer than Turkey. Even Leman, alias Jeanne is careful about her former life in Paris as she practices lesbianism. She prefers to hide her relationship with Miss Higgins. “Ekrem Miss Higgins’i bilmezdi, aramızdaki ‘özel ‘ ilişkiden habersiz. Ne de olsa Doğuludur, mezhebine uymaz, besbelli kaldıramaz diye söylememiştim.”¹⁴³

Also, Ekrem has to hide his non-heterosexuality because of social pressure. While Ekrem lives his homosexuality in Paris, and Lili and Bobby can work as transgressors, Haco Hanım has to experience her lesbianism inside home in Izmir. In contrast to political turmoil and repressive sexuality of Turkey, homosexuals are able to express themselves in Paris. They found the FHAR (the Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action). “Their efforts helped realize the eventual repeal of all anti-homosexual laws and the cultivation of a more permissive political and social attitude toward queer sexualities.”¹⁴⁴ Ekrem’s preference to live in Paris does not only result from political exile but also Paris was an available place to engage in homosexual practices. Flowing gendered personas of the characters demonstrate the fact that gender is arbitrary and compulsory heterosexuality may change from one society to another depending on the period, social and political needs of the state. In the 1970s, Paris was an advancing center for non-heterosexuals. The novel also points to the fact that perception and recognition of gender variety differ from one country to another owing to changing historical and social conditions. It prominently handles all ignored forms of gender.

¹⁴¹ Cihan Ertan. (Temmuz, 2008). “Hegemonic Masculinity and Homosexuality: Some Reflections on Turkey.” In *ETHOS: Felsefe ve Toplumsal Bilimlerde Diyaloglar*, No: 4. <http://www.ethosfelsefe.com/ethosdiyaloglar/mydocs/HEGEMONIC%20MASCULINITY%20AND%5B1%5D.pdf> (10.082009). pp. 1-11. p.1

¹⁴² Kenneth Plummer. (1992). *Modern Homosexualities*. (London: Routledge), p. 46

¹⁴³ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 101

¹⁴⁴ Brett Farmer. (2004). “Paris.” <http://www.glbtc.com/social-sciences/paris.html> p.2

Gender non-conformity is impersonated by the characters of the novel. While the heteropatriarchic normativity imposes duality of gender, all the characters of the novel break down the strictly framed ideology. The Western culture presumes bodies that are coherent with anatomical structure. This leads to double identities in non-heterosexuals such as Leman, Haco Hanım, Lili, Ekrem and Bobby. They create public identities incompatible with the gender norms, and also they have personal identities in accordance with their own sense of gender. The system they live do not permit to have complete autonomy on their bodies because they are expected to be heterosexuals. “Assumptions about the essential natures of men and women have been integrated into the common culture.”¹⁴⁵ As a result of which, those who not fit into the assumptions like the characters of *Fena Halde Leman* are treated as abnormal. As the Western culture programs people to be a heterosexual male or female, they naturally feel “different.” After having affair with transgressors Lili and Bobby, Leman feels the “abnormality” of her life. “Duygusuzun biriyim ben, zayıf bir yaratık, anlık cinsel tutkularına direnemeyip yenilen . . . Cecile, Lili, Bobby derken, ipin ucunu iyice kaçırdım. Bir gariplikten kurtulmadan, daha beter bir başkasına düşünüyorum”¹⁴⁶ What Leman thinks of herself is actually a result of the discourse of heteronormative system. Going beyond the naturalized form of gender framework inevitably makes her feel queer.

Every culture has its own definition of male and female. The Western culture assigns heterosexuality as normal so the master-slave dialectic of anchored heteronormativity of Western World, and LGBT persons results in queer perception of themselves. By cross-dressing into male, Leman experiences a gay-related stressor; she feels the stigmatization of heteropatriarchy. While she is sitting at a café in Paris, she recognizes the condemnation of a person passing by the street. “Bir ara nasıl olduysa, geçenlerden birinin camın ardında durduğunu, bana kınayarak baktığını fark ettim. Şiddetli bir suçluluk duygusu benliğimi sardı.”¹⁴⁷ Indeed, gender blending of the protagonist affects her well-being. As she sustains the reality of dichotomous thinking of gender, she is to be labeled or condemned.

¹⁴⁵ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein. (1988). *Deceptive Distinctions Sex, Gender and the Social Order*. (USA: Yale UP), p. 8

¹⁴⁶ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 254

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*, p. 216

Leman, a bisexual cross dresser character practices intercourse with both male-to-female transvestite Lili and female-to-male transsexual Bobby. They remarkably pass over the defined gender norms. They are labeled as abnormal. Ironically, if the characters lived in non-Western culture, they would not be labeled or would feel abnormal because it is proved that “there are . . . cultures in which ‘homosexual pedagogy’ appears in societies [and] some cultures believed that heterosexuality is achieved through certain homosexual acts that represent a negation and physical purgation of the feminine.”¹⁴⁸ In spite of his female anatomy from birth, Bobby’s fake phallus, masculine haircut and clothes make him deviant as he surpasses the defined categories. Therefore, Leman defines him as strange: “Bobby, diyorum, sen garip bir yaratıksın, belki de korkunç!”¹⁴⁹ In having sexual intercourse with Bobby, Leman regards their situation as ridiculous and pathetic. In fact, her confessions are the stigmas of the present system so the protagonist highlights the social sanction and its heavy burden on gender non-conformists. This moment is what Judith Butler defines as “grief” in her book *Undoing Gender*. Breaking the gendered norms cause Leman to experience psychic complexity.

After having affair with Bobby, Leman sees ghost of her husband, Ekrem. “Düşündüğüm yerde tasarladığım halde duruyordu: Kim olacak, Ekrem! Kocam, büyük vicdan azabım: Olanaksızlık kadar korkutucu . . . Vahim, kınayıcı bakışı suçluyor; elinin hareketi itirazsız mahkun ediyor. Yeniden utanca boğuldum.”¹⁵⁰ Within that quotation, Ekrem is the personification of heteronormative bias. Compulsory heterosexuality constitutes the duality of gender as normal, so Leman inevitably experiences the negative outcomes of being non-conformists. While Leman enjoys being a transgressor, she is ostracized by the community. She becomes aware of her daring gender identity in public sphere. Yet, her norm breaking gender prevents her living in social harmony because the dominant gender framework expects her to stick with her biological gender. Socializing at a café dressed as in the opposite gender, she notices that she is subjected to mockery as she blurs the boundaries of maleness and femaleness.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffrey B. Leak. (March, 1999) “American and European Masculinity.” In *American Quarterly*, Vol.51, No.1. pp. 147-156. p. 197

¹⁴⁹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 242

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.244

Omzumdan tutan el hafifçe sarstı. . . (—Mösyönün işaretler yaptığını gördüm, beni çağırabileceğini düşündüm.) Dehşetli şaşırđım, rahatsız olduğumu, kusuruma bakılmamasını söyledim. . . Arkamdan herkesin, hatta o uslu ve uysal Siyamlı orospunun kıs kıs güldüğünü biliyorum. Hain, alaycı gülümsemeler, insancıl hiçbir yanları yok. Oysa ben, ayaklarımın altında, ansızın bir uçurumun açıldığı hissine düşmüştüm. Delilik miydi acaba?¹⁵¹

Exposed to social ostracism and labeling, Leman feels “weird”, even insane. Her annoying experiences stems from her non-conformity as she threatens the established gender phenomenon by making gender something changeable and fluctuating. It is the imperative of heteropatriarchy to expel the different gendered body. On the other hand, sexual diversity mentioned above deconstructs the present gendered ideology.

Especially Leman is a unique example for the destruction of heteropatriarchal gendered structure. As gender is a strong tool regulating relationships of power, Leman Korkut, wife of a rich businessman is supposed to live in a secondary status in the world of patriarchy. However, she manages to pass over the hierarchical patriarchic order after taking over her husband’s work. She runs her husband’s companies which are actually products of patriarchal mandate enabling only heterosexual male to operate. By making deals and improving the Korkut Holding, she challenges to the heteropatriarchal sovereignty. Leman Korkut takes over not only companies but also the “birthright priority” of males.¹⁵² The pervasive ideology only permits heterosexual males to operate in the realm of business. Therefore, Leman subversively dominates the market of Turkey after her husband’s death. As a daring woman, she is defined as; “çok cerzebeli: Tuttuğunu koparıyor . . . akıllı kadın, bilinçli capitalist!”¹⁵³ Besides her sexually challenging life, she is capable of handling “manly” business of capitalist society so the heteropatriarchic arena reserved for males is destroyed by bisexual cross-dresser Leman Korkut. She also overturns the present ideology through her masculine traits and special voice. Looking from a journalistic point of view in Turkey, Leman is observed as masculinized businesswoman. On having meetings with significant powerful businessmen, she cannot be identified as a woman. “Erkeklerin arasında kaybolmuş: . . . Öbür kadınlarla bir tutmak olası mı?”¹⁵⁴ With her genderless voice, manly appearance and ability to operate many businesses,

¹⁵¹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 217

¹⁵² The term is generated by Kate Millet in her study, *Sexual Politics* (1990) to refer the structured hierarchy of patriarchy which privileges males from the very beginning of their lives.

¹⁵³ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 217

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 11

Leman Korkut is the most challenging character of the novel. She purportedly overturns all the constructions of heteropatriarchic gender schema as she also engages in homosexual practices with transvestite Lili and Bobby.

Non-conformist characters of the novel expose the “reality” of dichotomy as tenuous. The gendered limit applied on bodies becomes artificial through representing the different forms of gender out of duality. They reconstruct the abnormal into their concept of normal. They deliberately write their own genders that makes the body “a field of interpretive possibilities.”¹⁵⁵ What is assigned as natural form of gender is reproduced by the characters of the novel. Validity of constructed binarism is radically broken down. For instance, Lili, the femme fatale cover-girl born as a boy, has breasts although she is assigned as boy after the birth. She blurs the strictly separated categories of gender. Being both male and female refers to the fact that gender is given to the bodies. Although gender non-conformism causes people to be ignored by society, characters like Lili, Bobby, Leman and Ekrem make multiple interpretation of gender. Bobby, alias Victorie Kaunda, is an over masculine character who has intercourse with younger boys. He is an attractive show girl at nights to earn money. On the contrary, he becomes a man in the day. That is to say, the characters, whose genders are overflowing, drastically subvert the heteropatriarchal gender dichotomy based on anatomy. Their performativity flex the boundaries and breaks the continuity of gender. Thus, the characters are the salient destructive figures who detach the attached gender.

The characters’ deconstructivity arises from the dialectical nature of gender. Although politics of gender identity requires fixed gendered identities, trans-, bi- and homosexual identities reverse the naturalized knowledge of compulsory heterosexuality. Subject is defined in relation to social manners and identity composed by means of interaction in society so gender identity is composed as a result of interaction to have a status as a member of society. The Western culture, in which the characters of *Fena Halde Leman* live, necessitates heterosexual males or females. It generates double based gender schema to maintain heteropatriarchic ideology.

¹⁵⁵ Judith Butler. (1986). “Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir’s Second Sex.” In *Yale French Studies*. No. 72 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930225>. pp.35-49. p. 45

Particularly, it constitutes binary oppositions on the basis of dialectic in which heterosexual male is favored to female and non-heterosexuals. Yet, *Fena Halde Leman* is an outstanding novel with its characters who overturns the heteronormative dialectic by their changing dynamic gender personas. There is no gender stability throughout the novel. Especially, main characters of the novel have fluid gender identities.

In contrast to the present gender phenomenon that stabilizes the binary oppositions, cross-dressers Leman, Lili and Bobby play with the standardized nature of dialectic by their variable gender identities. Their unstable patterns of masculinity and femininity are the embodiment of Heraclites' idea of universe. According to his philosophy, everything in the world is in incessant change, it flows and our perception is illusionary. Thus, everything is in motion and flux. "Natural" dichotomy of heteronormativity turns into a transitional fact by transgressor characters of the novel. In an interview with Selim İleri, Attila İlhan expresses the basic motivation of the novel's deconstructive gender identities.¹⁵⁶ He is of opinion that if dialectic exists in social realm to conduct binary oppositions of gender; it can also be in the human's nature. By implication, human sexuality can be discussed in terms of dialectic. According to which, every gender identity bears its opposite in itself, and everyone has the potentiality of both femaleness and maleness. Naturally, Leman, Ekrem, Lili and Bobby display both femininity and masculinity. While heteropatriarchy forces individuals to have gender identities compatible with their anatomy, Attila İlhan's nature of dialectic highlights the transformative potentiality of gender via his characters.

Though *Fena Halde Leman* aims to demonstrate the bipotentiality of gendered bodies, the system under discussion creates identity problems because of its normative and naturalized gender practices. Therefore, the characters have double identities; one fits to the system, the other belongs to their own perception of themselves as males or females. Leman Korkut, aka Jeanne Courtine, is to live double lives and identities. Her former life in Paris does not fit into the norms as she has lesbian lifestyle. In search for a "normal" life, she becomes heterosexual through her marriage in Turkey. She is

¹⁵⁶ Selim İleri. *Nam-ı Diğer Kaptan*. (İstanbul: Kültür Yayınları), p. 203

expected to live in harmony with society because of the nature of communal living. Her place in society is provided by the society she lives so “whether he likes it or not, the individual has a debt to the group . . . the group has provided for his survival, and in return he must provide for the survival of the group.”¹⁵⁷ Therefore, she is to lead a heterosexual life or she inevitably experiences the results of being rebellious in the group she lives. The double lives lead to identity crisis in Leman. Her fake heterosexuality is broken down by her mother-in-law, and then she turns back to her non-conformist life when she goes to Paris to investigate for her husband’s suicide. To exist in a patriarchic society, Leman acts according to gendered norms, but her suppressed masculinity and bisexuality burst out. Namely, Attila İlhan’s thesis that every individual carries bipotential gender identity is incarnated in the protagonist. When her male identity exceeds the female, she is transformed into a man. Being feminine in her marriage, she becomes masculine in Paris when she is out with transvestite Lili.

Remarkably, she holds both of the gender identities, and takes on the opposite one applying cultural traits. Starting as a game, Leman’s transgressing gives her pleasure after a while. “Oyun olarak başlamıştı ya, uygulamada çabucak nitelik değiştirip, bu senaryo . . . beni tam bir yabacılaşmaya götürdü.. Günden güne ‘tebdil’ dolaşmanın cinsel tadına vardım.”¹⁵⁸ Within this situation, she gets the pleasure of crossing the other gender like all other transvestites. In addition to her creating two personas, she rebuilds her gender identity by passing over the opposite gender. She changes her gender identity because of her psychological commitment to maleness. Ironically, she can socialize as a man, but her identity problem does not let her live in harmony since she is aware of her violation of gender bias. When Leman goes to the night club where Bobby works as a show girl, she attends to the public realm as a male.

Dans sona erdiği zaman, masamda nasıldım? Işık koru, cıgaram sönmüş, burnumun dibinde çakmağının alevini uzatan garson:
— ‘Mösyö’ye diyerek kibarca soruyor, ne veriyoruz?
Şaşaladım: — Viski, dedim. Bir viski lütfen. Long John olursa, sevinirim.

¹⁵⁷ Colette Chiland. (2003). *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality*. (Connecticut: Wesleyan UP), p. 122

¹⁵⁸ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p.208

Sesim nedense daha az ‘erkek’ çalındı kulağıma. Garson aynı kibarlıkla hafifçe eğilerek:
— . . . derhal, diyor, derhal ‘mösyö’: Bir viski, Long John!
Erkek olmadığımı anlamıştı.
Çok korktum.¹⁵⁹

The protagonist’s state of mind reflects the complicated state of her gender identity. Assigned as a female from birth, she is programmed to be a woman, but her wish to become a male contradicts the dichotomous thinking. Therefore, she is squeezed between compulsory heterosexuality and non-heterosexuality. Her blurred gender identity locates her in a critical situation that she experiences an aberrant state of mind. On socializing with transvestites Lili and Bobby, the protagonist gets drunk and her crisis comes out again with hallucinatory images.

. . . Ortalıkta , çatal geyik boynuzlarıyla, çıplak zenci kadınlar dolaşiyor. Sahiden dolaşiyor mu, hayal mi görüyorum? Hayal olamaz, içlerinden birisine tutuldum, dal incesi, çevik, çok da onurlu: Ceylan gözleriyle dargın dargın bakıp beni suçluyor. Başımı kaldırıp gözlerine bakamıyorum. Utanç sebebim, memelerim: Fark edilsinler diye sırtımı kamburlaştırıp, inanmadığım halde tekrarlayıp duruyorum: ‘Erkeğim ben erkek’. İnsan uykusunda bir kabusun burgacına kapılabilir . . . fakat, daha uyanırken kabus dehlizlerinde kaybolmak daha betermiş.¹⁶⁰

Leman’s fluid gender identity complicates the stereotyped lines of gender categories. Along with Leman, Lili has also double gender identity. Born with a male anatomy, Lili, alias Georges, changes her male identity into female, and she spends her life saving money for her reassignment surgery. Having breasts, Lili/Georges literally embodies both of gender categories but she sticks to her female identity. Moreover, she tries to get social recognition as female. As a typical transgender persona, she feels she is in the wrong body. By her interpretation of gender identity, she extravagantly rebuilds her female identity to convince herself and others that she is female. She deliberately adopts female gender roles that mean to be attractiveness to men, “which means sexual attractiveness, which means sexual availability on male terms.”¹⁶¹ Her careful construction of femaleness is practiced on Leman in male gender identity. Though Lili insists on being female all the time, she is afraid of being recognized in

¹⁵⁹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 214

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*, p. 225

¹⁶¹ Catharine A. MacKimmon. (Spring, 1982). “Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory.” In *Signs*, Vol. 7, No. 3 <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3173853> pp. 515-544. p. 518

the daylight that stems from the pressure of compulsory heterosexuality. While her gender identity causes anxious state of mind, she becomes a gorgeous woman at night as a flowing character. “Karanlık bastırıldı mı, Lili, Lili oluyor, hem de ne görkemle! . . . Bu ‘şahane’ kadın, yapma göğüsleri ve takma kirkikleriyle bu sahte cover girl, vazgeçemeyeceğim bir şey.”¹⁶² Lili does not only want to cross-dress, but she literally wants to change her gender identity. Her wish becomes a passion for Lili. This refers to the fact that gender identity is an artificial construction which is reversible and dynamic. Lili/Georges’ wish to change her gender identity is so passionate that she thinks that she would be reborn after the surgery. As Ekrem expresses to Mamma, Lili’s ruler, domineering boy-lover boss, Lili develops another identity inside herself through which she denies her male identity. Similar to Lili, Bobby, who is actually an African woman called Victorie Kaunda, alters his gender identity. Although his birth certificate assigns him as female, he turns into Bobby in Paris as her psychological gender does not conform to his biological gender.

“Each culture has its own code of behavior.”¹⁶³ The codes prescribe the masculine and feminine gender roles based on heteropatriarchy, so Bobby/Victorie takes on masculine mask to be recognized as a male. He reconstructs his gender identity through outward signs and appearance. “Erkekliğinden ne zaman söz açılrsa, sıcak, dolu dolu sesinde, belli belirsiz bir gurur seziliyordu. Onda, cinsel dönüşüm kesinleşmişti sanki, tepeden turnağa ve dönüşü olmamacasına: Lili kendisini ne kadar pin-up sayıyorsa, buda o kadar delikanlı sayıyor.”¹⁶⁴ Their transforming destructs the binarism. Also, their overfluctuating identities display the various possibilities of masculinities and femininities. The characters examined above stand as examples of artificial construction of gender. Moreover, they rewrite their own personal gender identities through adopting opposite sex traits. In other words, they “do” their own gender. The characters’ transformation can be best explained by Colette Chiland’s book, *Transsexualism*. They want to exceed the dichotomy because they “feel that they belong to the other sex, they want to *be* and *function* as members of the opposite sex, not only to appear as such.”¹⁶⁵ Even if transgendered characters demonstrate the performative capacity of gender which results in unprecedented identity crises on

¹⁶² Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p.206

¹⁶³ Colette Chiland. (2003). *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality*. (Connecticut: Wesleyan UP), p. 9

¹⁶⁴ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 230

¹⁶⁵ Colette Chiland. (2003). *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality*. (Connecticut: Wesleyan UP), p. 214

individuals, they go beyond the norms of gender owing to their “natural” tendencies. In short, uprooted gendered characters of *Fena Halde Leman* shatter the established traits of masculinity of femininity by means of holding multiple gender identities. As each of them, Leman, Bobby, Lili, interprets and takes on their peculiar gender identity; it is not possible to set universal fixed gender traits.

Transgressing the binary oppositions of gender framework within the heteropatriarchic society and deconstruction of maleness and femaleness bring about psychological complexity over the gender non-conformists. Transcending the dichotomy breaks the integrity of the body that results in intrapsychic problems on the individual. The heteronormative order presumes persons to be either heterosexual male or female. Those who does not conform the heteronormative order experience diverse psychological difficulties. The protagonist and her husband are the best examples to be examined in order to reveal psychological state of non-heterosexuals. Ekrem and Leman compose a daring couple against heteropatriarhal structure. Despite seeming to be “normal” couple, they actually hide their homosexuality. When Leman learns Ekrem’s non-heterosexual relationships within the years of his exile, she notices that her husband is actually a gay who tries to practice it by marrying her. Through flashbacks, it is learned later in the novel that Ekrem actually prefers marrying Leman owing to her masculine identity. It is the heteronormativity that forces them to hide their non-heterosexuality. Also, patriarchal structure and its societal norms in Turkey demand heterosexual identity. Obligated to live a heterosexual life, Ekrem experiences his homosexuality in different forms as well as trying to get rid of his psychic dilemma caused by the norms. He generates a public self to sustain his living as a social persona. Stuck between his non-heterosexual tendencies and the cultural constructions, he escapes to Paris where gendered norms are more flexible than in Turkey. Therefore, he marries Leman to satisfy his non-heterosexuality. Ekrem, who is called Prens in Paris, and depicted as a gentleman is not active during the heterosexual intercourses with Leman. On the other hand, he conforms the heteropatriarchy. His contradictory sexual orientation makes him a muted person like all other LGBT people. As Leman notices his mysterious silence, she says: “Sanki onda gerektiğinden fazla, üstesinden gelinmez bir şeyler gizli.”¹⁶⁶ Knowing that he

¹⁶⁶ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 105

exceeds the “normal” gendered framework, he puts on the cultural mask already made for him, but he inevitably wants to live his real sexual orientation. Therefore, Ekrem, the rich mysterious gentleman from Turkey, especially chooses Leman as a wife because he recognizes the boy inside Leman. “Ekrem beni güzel, evliliğe elverişli olduğumdan değil, öteki kızlara benzemediğimden seçmişti. (Kısa saçlı profilim, ağzımda erğeti duran erkek sesi, Miss Higgins’le olan özel ilişki).”¹⁶⁷ He searches for a body that includes both gender categories all through his life. And he calls his life dramatic as his inner world is in pursuit of “abnormal” gender. “. . . ben karımla (tersine, ama) paralel bir dram yaşamıştım: Onu oğlanımsı seviyordum.”¹⁶⁸ He is aware of the fact that being non-conformist means living in psychological dilemma. As he is “naturally” thought as a straight man, his silenced homosexuality is not recognized by his masculine wife. Even Leman tries to be more feminine to please her husband as a wife. Yet, Leman’s developing female gender identity leads Ekrem to generate a different personality. His repressed homosexuality causes to bear a different persona as he is squeezed between satisfying heteropatriarchy and his real gender. Taking over a big heritage after his father’s death, Ekrem tries to repair his fractured psyche. “. . . İşinden başka her şeyi unuttu; hayatını, bir uçtan öteki uca iş çevrelerini fethetmeye adadı; besbelli bir kişilik geliştirmeye, ya da tutkusunu dışlaştırarak kişiliğini pekiştirmeye çabalıyor”¹⁶⁹

Having failed to accomplish his homosexuality, Ekrem tires to strengthen his organic ties with society that makes an individual to comprise a healthy identity, and he compensates his incapability of practicing homosexuality through dedicating himself to work and money. When he buys his expensive sports car, he meets Leman in a very “formal” mood but full of pride and joy. “Sanki kocam bana arabamızı göstermiyor da, öz parasıyla edindiği, gücünün ilk simgesi olan otomobileine karısını gösteriyor.”¹⁷⁰ That is to say, his becoming a workaholic points the fact that his suppressed homosexuality, which leads to chaos on the psyche, is a way to stay away from his dilemma. His passion for success, money and business are the means to recompense his hidden homosexuality.

¹⁶⁷ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 171

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 199

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 176

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*, p. 64

After the military intervention in Turkey in 1971, he exiles himself to Paris in order to avoid the trial as he becomes the member of Turkish parliament. Paris is the place where he can disclose his psychic dilemma. After his mysterious death in Paris, his life is investigated the protagonist. It is learned that Ekrem started painting while he is living in Paris which quite surprises Leman as she realizes a completely different aspect of her husband, Ekrem. Besides his new passion to painting, the portrait he has done reflects his psychological state of mind. He paints in such an intense state of mind that the portrait shatters Leman's psyche; "Evin gerçeşek sahibi portre . . . birden içinde kaybolduğumuz, gizemli havanın da nedeni de besbelli o."¹⁷¹ Psychic complexity aroused from his gendered in-betweenness is embodied through a portrait painted by him. "Gözleri işkence çığlıkları, ağzı fahişе ağzı, platin saçları yeşili, saçları makineyle alınmış, bu kadın . . . Ekrem, resmi hayalinden yapmış, gerçeklerle saplantılarını birbirine karıştırmıştı."¹⁷² Since painting is an expression of oneself; Ekrem's painting can be examined as his other gender persona hidden for many years. The painting on the wall of his house is an outcome of the psychic diversity he experiences due to his non-heterosexuality. Ekrem is observed to be lonely and unhappy. Those are typical symptoms that homosexuals in Western culture experience. Researches made on non-heterosexuals show that they are at higher psychological disorder risk than heterosexuals so Ekrem tries to eliminate his morbid situation by painting.

Additionally, he relieves his internal struggle with characters that are also outcasts of gendered phenomenon. Amidst his lonely years in Paris, Ekrem has an affair with a rich childish frigid girl named Cecile. From her conversations with Leman after Ekrem's death, it is understood that Cecile is not a girlfriend for Ekrem, rather she is a friend with whom he reveals his inner side. Indeed, her frigidity is another reason for Ekrem to relax as he is also incapable of living his actual sexuality. In contrast to Turkey, he makes an environment to live his non-heterosexuality freely. In one of her meetings with Leman, Cecile uncovers Ekrem's inner world: "Son zamanlarda görecektiniz basbayağı çökmüştü, direnci sıfır, içinden çürüyor. Bir şeye takılmış, önüne gelene anlatır: 'Şurada, kafamın içinde, gittikçe hızlanarak dönen, bir

¹⁷¹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 72

¹⁷² *ibid*, p. 72

bulldog köpeği var!’¹⁷³” Within this expression, it is clear that Ekrem undergoes crashing psychological difficulties. The other way of balancing his psyche is having affair with transvestite Lili. He fails in his marriage as he is actually looking for a male in the body of a female which he sees in Leman at the beginning of their marriage. To substitute his wish, he has an affair with Lili who is an overfeminine crossdresser although she has male genitalia. Learning Ekrem’s relationship with Lili, Leman realizes the fact about their marriage. “Öteden beri, ses tonu ya da davranışları erkeğimsi bir kadının, bana belki rakip olabileceğini düşünmüştüm ama kadın gibi yaşayan bir erkeğin rekabeti aklımdan geçmemişti . . . kadınlığa özenen oğlanın yerine oğlana çeyrek kalabilir kızı koyup, içinde bulunduğu çıkmazdan kurtulmak istemiş olamaz mıydı?”¹⁷⁴ As his non-conformist gender pursuit lead him into intrapsychic conflicts, he searches for a body composition composed of both gender categories.

Incapable of realizing his own homosexual tendencies, he chooses Lili to release his hidden desire because Lili manages to combine both of the categories of gender. Yet, his endless struggle of his inner world results in unhealthy psyche which is concluded by Leman reading his notes. “Kocam sürüklendiği çıkmazın karmaşıklığından bezmiş, gevşek, biraz tembel yazısıyla içini dökmüştü.”¹⁷⁵ As a result, Ekrem, whose gender identity and sexual orientation is complicated, becomes obsessed with his work and then, struggles to find a way to please his complicated desires through painting and having affair with a transgressor. While he has intense mental struggles because of his non-conformity, Ekrem is killed by Lili because of his acute depression and recklessness. Similar to Ekrem, Leman experiences the psychic morbidity resulting from being gender non-conformist.

Leman is the most psychologically complicated character of the novel as she bears multiple gender identities and sexual orientations. As a member of heteropatriarchal society, Leman wants to have a “normal” life so she marries Ekrem. After her husband moves away from her owing to her gradual feminization, she engages in lesbian intercourse with her mother-in-law, Haco Hanım. It is actually Jeanne who has intercourse with Haco Hanım because the protagonist bears two

¹⁷³ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 113

¹⁷⁴ *ibid*, p. 171

¹⁷⁵ *ibid*, p. 198

personas; one in Paris, lesbian Jeanne Courtine, the other one is Leman who is eager to build a standard life in Turkey. She actually has a psychic dilemma from the very beginning of her life in Turkey. She confesses to herself: “Kendimi, bir kopyası ötekisine doğru dürüst çakışmayan simetrisi bozuk iki kişilik olarak görüyordum . . . Daha da kötüsü ne, bu iki kişiliğin dalga uzunlukları birbirini tutmuyor.”¹⁷⁶ While she tries to fit into the binary limited community in Turkey, she goes beyond the borders with Haco Hanım which makes her inner world complicated. She is squeezed between being “normal” and “abnormal” but she cannot stand her real feelings. Thinking that she fails to be a “good” wife to her latent homosexual husband, she unavoidably transgresses to lesbianism. “Elimde olmayan cinsel kaymalar nedeniyle gittikçe çetrefilleşen ciddi bir çıkmaza düşüyordum.”¹⁷⁷ her dilemma emerges from the imperative of heterocentric culture. It prescribes heterosexuality as the only form of sexual orientation so non-heterosexuals feels “abnormal” which causes psychological disorders.

Having led a bisexual life with Ekrem and Haco Hanım, her psychology totally deteriorates after her husband’s death. Her morbidity increases when she stays in Ekrem’s house in Paris to investigate her husband’s death. She starts to see Ekrem’s ghost because of her trauma. Investigating the persons with whom Ekrem has relationships in Paris, Leman has non-heterosexual intercourse with them that blurs her mind completely. In one of her meetings with Cecile who is a friend of Ekrem, Leman’s unstable sexual orientation is burst out. Her state of mind gets blurred seeing Cecile in addition to her devastated psyche after Ekrem’s death. “Rihtimin sisleri arasında, onu yarasa pelerinleriyle ardımda bıraktığım an farkettim ki, benliğimin yarısı benimle gelmemiş.”¹⁷⁸ Like Ekrem, Leman’s psyche is fractured as she cannot stop her homosexuality. She experiences inner struggles because she overreaches the cultural norms; she destructs the naturalized knowledge of gender. Thus, she is caught between her own gender and constructed gender bias. In such a deranged situation, she even cannot control her feelings and thoughts. Getting closer with Cecile, her mind is intensely confused. “Nasıl olduysa onu önce boynundan, sol kulağının ardından öptüm, (tehlikeli bir öpüş); sonra, hiç telaş etmeksizin ağzından (düpedüz rezalet!) . . .

¹⁷⁶ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 69

¹⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 133

¹⁷⁸ *ibid*, p. 118

Artık ötekiydim, eminim bundan; buysa beni hem kahrediyor; her yanıma titreten yasak bir sevinçle, hem sevindiriyordu.”¹⁷⁹ Fluctuating between being woman and man, feeling male and female, Leman experiences an utterly confused in-betweenness due to her capacity of holding multiple genders.

According to studies made on LGBT people, in-betweenness and living double identities cause deterioration of mental health in LGBT people which is observed saliently in Leman. Operating Korkut Holding at the same time, she cannot handle her mental deterioration. At last she begins to have hallucinations. As a typical gender non-conformist, Leman suffers from psychic morbidity. For that matter, her character is degenerated. As she expresses, “Ben de, acaip bir kararsızlığın pençesine düştüm, çelişik, hatta karşıt bir sürü şeyi, yapmaya karar verip verip, vazgeçiyorum.”¹⁸⁰ As it can be concluded from the quotation, Leman, both male and female gets stuck in her excessive gender life. The society necessitates coherent gendered selves to keep the preestablished structure in order. However, the protagonist’s life destructs the constructed gender traits. Because of which, her wholeness of self is broken. A break in the self generates chaos in the psyche. When Leman is having intercourse with female to male transsexual, she cannot decide whether she is with Bobby or Haco Hanım. In such a complicated state of mind, she confuses the real and the imaginary.

Öyle ki, Bobby’le ilk gecemiz, Haco hanım’la son gecemize dönüşüyor . . . Salonda mıyım, aynadan aynaya geçip kendimi arıyor, duvarları sarmış vahşi hayvan kafaları görüyorum: Kıyıcı dişleriyle yırtıcı kuşlar, dolaşık boynuzlarıyla, tavanı tutan baygın geyikler, fosforlu gözlerini gözlerime dikmiş, üstüme sıçramaya , göğsümün tekini, kolumu, bacağıma paralamaya hazır, o kaplan!¹⁸¹

As Leman lives beyond the normalized categories of gender, and her gender identity is over-flowing, she naturally suffers from mental problems. Her deconstructive complicated gender remarkably violates the sexuality that results in complex unity of emotionality and identity. During her stay in Paris to investigate Ekrem’s suicide, Leman loses herself in the middle of her multiple gender performances. As well as having same-sex relations, she turns into a male in Paris. Similar to Ekrem, she

¹⁷⁹ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 147

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*, p. 156

¹⁸¹ *ibid*, p. 226

practices homosexual acts, of which she suppresses to fit in the gender norms. As she leads double lives, she experiences a constant dilemma. “Hem gülünçtüm, hem iğrençtim, yaptıklarım isteklerimi aşıyordu. Adımımı attığım yeri felakete boğuyordum. Başlı başına bir felakettim. Yaşantım boyunca hiç bu kadar yalnız ve terk edilmiş kalmamıştım.”¹⁸² Holding multiplicities on her body, she cannot stand being alone as she has to confront “abnormality” of her life. She becomes both male and female during her days in Paris. Since she does not conform to the “natural” form of gender construction, she feels atypical, freak, or deviant. As a result of which, she creates double gender identities. Strikingly, she condemns herself and she gets pleasure by crossing the boundaries. However, as the studies show that falsity of interpersonal work and crossing the borders of heterosexuality lead to greater vulnerability, to depression and even suicide. Leman, in a state of intense confusion cannot stay in the real world; “İmgelemim çığıından çıkmıştı; ne yapsam hayallerin elinden kurtulamıyordum , gerisini zaten boşlamıştım.”¹⁸³

Thus, psychic conflicts caused by being non-heterosexual may lead to suicide of a LGBT person. Leman who sends a file to the Turkish journalist about her “real” life already decides to commit suicide which is implied by the title of her file which means rendezvous with a dead: “Le rendez-vous avec un mort/ Bir ölüyle randevu.”¹⁸⁴ In short, trying to hide their real gender identities and sexual orientations cause Leman and Ekrem experience psychic morbidity. The tragedy of the characters examined above display the imperative power of heteronormativity. The psychological difficulties they experience are caused by heteronormative gender construction of Western World. It assigns naturalized gender categories, social roles and attitudes to provide social order. Accordingly, gender non-conformists like Leman and Ekrem live psychic disorders by not affirming the gendered attributes of heteronormativity.

The characters’ suffering also arises from the sanction of organized social institutions. They are programmed to provide social order, so individuals are imposed to diverse messages from birth to death. They are supposed to be heterosexuals, and they are to have coherent gender identities. Therefore, there are prescribed roles and

¹⁸² Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 256

¹⁸³ *ibid*, p. 291

¹⁸⁴ *ibid*, p. 297

rules to be obtained by the members of the society. Those are comprised and transmitted by means of social institutions such as family, tradition and law. Expected to apply the practices of social institutions, characters, Leman, Ekrem, Bobby and Lili, are to act according to heteronormative order.

Fena Halde Leman's characters clearly disclose the fictitious ordering of gendered institutions because the functioning elements of heteropatriarchal society, social institutions implant gendered framework to individuals from their childhood to death. Parents, cornerstones of the family, are the primary actors of implementing gender stereotypes. Characters of the novel, especially Leman, Bobby and Lili are deprived of family. Therefore, they do not get the primary education of gender socialization. Although Ekrem has a mother, he develops homosexuality due to his natural-born tendencies, and his bisexual mother who has little communication with his son. Lili and Leman have to live with masculine dominant lesbian women. That is to say, deprived of family which is significant in forming character, the characters do not receive the "naturalized" gendered behaviors. In consequence of which, they do not generate stereotypical gender roles. For example, Leman displays masculine traits as she has to live with a lesbian masculine woman during her adolescence. Also, Bobby leaves his family in Africa. Absence of role models, such as mother and father, brings about deprivation of receiving "appropriate" gender roles for the characters. Hence, the characters saliently cross the boundaries of gender partly because they are deprived of family education which functions as one of the basic units to perpetuate the heteronormative gendered schema.

On the other hand, the characters of the novel remarkably deconstruct and reconstruct the gender phenomenon by clothing. As the body is the signifier of gender and culture, clothing plays a crucial role in categorizing the gender identity of the individuals. Masculinity and femininity are constituted mostly depending on the outward signs. Therefore, the transgressor characters of *Fena Halde Leman* invert the established traits of masculinity and femininity through deliberate configuration of their appearances. Especially, Lili purportedly constitutes a femininity which is both over feminine and attractive for Leman. With her reconstructed femininity, Lili actually induces the masculinity inside Leman. As Leman says admiringly, "Bu 'şahane' kadın [Lili], yapma göğüsleri ve takma kirpikleriyle bu sahte cover-girl,

vazgeçemeyeceğim bir şey.”¹⁸⁵ To convince herself and others, Lili creates an illusionary reality of her gender. In pursuit of literal sex change, she manages to lead her life transgressed without being noticed in public realm until she saves money for the surgery because she is well aware of the attachable and detachable parts of gender construction. “Ufak tefek hormon tedavisi yaparlar, tüyler kaybolur, göğüsler büyür; biraz ruj, biraz rimel, tamam! Bu kadarı yetmezse, saçlarınızı uzatıp boyatırsınız; saçınız elverişli olmayabilir peruklar ne güne duruyor . . . Bir gardırop düzmeyi de becerirseniz . . .”¹⁸⁶ As gender is a significant definer of the body, Lili, born as male but feels female rebuilds her gender identity in terms of institutionalized gender dichotomy to accomplish her passing.

Physical appearance is a mediator of our bodies in social environment. Clothes, make-up, behaviors are the instruments of culture that make us products of society we live. As Alfred Kinsey reports in his study that it is a characteristic of the human mind to try to dichotomize people during social interactions.¹⁸⁷ Programmed to see males or females, individuals unconsciously categorize people they interact as either woman or man. “Feeling” in opposite gender’s body, Lili and her lesbian hostess Mama Pelligrini achieve to turn into reverse gendered couple. Lili, alias Georges, has both breasts and phallus, becomes an eye catching female by her femme fatale make-up and clothes. To complete the binary oppositions, Mama Pelligrini turns into a male; “Korsikalı cadı da, erkek kılığına giriyor yani, silindir şapka, frak, yaprak çıgarası vs. . . O kılıkta çıtkırıldım ‘sevgilisini’ yanına alıp tenezzühe çıkıyor.”¹⁸⁸ Contradicting their anatomical sex, Lili and Mama Pelligrini turn the binary oppositions of gender inside out. Moreover, they socialize as a reverse couple. What is constructed as “normal” is subverted by them as well as normalizing the abnormal by means of applying culture’s gendered attributes. “As a consequence, social relational contexts become a significant arena in which the basic rules of the gender system are at play.”¹⁸⁹ Having acknowledged that they will be classified in gendered terms in social

¹⁸⁵ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 206

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*, p. 219

¹⁸⁷ George Dorsky and James Hughes. (March, 2008). “Postgenderism: Beyond the Gender Binary.” In Institute for Ethics and Technologies, Vol. 3 <http://ieet.org/archive/IEET-03-PostGender.pdf> pp.1-18. p. 5

¹⁸⁸ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 170

¹⁸⁹ Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Shelley J. Correll. (Aug., 2008). “Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations.” In *Gender and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448> pp. 510-531. p. 510

environment, transgressor characters of the novel form their gender identities in accordance with the attributes of culture. While Leman and transgressor Bobby are socializing, Bobby, alias Victorie Kaunda, mention about themselves as “men”; “Beni ‘erkek’ sayıyordu, onunla ‘eşdeğerde’ biri, bu bana güven verdi, oldukça rahatlatı . . .”¹⁹⁰ Leman defines herself: “Yakışıklı, iyi giyinmiş, sarışın bir delikanlı: Hafifi play-boy üzerine bir profil . . . Hele konuşursam, gırtlığımdan çıkan etkileyici ses, ‘erkekliğimden’ kuşku bırakmıyor.”¹⁹¹ Thus, the characters, who switch their genders, reassign their genders by employing the daily practices of institutionalized heteropatriarchy. Intermingled into the lives of individuals, gender bias is rewritten by playing with cultural gender rules. Nevertheless, gender functions not only on our appearances and social relations but also on formal level.

The institutions of society aim to serve the needs of community. Therefore, laws conduct and regulate our lives intertwined with gender. As an outcome of heteropatriarchy, heterosexuality is assumed as the only form of gender. For example, marriage is the legal institution that conveys the reproduction and continuum of heteropatriarchy. Since heterosexual marriage is the “natural” institution of society, social recognition is achieved through it for adults. Sexually complex married couple of the novel obtains the established model of authoritative heteropatriarchy. Even though Ekrem has hidden homosexuality and Leman is a lesbian, they get married to adjust to the imperative norms. Ekrem chooses Leman owing to her masculinity while Leman accepts marrying him to discard her “unusual” life. Although they have same-sex desires, they rove to be heterosexual because of operating gendered norms. Hence, they conform to the heteropatriarhic institution by legalizing their fake heterosexuality.

Social existence comes through affirming the established norms that are implemented to our lives via social institutions. Gender is the visible part of the institutions authoritatively functioning in daily life. According to which, heterosexuality is acknowledged as “normal” form of gender. In this system, non-heterosexuals are to conform to the ideology or to be heterosexuals. As far as it can be concluded from the characters of *Fena Halde Leman* that when individuals do not

¹⁹⁰ Attila İlhan. (2005). *Fena Halde Leman*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p. 238

¹⁹¹ *ibid*, p. 238

conform the necessities of institutions, they are to live on the edges of society or they create fake lives to get social recognition. Non-heterosexuals such as Leman, Ekrem, Lili and Bobby, automatically develop double identities, and reconstruct the ingrained gendered traits. Despite the legitimized heteropatriarchy and its institutions, gender non-conformists struggle to continue their living either by hiding or rebuilding their gender identities that is exemplified by the characters of *Fena Halde Leman*. Namely, inequality created by heteropatriarchic institutions is to be destructed with regard to the dramatic lives of non-heterosexuals.

CONCLUSION

The first thing recognized on a person is her gender in social realm. It is the crucial element of identity in the community. An individual can “exist” by her gender as a member of society. To exist, she has to live in harmony with it, so she is supposed to conform to the rules, set of beliefs, traditions, roles and dominant gendered framework. The individual is a product of these traits, and she is primarily defined by her gender. In other words, “a human being is a social animal”¹⁹² as Aristotle puts it. By social animal, it is meant that the individual is subjected to management of social norms. The community she lives in provides her survival via instruments such as family and education. In turn, she is expected to fit in the established rules to supply the continuum of established culture. In this interactional chain, gender constitutes the major part of the individual’s life. Gender gives ontological status of the body, but the dominant culture presumes gender in two categories; woman and man. Besides, heterosexuality is formed as the only form of gender and sexual orientation. Thus, the individual is recognized as part of society as long as she fits into dichotomy.

For many years, it is assumed that anatomical structure of the body determines the individual’s gender. Assigned immediately after the birth, “the mark of gender appears to ‘qualify’ bodies as human bodies.”¹⁹³ In other words, the individual only becomes a subject of society through her gendered body which is ordained according to the anatomy. Thus, biology is determinant of individual’s gender. Regarding the existence of lesbian, gay, bi- and trans- (LGBT) people, sex and gender is defined in different terms as they change what is assigned from birth. Sex is defined as biological attributes of the body while gender is culture’s assignment, so gender is learned, and it requires adopting a set of social expectations and roles. That is why, the definition of sex and gender is separated. Yet, sex and gender are used interchangeably in Western culture because gender is operated on the basis of sexes. Therefore, biology is perceived as destiny, and our anatomy bears two categories; maleness and femaleness. However, this dichotomous thinking is challenged by the studies of prominent feminists and researchers like Anne Fausto Sterling and Sylviane Agacinski and Carol Whitman. They establish the fact that anatomy can bear more than two sexes and the

¹⁹² Colette Chiland. (2003). *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality*. (Connecticut: Wesleyan UP), p. 121

¹⁹³ Judith Butler. (1999). *Gender Trouble*. (New York: Routledge), p. 142

“naturalized” differences between sexes may vary depending on the process, experience, geography the individual goes through.

Also, examination of different cultures and selected works of art; *The Danish Girl* and *Fena Halde Leman* by American writer David Ebershoff, and Turkish prominent Attila İlhan prove the existence of different forms of gender along with the two categories. It is revealed in these literary works that even though binary oppositions of gender is implemented as the “natural” forms by Western culture, universal perception of its gender construction is reversed by LGBT characters and non-Western societies studied in the previous chapters. By recognizing transgender and homosexual people as part of society, some non-Western societies redefine the parameters of gender bias. They discover the fact that definition and patterns of gender and its attributions are lack of stability in contrast to imposition of heteropatriarchal Western culture. Also, definitions of being male and female are destructed by those non-heterosexual characters that cross the boundaries of masculinity and femininity as well as holding multiple gender identities in one body.

On account of the different time and place that the novels’ characters live, limits of gender construction and its interpretation are discovered as contingent to socioeconomic, geographical and cultural practices of societies depending on the historical period. *The Danish Girl* takes place in early 1930s of Paris, Dresden and Copenhagen. It was a post World War era when gender switching seems impossible, and homosexuality is perceived as sickness because Europe needs to reestablish heteronormativity to strengthen the decayed belief to state norms and broken families in order to supply reproduction. Alternatively, *Fena Halde Leman* pictures the late 1970s Paris and İzmir. The novel suggests the fluctuating gender bias by portraying the lives of characters both in İzmir and Paris. Characters, whose gender continuously passes one to another, mostly live in Paris where homosexuality begins to be recognized in 1970s as opposed to heteropatriarchal Turkey where homosexuality is condemned as perversion due to strict military intervention and hegemonic masculinity in late 1970s. Namely, conditional construction of gender is transmitted ranging from 1930s and 1970s Paris, Copenhagen and Dresden to Izmir. Thus, it is uncovered through the novels that gender bias is capable of serving the needs and practices of societies in accordance with the historical period and socioeconomic

conditions. Since every culture defines its own concept of gender, the Western culture is constructed based on the binary oppositions of woman and man. Therefore, it disregards the existence of non-heterosexuals. As they go beyond the limits of gender construction, they are punished, stigmatized or discriminated. They are called abnormal or mentally sick. The labeling stems from their destruction of social norms.

The dominant culture, patriarchy, assumes every individual as heterosexual male or female. It sets up a heteropatriarchal world where heterosexual male is superior to female while non-heterosexuals are not recognized. That is to say, heteronormativity, based on dichotomous thinking, is an invented category to maintain the functioning of patriarchy. Because of this, it does not allow LGBT people to become “visible” in public realm. As it can be derived from the portraits of the novels’ characters, they are to form their own culture mostly living at nights. Giving the authority in the hands of heterosexual males, patriarchy uses gender in discriminatory terms to establish the dual based gender system. In short, gender is subjected to political and social aims. It is embedded so strictly that non-conformist are excluded or ignored as they threaten the social harmony. As the portrayal of the protagonist of *The Danish Girl* suggests that non-heterosexuals have to hide their sexual orientations and gender identities, or else they are subjected to humiliating treatment of physicians. Or, gender non-conformists have got to build up another culture peculiar to uprooted identities of society which is embodied by sexually overflowing characters of *Fena Halde Leman*. The patriarchy’s artificial construction of gender is salient when characters are examined in terms of deconstruction of gender. It is because both the protagonist of *The Danish Girl* and fluid gendered characters of *Fena Halde Leman* easily pass over the opposite gender through careful cross-dressing and adopted gendered behaviors. Although compulsory heterosexuality is implanted in every aspect of society, LGBT people may be conceived as “normal” people by simply applying the gendered traits. A trans- person may be identified in the opposite gender because it, as an institution, creates attachable characteristics of masculinity and femininity.

Culture imposes a set of behaviors, rules and norms to be adopted by the individuals in order to keep its preestablished order. Members of society are supposed to receive and practice these traits which would qualify them feminine or masculine.

Adopting these characteristics, the self is shaped and obtain gender identity that is supposed to be coherent with the anatomy. Also, heteropatriarchy appoints roles based on the binary opposition to classify the individuals. It assigns masculine traits as superior, subordinating the female roles at the same time. As gender identity and its roles are obtainable, LGBT people, especially trans- people, deconstruct and delicately reconstruct masculinity and femininity. For example, what is formed as “normal” trait of female is taken by a male, internalized and practiced as his “natural” characteristic. Thus, the characters of the selected novels take off the attribution of culture and acquire their own gender trait in spite of labeling, discrimination and psychic difficulties they encounter.

Development of a healthy self is composed by living consistent with cultural traits and social norms because the individual’s social existence is derived from the interaction within a social environment, the one who does not adopt the imperative gendered norms unavoidably confronts psychic difficulties such as depressive distress, anxiety and self-hatred. The literary works studied at the last part of the dissertation shed a light on the inner world of LGBT people. David Ebershoff’s *The Danish Girl*, based on the true life story of first transsexual, serves as a significant example conveying the psychological problems that transsexuals endure. Furthermore, *Fena Halde Leman* by Attila İlhan is another astonishing example portraying the psychic dilemma of LGBT people. In addition to the protagonist, almost every character has multiple gender identities which collapses into each other. In contrast to stabilizing imperative operation of heteronormativity, bisexual, homosexual, gay, lesbian and transgressor characters of the novel enable the reader to notice how chaotic and intense their psychic morbidities are.

Owing to negative judgments, emotional and mental distress, the integrity of the self is damaged because having a healthy self is mostly dependent on social existence. Treated as “freaks” of society, LGBT people are to experience identity crises. Besides being stuck between the naturalized heteronormativity order and their own perceptions of gender identity, they live a life in pursuit of becoming visible or they develop chronic unhappiness. In short, those who do not adjust to the dominant gendered schema are minoritized and ignored. As it can be derived from the lives of the two novels’ gender non-conformist characters, LGBT people lead double lives that

results in double identities; the first one is public, or the fake one conforming the norms; the other one is their own lives in which they express their own perception of gender identities regardless of their anatomies. However, leading two different identities and lives inevitably cause incoherent selves. Hence, compulsory heterosexuality is such a powerful gender phenomenon is that it makes non-heterosexuals undergo various difficulties by not acknowledging them as members of society.

From another point of view, LGBT people may help us to be aware of gendered cultural masks. Focusing on the transgendered protagonist of *The Danish Girl*, and the multiple gendered characters of *Fena Halde Leman*, it is possible to question the taken for granted gender phenomenon. They point out the undeniable existence of non-heterosexuals. By switching their genders and bearing the peculiarities of both of the gender categories, characters problematize the naturalized knowledge of manness and womaness. Though they are ignored, excluded or stigmatized as “abnormal”, they insist on breaking the boundaries because they act according to their inner worlds. In fact, they criticize the so-called social harmony established by patriarchal structure which signifies power relations mostly based on gender. In this social system straight man is defined first and given the priority whereas other people including women and all non-heterosexuals are categorized in relation to men. Therefore, existence of LGBT people is a major threat to this hegemonic masculinity.

Portraying the chaotic and subversive lives of LGBT people, those two literary works studied above represent the capacity of human being and possibilities of gender. The trans-, bi-, and homosexual characters, who are embodiments of whole LGBT world, suspend the certainties about maleness and femaleness. They make us think about the parameters of being “human” in social realm. Thanks to *The Danish Girl* and *Fena Halde Leman*, LGBT people’s inner worlds are explored. Through which, our cognitive minds programmed to dichotomous thinking learn to realize “other” kinds of worlds. By opening LGBT people’s inner worlds, these literary works actually pave the way for openness to different gendered personas and different ways of lifestyles.

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