BEYOND THE CLINIC: A PSYCHOSOCIAL POLITICS OF QUEER* TRAUMA AND LGBTQIA+ MENTAL HEALTH IN TÜRKİYE

by
İLKAN CAN İPEKÇI

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Sabancı University
July 2024

BEYOND THE CLINIC: A PSYCHOSOCIAL POLITICS OF QUEER* TRAUMA AND LGBTQIA+ MENTAL HEALTH IN TÜRKİYE

Approved by:

Prof. SİBEL IRZIK .....
(Thesis Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. SİBEL HALFON .....

Assoc. Prof. ÇAĞLA AYDIN .....

Assoc. Prof. AYŞE ALTAN ATALAY .....

Assoc. Prof. ATEŞ ALTINORDU .....

Date of Approval: July 19, 2024

ABSTRACT

BEYOND THE CLINIC: A PSYCHOSOCIAL POLITICS OF QUEER* TRAUMA AND LGBTQIA+ MENTAL HEALTH IN TÜRKİYE

İLKAN CAN İPEKÇİ

GENDER STUDIES Ph.D. THESIS, JULY 2024

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. SİBEL IRZIK

Keywords: gender studies, queer studies, psychoanalysis, trauma, mental health

This dissertation examined the psychosocial politics of queer* trauma and LGBTQIA+ mental health in Türkiye, presenting a comprehensive analysis of how systemic cisheteronormative oppression insidiously affects the lived experiences of queer* and trans* individuals. Employing a transdisciplinary approach that engages with diverse literatures from psychoanalysis, queer theory, psychosocial studies, cultural studies, and trauma studies, this research challenges conventional narratives and studies of trauma and trauma-related mental health outcomes by resituating them within broader sociopolitical contexts that unsettle the divide between the psychological and the social. Through a mixed-method approach, the author investigates both the quantitative findings from the self-report data on various clinical trauma-stress outcomes, and a series of in-depth interviews with LGBTQIA+ persons in Türkiye. Advocating for an understanding that is attuned to the cultural, social, and political dimensions of traumatic experiences, the author highlights the continuous and pervasive impact of persistent, everyday discrimination and violence on the mental well-being of queer/trans* people in Türkiye. The study illustrates how cisheteronormative oppression not only causes queer* trauma but also perpetuate the conditions that continue to harm the psychological and relational well-being of queer* and trans* people. While the author demonstrates how resilience and agency are remobilized within these communities to resist systemic oppression, it also highlights how cisheteronormative majority projects their repudiated desires, and how this may culminate in the internalizations of these abjections by queer and trans* people. Finally, the author calls for further research and activist work to develop inclusive political environments and effective clinical practices that will support traumatized LGBTQIA+ people.

ÖZET

KLİNİĞİN ÖTESİNDE: TÜRKİYE'DE QUEER* TRAVMA VE LGBTİA+ RUH SAĞLININ PSİKOSOSYAL POLİTİKASI

İLKAN CAN İPEKÇİ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ÇALIŞMALARI DOKTORA TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2024

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. SİBEL IRZIK

Anahtar Kelimeler: toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları, queer çalışmaları, psikanaliz, travma, ruh sağlığı

Bu tez, Türkiye'de queer* travmayı ve LGBTİ+ ruh sağlığına yönelik psikososyal politikaları inceleyerek, sistemik cisheteronormatif şiddetin queer* ve trans* bireylerin yaşam deneyimleri üzerindeki sinsi etkilerine dair kapsamlı bir analiz sunmaktadır. Psikanaliz, queer teori, psikososyal çalışmalar, kültürel çalışmalar ve travma çalışmaları gibi çeşitli literatürleri arşınlayarak disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşım sunan bu araştırma, travma ve travmayla ilişkili ruh sağlığı çıktılarına dair geleneksel yaklaşımlar sunan çalışmaları geniş bir sosyopolitik bağlam içerisinde yeniden yorumlayarak, psikolojik ve sosyal olan arasındaki kuramsal ayrımı sorgulatmaktadır. Karma yöntemler kullanarak, yazar hem çeşitli klinik travma-stres çıktılara dair elde ettiği nicel bulguları hem de Türkiye'de yaşayan LGBTİA+ bireylerle yaptığı derinlemesine görüşmelere dair bulgularını incelemektedir. Travmatik deneyimlerin kültürel, sosyal ve politik boyutlarına duyarlı bir yaklaşım sunan yazar, Türkiye'deki queer* ve trans* bireylerin maruz kaldıkları sistematik ve devamlı ötekileştirme ve şiddetin sonucu olarak ruh sağlıklarının nasıl bozulduğunu göstermektedir.Bu çalışmada sadece queer* travmanın neden ve nasıl ortaya çıktığı ve deneyimlendiği değil, aynı zamanda queer* ve trans* bireylerin ruh sağlığına zarar veren unsurların cisheteronormatif toplum ve sistem tarafından nasıl devam ettirildiği de gösterilmektedir. Yazar, bu toplulukların karşılaştıkları sistematik baskı ve ötekileştirmeye karşı nasıl direndiklerini göstermekte ve bazen de bu grupların bu olumsuz unsurları içselleştirmek zorunda kaldıklarını ifade etmektedir. Son olarak, yazar, çeşitli travmalar yaşamış LGBTİA+ bireyleri destekleyebilecek bir sosyal düzen için daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is funny how it all came full circle to the point where I started my academic journey in Interpreting and Translation Studies: The ebullient scene of the 19-year-old me when they attended their first theory course – fascinated, ever since, with the power of invoking the magic in words and the enticing games of playing with signs, symbols, and meaning. Much to my surprise though, since I have embarked on this dissertational journey, I have experienced solely the dread of making sense through my once most-faithful words. They betrayed me, especially when it came to writing about the mental and the affective: Words, once most instrumental and potent, were rendered insufficient when I tried to work with the 'intangible'.Au pied de la lettre, I was lost in translation both inside my mind, conflicted as in what I wanted to say and what I was able to convey, and inside the diverse literatures and concepts I engaged with. At the cusp of losing my already-obscured sight in the mist, I was saved by two beacons of light that guided me through and showed me how to find my way and pace through the shadows of the unknown. Hence, as I reflect on this long journey that has culminated in the completion of this dissertation, I find it essential to express my most sincere gratitude to anyone who has played a vital role in guiding and supporting me along the way.

First and foremost, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my thesis co-supervisors, the above-mentioned beacons of light that, without exaggeration, saved me and this project, Prof. Sibel Irzık, and Assoc. Prof. Sibel Halfon. Your challenging yet nurturing approach to mentorship has profoundly shaped my academic and personal positionality in this world. Prof. Sibel Irzık's boundless support, affectionate care, and wealth of knowledge have inspired me to push my limits even to higher potentials with the passionate lesson of learning how to show feminist care towards myself. My second thesis supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Sibel Halfon's meticulous attention to detail and critical insights into my psychoanalytic/ psychodynamic theorizing and clinical insight have transformed my ideas into a cohesive narrative, making me feel more confident in areas that seemed frustratingly alien and daunting at the beginning. Together, you have provided me with a "holding" academic environment that encouraged intellectual growth, fostered independence, and cultivated further resilience and self-compassion, for which I will eternally be grateful. It has been through my co-supervisors' guidance and expertise that I have come

to the point of recognizing the clashing forces between the social and psychological as transdisciplinary, meta-theoretical problems of mis(sed)translations. It has been through your assuring words of encouragement that I have come to enjoy this cacophony of the illegible.

To my jury members, Assoc. Prof. Çağla Aydın, Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Altan-Atalay, and Asst. Prof. Ateş Altınordu, I would like to thank you for your invaluable contributions and feedback throughout this tumultuous journey. Your rigorous examination and insightful feedback have helped me refine my work and have ultimately led to higher standards of scholarship. Your diverse, multidisciplinary perspectives have compelled me to think critically about my research questions and methods, and have enriched my analytical and creative interpretative skills that will resonate throughout my future career. Particularly, I would like to thank Ayşe Altan-Atalay for her guidance and mentorship ever since we met in 2014. Not only did she contribute to my academic and personal development in unique ways, but she also sparked my curiosity and laid the foundation for my research interests in the years that followed. Without her diligent guidance and compassionate support, I would not have been able to find the courage and power to continue when all became too daunting and overwhelming.

Of utmost significance in this regard, Assoc. Prof. Duygu Tekgül-Akın remains the first academician that I wanted to refashion myself in their image, having inspired me to dare to dream that one day I may become a scholar like her! She continues to inspire me with her diligent scholarship and loving motherhood. I owe so much to the example she has always set for me. Finally, Assoc. Prof. Alev Yalçınkaya has always remained influential in showing me how to prioritize my mental health as I also focus on keeping my passion for the sciences alive. Her advice on navigating complex scientific and professional dynamics in the workplace has drastically shaped my perspective on life and work. I would also like to thank other professors and mentors of mine who have played vital roles in igniting my interest in social sciences as well as in encouraging me during challenging times. In this regard, I owe a lot to Assoc. Prof. Yasemin Sohtorik-İlkmen, Asst. Prof. Ayşe Hilal Tuztaş-Horzumlu, Asst. Prof. Levent Yurdakul Kavas, Asst. Prof. Mari İto-Alptürer, Prof. Cenk Özbay, Asst. Prof. Ayşecan Terzioğlu, Asst. Prof. Zeynep Gülru Göker, and Asst. Prof. Arzu Ünal. I thank all the professors and mentors whose names are not mentioned for the dedication they have shown towards me and for the time they have graciously offered to nurture my academic hopes and ambitions. I would also like to thank Lambda İstanbul for having introduced me to the lively and much-resilient queer and trans* scene in İstanbul and providing with a safe, growing community of happy misfits!

It takes a village to raise a kid, they say. I didn't know how correct they were in their words! I gave birth to this project, a most unruly yet treasured child of mine, only thanks to the support of my close friends, and the transnational networks of feminist and queer solidarities that I have formed throughout these years. I am blessed to have such a caring, small circle of friends who have stood by me through thick and thin. To my friends, I would like to thank Aydan Kartaltepe, Elif Kurt, Güneş Yıldız, Büşra Temur, Gamze Şener, Sedef Uluğ, Burçin Başyazıcı, Şafak Cudi, Berna Göl, Efe Levent, Bahar Taymaz, Çağla Büyükkoç-Sütlüoğlu, and many more whose names I cannot fit here. Specifically, I am indebted to Aydan Kartaltepe for their unwavering support, be it through our shared laughter or anguish in the face of this cruel life. Similarly, I owe so much to the late Aydın Uslu, Füsun Uslu, Nihan Uslu Barut, and Mert Levent Barut for their friendship, love, and support for many years. Also, I would like to thank Zeynep Yazıcı who spent many hours listening to my talk anxiously about my academic and personal struggles for hours. I would also like to offer my gratitude to Dr. Levent Turhan for his support throughout my academic journey. Finally, I would like to thank Tülay Günel, my high school English teacher, who saved a kid's life by buying them winter shoes when I couldn't. It is in this soul of shared solidarity and camaraderie that I came to enjoy the warm embrace of ideas and those who dare to think and love. Thank you all for being my foundation and reminding me of the joys of life.

I would like to dedicate special recognition to my perfectly queer family. Their unconditional love and companionship have been my anchors throughout this journey. Their encouragement has been a source of strength during challenging moments. To my mother, Gülümser İpekçi, your relentless belief in my potential has been the bedrock of my achievements. You have sacrificed so much for my education, having taken care of my two mentally disabled older siblings without a male figure in the household or economic stability whatsoever. You have worked until your bones could not take it anymore. You have sacrificed so much for my education and provided me with so many lessons about resilience, hard work, and the value of keeping one's heart pure even in the face of evil and despair. Your courage, wisdom, and heart full of love and compassion have guided me through the darkest times, and I will carry your lessons with me every day I go. This dissertation is a testament to your hard work and love, the feminist example you have set for me as a single mother who conquered worlds with her love and daring passion. To my siblings, Nüşin İpekçi and Emir İpekçi, your perseverance in the face of many structural challenges has always inspired me to do better and work for the sake of those who need their voices and stories to be heard. Your love and understanding have been the most valuable source of support. I hope to make you all proud as I continue on my journey.

As I take this opportunity to reflect on the collective contributions of all those mentioned and many others, I would like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sabancı University, Prof. Meltem Müftüler-Baç for her guidance and support, and Sabancı University for providing me with the necessary environment for free speech and freedom of thought as well as supporting this project with the pertinent doctoral fellowships. As I recognize the collective contributions of all those mentioned and many others I couldn't acknowledge here, I am reminded that this dissertation is a collective achievement that I shared with all of you, and if not more so, with my interlocutors and all the queer* and trans* feminist subjects that keep teaching me what it means to dare to think, love, desire, and resist!

I am forever in your debt,

To my mother

"All this time I told myself we were born from war – but I was wrong, Ma. We were born from beauty. Let no one mistake us for the fruit of violence—but that violence, having passed through the fruit, failed to spoil it".

– Ocean Vuong,

On Earth We're Briefly Gorgeous (2019)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION: OUT OF THE CLINIC, INTO THE MISTS

"Why is love, the encounter with relationality, not always traumatic, while always overwhelming?" (2013, 89), asks Lauren Berlant in *Sex, or the Unbearable*, in which Berlant and Edelman engage with the polemicized origins and the outcomes of trauma in gendered and sexual subjectification, and the 'unbearable' confrontation with the inextricability of the 'negativity' [1] from our encounters with desire and sex – a maddening, ghostly rendezvous with the destructiveness of relationality and the ethical violence that sociality 'naturally' entails. Contrary to the classical theories of trauma by Cathy Caruth (1996), and Laub and Felman (1992), which accentuate the exceptional shock and the self-shattering aspects of the extraordinary in the traumatic act, Berlant advances a radical vision of sex and trauma, "sex without optimism", which does not promise optimistically anticipated reparations for the relational losses, incoherences, discontinuities, and disavowals that accompany one's psychic frustrations and incapacities in an overwhelmingly complex social world. Juxtaposing the classical formulations of trauma with her neologism of "crisis ordinariness", [2]

[1] Throughout this paper, the term "negativity" is used to refer to "the psychic and social incoherences and divisions, conscious and unconscious alike, that trouble any totality or fixity of identity. It denotes, that is, the relentless force that unsettles the fantasy of sovereignty." (Berlant and Edelman 2013, vii). In spite of the theoretical and political differences in their re-theorizations of "negativity" in psychoanalytical theories of gender and sexuality, Berlant and Edelman's readings concertedly underscore the negative modalities of the unconscious, drives, and desires in relation to their objects, elucidating the inseparability of the work of 'negation' from the sexual encounter and the traumatic confrontations with our "nonsovereignty and the unruliness of the world" (68). These approaches on the negativity of subjectification and relationality will be of further significance when I engage with Sedgwick's more optimistic, 'positive' account of gendered and sexualized intimacies.

[2] In Berlant's idiolect, "crisis ordinariness" is a systemic crisis that refers to various affective states of overwhelmedness that mobilize and diffuse the "symbolizations and other inexpressive but life-extending actions [originating in the trauma] throughout the ordinary and its situations of living on" (2011, 81). Berlant's critical evaluation of the concept of trauma recognizes the everyday, systemic dynamics in the ways trauma is unleashed onto the psyche. This reconceptualization preserves the individual's cognitive capacities to construe the event/s as a 'manageable' challenge, a crisis full of potential for hurt and development rather than an almost always self-shattering, wounding blow. It is the focus on the 'ordinary' nature of these crises that Berlant wishes to demonstrate without turning those historical, social events into extraordinary, once-in-a-lifetime cases peculiar to one specific subculture or marginalized group as in the case of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Instead, as we have seen in the era of COVID-19, even though an epidemic is a mass death event that is a 'textbook' definition of a psychologically traumatizing event for many, the degree to which certain groups of people are affected and sheltered from its social and psychological consequences is a matter of historical and sociopolitical struggle. Though I concur with Berlant's use of the concept of 'crisis' against the popular uses of the concept of trauma in contemporary mass media and self-help literature that thrive on the over-dramatic sceneries of 'trauma cultures' and its

Berlant offers "dedramatized" readings of the traditional trauma narratives by deconstructing the optimist wishes of "remaining in attachment" (2011, 13) and the normativizing aspirations therefrom. Alternatively, she focuses on the myriad forms that a crisis ordinariness may take and how these affective potentialities are managed and mediated across the psychic, social, and political spheres of one's ordinary, everyday life.

It is under the captivating allure of Berlant's anti-social, queer reimagination of trauma that I have started to inquiry about the multidimensional and multifaceted relationships between Queer* Trauma [3] and LGBTQIA+ mental health. Considering the colossal transformations in the ways we desire and relate, which have emerged due to the drastic technological developments post-millennium, namely the digital revolutions (internet, social media, and video streaming services) and the emergence of transnational cybercultures around identity politics, I could not help but wonder how LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey survive the psychic and social trauma [4] of living in a country whose laws, institutions, state officials, cultural beliefs, and societal values keep inflicting psychological and physical violence to whoever stands outside the sanctioned, hegemonic norms of gender expression and sexual desires. Though I am not interested in tracing how our identities, desires, and relations have changed due to globalized digital technologies, I am intrigued by the historical and political changes in the ways we think about the allegedly 'newly emerging' forms of gender

---

over-generalizing tendencies (Kaplan 2005), I maintain that some events are not that 'ordinary', in that at a specific time and place in history, certain groups and people are exposed to unusual forms and levels of abrupt and/or systematic violence at the hands of specific institutions and persons who have the power and the means to inflict life-altering pain on the psyches and lives of the less privileged and the dispossessed.

[3] The use of the asterisk on the term 'Queer*' allows me to differentiate between two modes in which I employ the term in relation to its referents: First, it refers to its more apparent, common usage by which it denotes a relation of 'belonging' to social lives of LGBTQIA+ individuals, which I owe to Jack Halberstam's usage of the asterisk with the word "Trans*" (2008). On the use of asterisk for the category of 'trans*', Halberstam wrote that "the asterisk modifies the meaning of transitivity by refusing to situate transition in relation to a destination, a final form, a specific shape, or an established configuration of desire and identity. The asterisk holds off the certainty of diagnosis; it keeps at bay any sense of knowing in advance what the meaning of this or that gender variant form may be, and perhaps most importantly, it makes trans* people the authors of their own categorizations." (2008, 4). Second, my use of the asterisk on queer* trauma maintains the theoretical difficulty in designating the 'nature' of the trauma in the vast, diffuse literatures of its study. The asterisk, thus, functions to highlight the inherent 'queerness' of the term 'trauma' in its theoretical histories and different disciplinary uses. By doing so, I wish to be cognizant of the vertical and the horizontal transmissions of trauma pertaining to its psychoanalytical, spatial, and temporal representations (Frosh 2013, 5) as well as its cross-sectional representations across private and public spheres of psychological, socio-cultural, and political lives. I write about this issue more in detail in the section of 1Queer Studies of Queer* Trauma1 in this chapter.

[4] For practical and theoretical purposes, I choose to differentiate between collective traumas, interpersonal traumas, and individual traumas (Lewis-O'Connor et al. 2019). Although I proclaim that one of the three levels can effortlessly be examined within the context of the other, realizing how the cultural, social, and psychic aspects of these experiences cut across all levels, and such an inquiry demands a cultural-ecological model (Ranjbar et al. 2020), I am also vigilant to the 'extraordinary' cases in which one's traumatic experiences are remarkably distinct from the others in the interview pool – in the sense that its impact (and narration) lies predominantly in the person's early interactions with the parents, hence more of attachment trauma. In the data analysis of the interview material, I pay extra attention not to situate these experiences under the reach of 'queer trauma' as these, I maintain, are to be situated and studied in the rubric of 'attachment/relational/developmental trauma' (Terr 1991; Bromberg 2003; Fonagy et al. 2002; van der Kolk 2005).

and sexual identities, and how clinical sciences and their normativizing discourses are generally implicated in the state's paranoid preoccupations about the "cunning plans" of the West of "tricking" new generations into perversion and immorality [5] Therefore, I begin this project with the central question of how psychodiverse [6] LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey experience their gendered and sexual subjectivities within the context of Queer* trauma. The relationship between the realities of trauma and gendered and sexual relationalities has always been present in the history of relational psychoanalysis (particularly in early classical psychoanalytic theories and later theories of object relations); however, the material and psychic ramifications of gender and sexuality came to the foreground with the growing interest in gender studies and queer politics. As Harris demonstrates (2016), the majority of these works (Benjamin 1988, 2004; Corbett 1993, 2009; Dimen 1999; Harris 2009; Saketopoulou 2014, Corbett 2014) are mostly interested in micro-level intersubjective and child-parent interactions, where the relational dimensions of trauma, even if gender and sexuality was a topic of interest, was limited to the psychic inner worlds of the individuals as some form of 'developmental trauma disorder' (van der Kolk 2005) or 'attachment trauma' (Fonagy 2010). These accounts engage mostly with conscious and unconscious intersubjective interactions with parents and other social others in the immediate surroundings, rather than engaging with the question of how these inner worlds are constantly and multi- directionally constructed, affected, and challenged by psychosocial systems and forces in one's environment [7],

---

[5] In the specific context of Turkey's current politics, the President of the Republic, R. T. Erdoğan and the representatives and officials of the ruling party (AKP) have long been known to reframe the equal rights demands and the identity politics of Turkey's LGBTQIA+ individuals on the political sphere and social media with conspiracy theories of Western countries' sinister goals to destruct the 'unity' of the Turkish government and its people by eradicating its moral values and its connection to Turkic-Islamic heritage, whose own homo-erotic and homo-social histories are systematically ignored or erased.

[6] Throughout the thesis, I use the terms 'mental health', 'mental well-being', and 'mental problems' mostly in the form of noun phrases and formations, however, when these terms are meant to be used in reference to the groups of people who experience them, there arises a problem of adjective use that does not marginalize or ostracize these persons with a psychiatric or normalizing discourse. While the terms 'neurodivergence' and 'neurodivergent' are popular alternatives of 'empowering' self-referents offered by the proponents of the anti-psychiatric movements and the scholars and activists of 'Mad studies', I personally argue that 'neurodivergence' is to be wedded to the psycho-politics of neuropsychological disorders, prioritizing the autism spectrum and ADHD-related disorders. Instead, I offer the term 'psychodiverse' (as an adjective) and 'psychodiversity' to refer to individuals who experience more cognitive, relational, and affective problems in their mental functioning such as depression, anxiety, and personality disorders among others.

[7] While the concept of 'psychological trauma' has always been a part of the histories of the psychiatric and clinical psychological literatures, having started with Charcot's, Janet's, and Freud's alternate studies on various cases of 'railway spine', 'acute brain damage', or 'sexual childhood traumas', the official diagnostic criteria of 'trauma' occurred with the emergence of the concept of 'posttraumatic stress disorder' in DSM-III (1980). In its inception, it was speculated that PTSD was a result of an event that was "outside the range of usual human experience" (APA 1980). In time, through persistent criticism and multidisciplinary interventions, its theorizations extended to secondary traumas of witnessing or early attachment traumas, although the focus on specific, unusual events remained central. While the current diagnostic criteria are subsumed under what is called 'Trauma and Stressor Related Disorders' (DSM-V 2013), the realities of enduring repetitive traumas (Herman 1992), or cases in which one's group-specific identity is the ground of their perpetual traumatization (Kira et al. 2020; Kira 2021) is still not officially recognized by many popular manuals or clinicians. Unlike these diagnostic attempts to understand and study trauma and trauma-related psychological problems, I maintain two critical points in this thesis: (i) traumas are not necessarily single events located in the past, and (ii) there is a phenomenological perspective that differentiates between varying levels of traumatic, chronic, acute or continuous stressors (Eagle and Kaminer 2013), focusing on

and how these psychosocial systems are entrenched in historical and political pasts of systemic discrimination against queers.

Positioned at the junction of queer theory [8] and psychoanalysis [9], this dissertation aims to explore how trauma narratives emerge and entangle within LGBTQIA+ individuals' lived experiences of mental health. Since there are numerous points of divergence and dispute between psychoanalytic theories and queer theories, i.e. the 'nature' of desire, the question of non-normative sexuality, gender identity, bisexuality, perversion, sadomasochism, family relations, fidelity, polyamory, and many other topics of fervent discussion, I have deliberated my theoretical pivot apropos of the concept of trauma rather than other psychological causes or symptoms of mental illness [10] keeping in mind the necessity of "broadening and differentiating our under-

---

the individuals' different modes of appraisals of the past, current, and future threats and the role of systems of protections and perpetrators of violence. While a great line of research in literature chooses to use the term 'traumatic stress' instead of trauma for the reasons outlined above, I continue using the concept 'trauma' in order to reveal the transdisciplinary encounters around the concept with an increased attentiveness to more cognitive study of the phenomenon in different geographies and contexts (Stevens et al. 2013; Eagle 2014).

[8] Queer theory is not a monolithic, univocal, or fixed area of study as there are many different, even conflicting approaches toward a prospective study of gender, sexuality, desire, subjectivity, and power. Even though the traditional developmental trajectory of what has come to be known as queer theory is drawn along with the names of the European and North American literary theorists such as M. Foucault, G. Rubin, T. de Lauretis, J. Butler, E. K. Sedgwick, L. Bersani, J. Halberstam, and M. Warner among many prominent others, there have emerged numerous critical and intersectional schools of thought that closely engage with the 'queer' thought such as Postcolonial queer theory (Punt 2011), Marxist queer theory (Lewis 2016), Black queer theory (Johnson and Henderson 2005), and queer psychoanalytic theory (Giffney and Watson 2017). Even though these works are still produced under the house of queer studies, they have their own theoretical, epistemological, and methodological challenges to the oxymoronically normative projects in 'popular' queer theory. Not only are there many queer studies with distinct theorizations and speculations, but there are also many attempts to move beyond the current state of the 'art' under the name of 'post-queer theory' (Penney 2013). While Warner seems to have successfully specified particular commonalities in much of the work produced in queer theory in terms of their approaches towards their objects of study or their end-goals, my personal take on queer theory resonates more with Butler's skepticism towards universalizing approaches on the queer question of studying gender, sexuality and desire only within a Euro-American, liberal project of identity politics or human rights. Instead, as she states (2009), this dissertation is dedicated to the prospect of exploring alternative vocabularies that may aid us in thinking about "global interdependency and the interlocking networks of power and position in contemporary life" (31)

[9] Similar to queer theory, it is also impossible to talk about a singular conceptualization of psychoanalysis or psychoanalytic thought. While the practice and the school of thought named 'psychoanalysis' are clearly indebted to Freud and Breuer's early clinical work in the late 19th century, over centuries, it has evolved into numerous, diffuse subdisciplines and schools of thought which have their own specific similarities and differences in the way they understand and apply psychoanalytic theories, hence in the plural. Since it is not this dissertation's goal to identify and study different schools in the history of psychoanalytic thought, I focus mostly on the schools of thought that are deemed central to the research questions sketched above, thus, I mainly attend to the works of classical or contemporary clinicians and theoreticians whose studies and research have converged with the questions of desire, gender, and sexuality. In this light, S. Freud, M. Klein, and J. Lacan come forth. While it is possible to select other names with this goal, this is a personal choice on my part arguing that these texts are some of the most popular engaged psychoanalytical texts by queer theoreticians. In addition to these, I also pay attention to the ideas of object-relations theorists and intersubjectivists whose works were specifically focused on the topics of gender, sexuality, and desire. In this dissertation, whenever I use the term psychoanalysis, I generally refer to the different groups of theories under the name of the 'relational turn' (Lemma 2016). Further details on this issue are provided in the following sections.

[10] It may be debated whether a diagnostic category of trauma or stress-related traumatic experiences is necessary in the first place for its cons and pros (Summerfield 2001); however, this project, even if it relies on the 'trauma' terminologies and histories of psychiatric and psychologizing discourses, is devoted to the political idea of co-opting the concept's social use in revealing the pathologies and abnormalities of the violent social systems, in other words, when the norms of mental functioning are being questioned at any place in this thesis, the 'culprit' on the stand or the 'patient' on the couch is almost always the normative order that generates so-called abnormalities with its strategic deployment of mental illness (Foucault 1985).

standing of what trauma is, along with our account of the conditions under which it is produced" (Rothberg 2014, xvii). With an informed orientation towards the psychosocial dynamics in Turkey's socio-political sphere, this project investigates the role of trauma in the mental health narratives of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey.

I argue that the lived experiences of mental health of LGBTQIA+s in Turkey are rooted in their systemic exposure to the traumatizing forces (micro- or macro-level) of the cisheteronormative institutions, policies, practices, and norms. One of the fundamental reasons that I have chosen to focus on the question of trauma is because classical (Freudian psychoanalysis) and somewhat contemporary theories on gendered and sexual subjectification (Lacanian psychoanalysis as well as post-Lacanian feminist and queer psychoanalytic thought) have posited a 'foundational' psychic, developmental trauma of subjectification against the suppressing and controlling forces of the society. It is through these knotty points of 'contact' between non-normative desires and identifications that I choose to examine the mental health stories of my interlocutors in this project.

By critically engaging with both 'negative' and 'positive' theories of gender, sexuality, and relationality in a transdisciplinary fashion [11], I seek to explore the possible contributions of an inquiry into the everyday lives of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals to the theories of (i) relational psychoanalysis and (ii) queer theory. Doing so, I aim to demonstrate how an engagement between queer theory and psychoanalysis can contribute to our studies of the psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. I proffer that there is great potential in these encounters [12] for both fields to learn from each other and advance their understanding of desire, sexuality, and subjectivity. From a theoretical point of view, this research aims to deconstruct the popular psychoanalytic binaries (sex/gender, gender/sexuality, masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual, psychic/social, mad/sane, melancholia/mourning, trauma/crisis, and the inside/outside of the clinic) and the contested, key

[11] Transdisciplinarity may be defined as "a critical and self-reflexive research approach that relates societal with scientific problems; it produces new knowledge by integrating different scientific and extra-scientific insights; it aims to contribute to both societal and scientific progress" (Jahn et al. 2012 as cited in Renn 2021). From another perspective, it is "a new discipline providing concepts and methods for researching complex, real-world problems" (Bammer 2017 as cited in Rigolot 2020). Moving beyond the debate over which definitions or modes of doing transdisciplinary research and the dichotomy of practical vs. theoretical transdisciplinarity (Rigolot 2020), in this research, I conceive it as a mode of relating both to my research questions, my pressing inquiries over the real-world problems of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+s in Turkey and to the theories I engage with and methods I utilize, for this reason, my approach on transdisciplinarity may be seen even more than "a way of being" (Rigolot 2020) but more of a 'way of relating', one that mobilizes my attachments and disattachments to the queer and psychoanalytic theories on trauma, and more importantly to the people whose stories and realities infiltrate me.

[12] Since trauma is a transgressive concept of common interest in the houses of queer theory and psychoanalysis, rather than being an easily delineated intersection set of joint interest, I view these 'uneasy' encounters between the two fields like the tangential, or even overpassing, acts of 'touching' and contact at the apexes of two 3-D embossed maps or topographical models.

psychoanalytic concepts such as Oedipus complex or penis envy, arguing that these concepts and binaries are not 'discoveries' of some universal truths or "god tricks" (Haraway 1991), but are rather historically situated knowledges with ethico-political consequences. As a result, I follow the shadows of trauma discourse [13] attending to how the role of trauma on gendered and sexual subjectivity has been theorized from similar and different theoretical positions. I believe that any attempt to frame or chart a unilinear trajectory of the historical or theoretical development of the queer and psychoanalytic literatures on trauma is bound to be personally curated as it is not possible to spare enough time and place for every prominent thinker who dwelled on the questions of trauma from the perspectives of queer sexuality, gender non-conformity, or psychological well-being.

Therefore, the selection of the queer theoreticians and psychoanalytic thinkers in this thesis has been determined with the acknowledgment that it is not meant to be an exhaustive list. If anything, it succumbs to an exuberant curiosity regarding how these two, traditionally nonadjacent, fields come to convolute, twist, bend, and diffuse at the moment of their encounter, further destabilizing the linear ossifications and frontiers across the so-called binary of the personal and the social.

Cognizant of the way particular epistemologies (i.e. Euro-American trauma literatures) have become 'familiar' sites of trauma that prioritize certain historical events such as the Holocaust or the 9/11, I cautiously heed Rothberg's advisory words to the future scholars of trauma studies, which calls for troubling "the distinctions between event-based, systemic, and structural trauma [that] do not map onto any simple, geo-cultural map, but cut across all borders (even if their distribution is markedly uneven)." (2014, xvii). It is with this orientation that I examine and review the relevant psychoanalytic and queer studies on psycho-social trauma [14] in the

[13] It may be debated whether a diagnostic category of trauma or stress-related traumatic experiences is necessary in the first place (Summerfield 2001); however, this project, even if it relies on the 'trauma' terminologies and histories of psychiatric and psychologizing discourses, is devoted to the political idea of co-opting the concept's social use in revealing the pathologies and abnormalities of the violent social systems, in other words, when the norms of mental functioning are being questioned at any place in this thesis, the 'culprit' on the stand or the 'patient' on the couch is almost always the normative order that generates so-called abnormalities with its strategic deployment of mental illness, abnormalcy, and deviance (Foucault 1985).

[14] Smelser distinguishes between psychological trauma and cultural trauma based on its mechanisms, in that "the mechanism associated with psychological trauma are the intrapsychic dynamics of defense, adaptation, coping, and working through; the mechanisms at the cultural level are mainly those of social agents and contending groups" (2004, 39). According to the cultural trauma paradigm (Alexander et al. 2004), it is not the events that are traumatic per se, but the meanings that are attributed to them post- hoc by the members of groups who are negatively affected by the cultural crisis, hence resulting in their discomfort at the damage in their collective identity (Alexander, 2004). Alexander argues that trauma appears in the gap between the event and the representation of that event by the group, through which "a narrative about a horribly destructive social process, and a demand for emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation and reconstitution" crystallizes into a 'claim' about the characterization of the alleged traumatizing event (11). While I find the cultural trauma paradigm's focus on the necessity of the group's collective representation of the traumas as a defining moment in the "trauma process" (27), I argue that symbolic and cultural representation in the collective memory or its construction as trauma in the first place does not preclude the reality that, even without representation at the collective level, traumatizing events have real, psychological and social consequences on the members of the groups. I contend that

next sections; positioned at a transdisciplinary nexus that does not promise a 'truth' or self-soothing answers to these daunting questions. As my inquiry deepens, I revel in this fabricated mist of multiplying questions that shrouds my mind, vaporizing into psychic currents and overflows of world-shattering traumas or quite 'ordinary' moments of crises.

1.1 LGBTQIA+ Mental Health in Psychological Research and Psychoanalysis

Although the contemporary psychological literature is replete with studies documenting that LGBTQIA+ individuals experience higher levels of stress, abuse, and trauma among various other mental health problems (Meyer 2003; Hatzenbuehler et al. 2009; Bostwick et al. 2010; Boehmer et al 2019; Cicero et al. 2020), there is a lacuna in the field regarding the mental health problems of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey, who have been suffering, for more than two decades now, under the weight of the Turkish state's institutionalization of Islamicist, cisheteronormative beliefs and patriarchal, nationalist cultural heritage. In recognition of the sociocultural position of Turkey as an overwhelmingly Muslim, yet a secular, democratic country (Acevedo et al. 2015), this research project aims to identify and situate the idiosyncratic mental health stories of LGBTQIA+ individuals and their struggles in a 'traumatizing' society characterized by varying levels of covert and overt misogynist, homophobic, and transphobic discourses and practices that continue to pathologize and systemically abuse sexually dissident and gender non-conforming individuals in almost every sphere of their lives.

---

even when the meanings of trauma mediated by power structures and social systems are not recognized or acknowledged through the agents of a collectivity, there ought to be its reverberations. In this light, even though Kansteiner and Wilnböck (2008) group 'psychoanalytic literary theory' and 'cultural trauma theory' under the sign of 'deconstructive trauma paradigm' on the grounds of their shared focus on the importance of cultural representation and 'unrepresentability' of the trauma, I argue against grouping these two strands of trauma theories under the same group despite their similarities. Instead, I concur with Leys' and other clinical psychoanalytic arguments that despite the difficulties in remembering and representing the traumatic event, it is possible to do so with certain therapeutic strategies on the level of the individual (in the clinic) and the collective (trauma cultures and their politics of collective healing). On the other hand, there is another paradigm in contemporary trauma studies that may be defined 'Social Trauma' paradigm pioneered by Andreas Hamburger (2021). According to this paradigm, social trauma is defined as a "clinical as well as a sociopsychological concept: (1) as a clinical category [that] defines a group of posttraumatic disorders caused by organized societal violence or genocide ... (2) the shadowing of the original trauma on long-term social processes" (3). This approach resembles my attempts of integrating different modes of studying socio-cultural aspects of trauma in the way that social trauma is said to be connected to cultural trauma, collective trauma, historical trauma, and clinical traumas (including generational traumas or trauma-related stress disorders) however, despite an entire edited volume on the concept, it is not clear where the concept of social trauma stands concerning these other, key terms and concepts. Therefore, instead of trying to claim confining allegiances to certain literatures or disciplines, I remain adamant in my preference for the concept of 'Queer* trauma' where the term 'queer' with all of its anti-normative and norm-challenging characteristics remains relevant to the volatile 'nature' of trauma as a concept.

Previously, LGBTQIA+ individuals in the West were reported to be suffering from disproportionately higher levels of stress, anxiety, and trauma compared to their cisheterosexual counterparts (King et al. 2008; Hatzenbuehler et al 2010; Kidd et al. 2016). Even though the literature is rife with empirical research that demonstrates higher rates of mental health problems experienced by LGBTQIA+ individuals, ranging from depression (Bostwick et al. 2010), suicidal ideation (Eskin et al. 2005), self-harm (Almedia et al. 2009) to psychological trauma (Keating et al. 2021), there are currently no studies in the field that examine the mental health stories of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey from a queer psychoanalytic perspective that is also attuned to the premises of psychosocial studies and transdisciplinary trauma studies. As Berg and his colleagues underscore (2015), the legal and civil rights of LGBTQIA+ individuals, the problems they experience in their daily lives ranging from bullying to familial and societal rejection, the governmental and societal attitudes towards them, and the degree of heteronormative governmental policies and hate crimes vary tremendously across cultures, especially in non-European countries that do not present amicable living environments for queer people.

As mentioned above, our knowledge about the mental well-being of LGBTQIA+s in Turkey and how trauma apparates in their psycho-social lives is extremely limited. Few studies have tackled the current social and political state of queers in Turkey (Gençöz and Yüksel 2005; Bereket and Adam 2006; Özbay 2010; Bakacak and Öktem 2014; Ziya-Eslen and Koç 2016; Okutan et al. 2017), but most of these studies are not interested in the psychological dynamics or psychological theories, which may shed light on how the reported cases of higher internalized homo/transphobia and mental health problems come into being or are experienced in the first place. Due to cisheteronormative, orthodox Islamic beliefs that consider dissident sexuality and gender non-conformity as "grave sins" and the fact that hegemonic masculinities occupy a more central position in Turkey compared to many Western countries, it is expected that the mental health problems experienced by LGBTQIA+s in Turkey will be higher and more salient in shaping their everyday lives, including more severe forms of internalized homonegativity, shame, anxiety, depression, and other traumatic stress related comorbidities.

Despite the rapid popularization of LGBTQIA+ mental health research in empirical psychological sciences, their engagement with queer theory has not come to full fruition yet. Despite its "fall from grace" in the neoliberal, capitalist academia of fetishized statistics and 'god-like' valorization of direct experimentation, psychoanalysis has always been 'radical' in the sense that sexuality (in all its 'perverse' and 'normal' manifestations) has been fundamental to the psychosexual theories of developmental mental life. Concurring with Giffney and Watson's remark, which

realizes psychoanalysis' profound influence on the intellectual development of queer theory, I focus on psychoanalysis as a subdiscipline and approach in the general psychological sciences. With this rotation, I aim to contribute to a growing literature that is pioneered by the two edited collections on the intricate relationships between psychoanalysis, clinical psychology, and queer studies, namely; *Clinical Encounters in Sexuality: Psychoanalytic Practice & Queer Theory* (Giffney and Watson 2017), and *Gender and Sexuality Now: Moving Beyond Heteronormativity* (Hertzmann and Newbigin 2019). Another recent, important study in this context has been written by a doctoral student who examined the relationship of psychoanalysis to transgender mental health with a special focus on the concept of 'perversion' (Wiggins 2019). Through the analysis of clinical case studies (texts), artworks, and autoethnographic [15] reflection, Wiggins successfully demonstrates that psychoanalytic psychotherapy is well-suited for transgender people once it has been subjected to a queer and trans critique. While his approach to psychoanalytic practice mostly entails what happens in therapy, I would like to deepen our discussions by directing our attention to the psychoanalytic dynamics "outside the clinic", exploring what psychosocial studies and transdisciplinary trauma studies can introduce into these debates. With these objectives in mind, I position this research's findings in direct relation to the lived experiences of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals instead of creating another textual and theoretical encounter between psychoanalytical theories and queer theories. In addition to selectively building upon the works and the ideas of prominent queer thinkers [16] who have engaged with the psychoanalytical conceptualizations of 'trauma', I want to generate creative opportunities of contact and dialogue for the seemingly clashing practices and knowledges of psychoanalysis vis-a-vis queer ways of living and becoming. [17]

Inarguably a seminal work in defining the field of study and delineating the primary arguments and the contradictions in queer theory and clinical psychoanalytic

---

[15] Autoethnography and queer theory share conceptual and purposeful affinities, as both reject traditional methodological orthodoxies and emphasize fluidity, intersubjectivity, and responsiveness to particular contexts. Both resist the constraints of static legitimacy and encourage inventive approaches. They adopt an opportunistic stance towards existing and normalizing techniques in qualitative inquiry, opting to 'borrow', 'refashion', and 'retell' methods and theories in innovative ways. (Foucault 1981; Plummer 2005 as cited in Jones and Adams 2010, 197-198).

[16] As previously mentioned, some of the queer thinkers central to this project are Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Lauren Berlant, Judith Butler. I also engage with queer and queer psychoanalytic theories of scholars such as Ann Cvetkovich, Lee Edelman, Leo Bersani, Jack Halberstam, and Sara Ahmed among many others.

[17] It has also come to my attention that there are two laudable research on trauma in queer communities, one from a psychospiritual (pastoral psychological) perspective on the way traumatizing experiences within queer and trans communities negatively affect their daily lives and spiritual well-being (Menhinick and Sanders 2023), and the other from Kelly et al. (2020) who studied collective trauma within queer communities, demonstrating the similarities and differences from collective traumas in communities of color. Although they do not necessarily count amongst the pioneering studies that may inform my own research in a fundamental way, they are still meaningful contributions to the growing literature from their idiosyncratic disciplinary connections and the literatures they follow.

practice, Giffney and Watson's work, I argue, misses an opportunity on the part of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals to speak for themselves and their experiences inside and outside the clinic. Hertzmann and Newbigin's edited volume (2020) collects essays dealing with the questions of the Oedipus complex, non-normative sexualities, and gender identities from a psychoanalytical perspective. However, it is clearly stated that it was intended "for clinicians involved in training and supervising students... as well as for students themselves" (2020, 11). Even though its engagement with queer theory in the scope of psychoanalytic theories and practice is remarkable, especially in its hopes of "opening the consulting room to the multiple currents of gender and sexuality" (Baraitser 2022), it falls short of moving beyond the consulting room and failing to problematize how different, socio-cultural and ethico-political contexts may trouble these currents. Defining the universe (U) of the popular equation of [Theory x (Therapist x Client x Counter-Transference): Practice] within a more encompassing denominator of "Subject" defined in the set of everyday lives and realities of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+s, I wish to challenge our normative methodologies of applying theory to clinical practice. As an alternative to presenting the encounters between queer theory and psychoanalysis (and queer people and clinical practice in the background) post hoc (as in the works above), I wish to situate the lived experiences of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey at the core of this thesis, maintaining the potentials of their experiences to destabilize and mobilize the theories on both ends if they run short in capturing their 'truths' [18]. In the next section, before I move onto Queer* trauma and its reception in psychoanalysis and queer theory, I briefly look at the theoretical encounter between queer theory and psychoanalysis, and how it may contribute to the goals of this dissertation.

1.2 Gender and Sexuality in Psychoanalysis and Queer Theory

Despite the long-entrenched tensions and controversies between the psychoanalytical theories of sexuality and queer theories, there are a few, yet not to be disregarded, commonalities in their projects such as their eagerness towards questioning and examining what the 'normal' signifies and how it achieves its normalcy, and both traditions' suitability of interdisciplinary communication. While it should not be

[18] I will remain extremely skeptical and critical throughout this work, believing that when it comes to cultural and social reality and data, as hermeneutic philosophy has shown us, even "the simplest accounts are intentional creations, that interpreters constantly construct themselves through the others they study" (Clifford 1986, 10), and therefore any claim to [T]ruth in this research recognizes that "ethnographic truths are thus inherently partial – committed and incomplete" (7).

forgotten that psychoanalysis is not a unified theory and practice or an absolute knowledge that defies radical revisions or self-critical reexaminations (Dean and Lane 2001, 6), Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytical theories of sexuality may still offer us useful tools and concepts about thinking what it means to desire someone, how we come to understand our bodies and desires in relation to social others, and how our unconscious desires work their way into our waking minds. As Bersani (2010) observantly notes, psychoanalysis could revolutionize queer studies with its lessons that "modalities of desire are not only effects of social operations but are the core of our very imagination of the political and the social" (43). Granted that psychoanalysis is equally, if not more, indifferent to the dynamic confluence of the psychic and social processes and the question of how the 'private space' is incessantly recreated and restructured by other people and the Other of the social order (Frosh 2019, 109), both projects nevertheless are interested in the damages and suffering done to individuals and groups by the category of a norm.

Finally, most of their theories and arguments share a common ground in their avowals that sexuality is not reducible to identities, as queer theory aims to destabilize the tenuous truth claims to identity, and psychoanalytical theory proposes that sexuality is imprinted, from the very beginning of social life, on the very desire of others and unconscious identification from outside. Perhaps, in order to explore how queer theory stipulates psychoanalytic clinical practice and theories to different imaginations of desire that could envisage sexuality and gender beyond designated gender roles or lack/failure (Nigianni and Voela 2019), one of the most productive and reciprocally thriving strategies to assuage the 'encounter' between psychoanalysis and queer theory will be questioning and examining why the two, seemingly disparate disciplines have come up with their unique concepts, terms, and formulations, why they are playing the 'language games' they seem to be playing (Wittgenstein 1958, 5) and what they could learn from each other by communicating how their respective knowledge of desire, sex, and love could enrich one another if their theoretical, political, and ethical motives may dovetail. In the next section, I examine how psychoanalysis theorizes about trauma, how relational psychoanalytic theories relate to non-normative genders and sexualities, and how, in return, my queer inquiries interact with the psychoanalytic theories of trauma and relationality.

1.3 Relational Psychoanalysis of Queer* Trauma

The 'discovery' of trauma as a psychoanalytic concept was indisputably one of the earliest moments in the incipient days of psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice, as evidenced in Freud's early formulations of the traumatic 'nature' of infantile sexuality (the seduction theory) and his later formulations of loss, mourning, and melancholia as psychic responses to developmental traumas of identification, disavowal, and subjectification. Having occupied always an ambivalent position in classical psychoanalytic theory, trauma has been quite the locus of fervid theoretical argumentation as can be seen in the notorious quarrel between Freud and Ferenczi spanning three decades. However, this 'chasm' may also be defined as the earliest moment of the "budding" of a relational theory of trauma (Harris 2019, 334). Even though more structural models focusing on the effects of the external forces and the social figures came quite later with the establishment of relational psychoanalytic schools (Greenberg and Mitchell 1983), the relational theorization of trauma within the psychoanalytic framework of gender and sexuality can be traced back to earlier psychoanalytic theoreticians and practitioners like Ferenczi, Klein, Reich, Winnicott, and Loewald among many significant others. After the establishment and the popularization of ego psychology in the United States, the neo-Kleinian object-relations psychoanalysis in the United Kingdom, and the Lacanian psychoanalysis in France and American literature and philosophy departments, the psychoanalytic theories of gender and sexuality have gained significant impetus and proliferated into different, yet intersecting psychoanalytic and psychodynamic traditions (Benjamin 1998, Dimen 1999; Harris 2009; Saketopoulou 2014; Giffney and Watson 2017; Hertzmann and Newbigin 2020). In consideration of the above-provided contemporary works, one of the supporting objectives of this dissertation is to examine the theories of classical psychoanalytical and psychodynamic theorists (Freudians, neo-Freudians, and post-Freudians), British object- relations theorists (Kleinians, neo-Kleinians, and independents), Latin American field theorists, and American intersubjectivists in relation to their arguments of how one becomes a gendered, desiring individual, and how trauma as an originally relational phenomenon may function in the processes of object representations, projective identifications, and identificatory disavowals. As Epstein remarks perceptively (2019), psychoanalytic theory, from its early days to the present, offers many theoretical and conceptual tools such as unconscious, transference, countertransference, internalization, identification, repression, incorporative fantasies, mourning, melancholia, etc. (350) that could facilitate our understanding of the pivotal role of trauma with regards to our diverse responses to the socially and culturally induced negative affects and mental states like anxiety, shame, guilt,

traumatic stress, and dissociative states. Below, I review some of the key ideas and developments in (i) Freudian and Post-Freudian relational theories of trauma, and (ii) Kleinian and Post-Kleinian relational theories of trauma.

1.3.1 Freudian and Post-Freudian Relational Theories of Trauma

Even if Freud and Breuer were the first psychoanalysts to suggest that sexual traumas, which had become a recurring pattern in the developmental histories of their hysteric patients, were the origins of the psychic breakdown and the ensuing crisis that created overwhelming psychological problems, there were significant differences in their approaches. Strikingly, Breuer's and Freud's earlier explanations for the symptoms of hysteria and its origins, not only recognized the realness of the traumatic event as exemplified in their analysis of Herr K.'s mental ailments, but they also highlighted the psychic differences in the ways individuals respond to traumatic experiences with varying mnemic symbols and symptoms (Freud as cited in Gay 1989, 98). However, towards the later stages of his career, Freud became more and more ambivalent about the reality of traumas [19], which was the central point of disagreement with his student Ferenczi who argued that the external reality of childhood traumas such as sexual abuse, rape, and inappropriate sexual signals were the main causes of psychological dysfunction (Ferenczi 1932 as cited in Harris 2019, 335). While the Freud/Ferenczi conflict on trauma has been taken up multiple times and reexamined through different perspectives since then (as in the oeuvres of A. Freud, Klein, Winnicott, Laplanche, and Mitchell), Freud's essential argument that the psychologically intolerable ideas and feelings surrounding the concepts of shame, morality, and normal infiltrated the psychic world of the developing child with the onset of the Oedipal complex has been one of the most commonly accepted premises and assumptions of psychoanalytical thinking up to this day.

Despite the fact that Klein and the later British object-relationists traced the origins of the traumatic, relational experiences to earlier developmental stages, Freud's

[19] Notwithstanding their differences on the reality of sexual traumas, both Breuer and Freud confirmed that the psychic disequilibrium brought about the disturbing, unpleasurable pleasures that could not be registered and made sense 'healthily' at the time of the traumatic experiences, and that their 'therapy' was concerned with dealing with "the return of the repressed". However, arguing that the memories of his hysteric patients had their share of involvement in the 'deferred' projections of Oedipal fantasies, he focused on the concept of Nachträglichkeit, and how the relationship the two etiological moments depend on the way perceived and reacted to the traumatic event (Bistoen et al. 2014). I share certain similarities with Bistoen's project which, drawing from Lacanian theory, propounds a view of trauma studies that destabilizes the dichotomy between the biomedical model and the sociological model. Instead, Bistoen wrote that "I do not believe that the solution to this problem [of the individualizing and depoliticizing consequences of the biomedical model] is simply to forsake a focus on psychological suffering and to trade in a psychiatric level of analysis and intervention for a sociological one" (2016, 171). I share the same viewpoint as I try to trace the echoes of the psychologizing account of trauma study even within the literatures of political and sociological studies of trauma.

theorization of the Oedipal encounter between the psychic and affective worlds of the child and the society points to a still-ongoing problem in the 'nature' of the clinic and its limits – the vexing question of how to approach and 'treat' the individual cases in which the clients are persistently at higher risks of traumatization, and how to deal with the pressing forces outside the clinic that neither the therapist nor the client has any substantive power over. While we should always be wary of the vicissitudes of Freud's androcentric perspective and language, the following statement of his elucidates the great extent the role of cultural and social norms played in his theories about neuroses and hysteria:

> [...] Where there is no shame (as in a male person), or where no morality comes about (as in the lower classes of society), or where disgust is blunted by the conditions of life (as in the country), there too no repression and therefore no neurosis will result from sexual stimulation in infancy. [...] I do not think that the release of unpleasure during sexual experiences is the consequence of the chance admixture of certain unpleasurable factors. Everyday experience teaches us that if libido reaches a sufficient height disgust is not felt and morality is over-ridden; I believe that the generation of shame is connected with sexual experience by deeper links. (Freud as cited in Gay 1989, 91)

Freud's historically radical approach toward sexuality [20] was soon lost, or more accurately 'repressed' (Dean and Lane 2001, 1-17) because its unapologetic focus and openness to the study of infantile and adult sexuality were not received very favorably by the physicians and therapists outside Europe, and hence followed the loss of interest towards sexuality and the institutionalization of homophobia in psychoanalytic schools, particularly in the medicalized versions of psychoanalytical thinking in the US, the infamous "conversion therapy" and "Ex-gay research" movement by the leading psychiatrists of the 1960s, Samuel B. Hadden, Irving Bieber, and Charles Socarides. On the other hand, it is equally difficult to claim that the early British schools of psychoanalysis, polarized around Anna Freud or Melanie Klein, were exempt from causing harm to the sexually dissident and gender nonconforming individuals at the time. Much to one's surprise, it has only been ten years since it became possible for openly gay and lesbian candidates to be accepted

[20] In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud stated that every human being is born with innate bisexual potentialities and each one of us carries within simultaneously both feminine and masculine characteristics, but he nonetheless retained a normative approach towards sexuality and saw the heterosexual, genital intercourse and cisnormative gender identifications as the clinically 'desirable' outcomes (1905, 130- 241). If one wishes to make sense of Freud's ambivalent approach towards sexuality in relation to the historical and cultural influences of his time (the strictly evolutionary paradigm), it becomes possible to entertain the idea that the extremely moralist tendencies of the late-Victorian, Austrian society and the pressing medical questions of what to do with the 'perverse' may have forced his hand to propose his 'radical' ideas in somewhat culturally and socially conformist terms.

to psychoanalytic training in the UK, following the British Psychoanalytic Council's statement in 2011, which came two decades after American Psychoanalytic Association former decision on the subject matter. Furthermore, it was under the 'reign' of British object-relations traditions that the psychoanalytic focus on the Oedipal stages and the pertinent, unresolved questions around non-normative, 'perverse' sexuality moved towards the pre-Oedipal, developmental, and relational trajectories, replacing the theoretical language around sex and drives by the 'new' terms and concepts of primary love and attachment (Lemma and Lynch 2015, 4).

The retreat of psychosexuality into the background is usually linked to Klein's revision of sexuality, which positions the maternal breast at the center of psychoanalytical thinking as the object of nurturance, abundance, and love rather than a sexual object that excites, disappoints, or confuses, and moves the focus away from biological arousal or anxiety towards the affective and relational elements in the mother-infant relationship (Fonagy 2006, 89). Having been subjected to much criticism for altering the terminology on the phallus, castration, and subjugation, and attending instead to the questions of love, destructiveness, and reparation, Klein's focus on the mother-child dyad and her relational approach has been received somewhat negatively by the classical Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysts, for whom the primacy of the phallus (biological and/or symbolic) and the problem of sexual difference and its symbolic effects were shadowed or neglected in Kleinian analyses.

1.3.2 Kleinian and Post-Kleinian Relational Theories of Trauma

Even though Klein is not concerned with the relational problems at a broader level (how psychoanalytic dynamics emerge beyond the cisheteronormative family), I recognize the theoretically productive encounters of Queer theoreticians with the Kleinian concepts (Sedgwick 2003; Ahmed 2010; Berlant 2011) and thus maintain that Kleinian concepts of internal objects, envy, aggression, projective identification, and paranoid and depressive anxieties may be productively appropriated and utilized for thinking about the complex ways these concepts travel across individual, interpersonal, and collective registers, implying that the (potentially) traumatic aspects of the early relations keep being reenacted, including the socio-cultural and politico-historical problems of identity formation, group belonging, and existential anxieties over the conundrum of desire and sexuality. I follow Klein's thinking [21] on

[21] As Melanie Klein wrote herself, her theories on the Oedipus complex and the stages of psychosexual development and the binary gendered and sexual mode of thinking is not that different from those of Freud's. In her paper "Early Stages of the Oedipus Conflict" (1928), Klein wrote that "To sum up my conclusions: I wish above all to point out that they do not, in my opinion, contradict the statements of Professor Freud. I think that the essential point in the additional considerations which I have advanced

our (in)capacities to keep our objects alive (as real and internal objects), especially if they are not loving and accepting enough contrary to our former expectations. Hence, I ask what happens to these relational frustrations and reparative potentials when larger groups of people find themselves in conflict with one another, where one group accuses the other of inborn degeneracy and anti-social malice. Doing so, I feel the need to stress Klein's normativity in terms of the cisnormative gender roles and heteronormative sexuality implicit in her theories (Klein 1932, 46 as cited in Herzog 2015, 21), and I prompt my inquiries to move beyond Klein's 'promotion' of the depressive position for its reparative potentials and I experiment with different ideas on relationality, sociality, and negativity, primarily through the works of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990; 1993; 2022), Leo Bersani (2009a; 2009b; 2018), Lee Edelman (1994; 2004; 2013 with Berlant), and Lauren Berlant (2008; 2011 2012).

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the early object-relations theories regarding their cisheteropatriarchal tendencies and their indifference to non-normative gender and sexual identities, a 'properly' clinical focus on relationality and attachment [22] does not inherently suggest that the questions of sexuality and gendered identification processes are not examined, and discussed in contemporary psychoanalysis. As previously stated, there have indeed come forth a large number of psychoanalytic theoreticians and clinicians who presented critical, non-normative approaches towards desire (Laplanche 1995; Fonagy 2008), perversion (Saketopoulou 2015; Benvenuto 2016), homosexuality (Lewes 1995; Dimen 2001; Chodorow 2012); bisexuality (Perelberg 2018; Rapoport 2019), transgender identity (Gherovici 2017), and gender identity (Goldner 1991; Balsam 2001; Harris 2009). Although the majority of the contemporary psychoanalytic theories are marked by unquestioned, cisheteropatriarchal normativity in their formulations of the gendered parental duties and the 'normalcy' criteria of living according to the traditional gender norms, I think this dissertation benefits from its engagement with some of the psychoanalytical, clinical concepts such as "the good- enough parent and the holding environment" (Winnicott 1960), "the internalization of the superego" (Jacobson 1964), "the metabolization

---

is that I date these processes earlier and that the different phases (especially in the initial stages) merge more freely in one another than was hitherto supposed (157 as cited in Grigg et al. 1999). Yet, I believe that Klein was being modest here, since her model of the Oedipal drama presented castration anxiety "as a consequence of sadistic attack on the object and only one form of retaliation feared from both mother and father" (Breen 1993, 28). While I admittedly see some nerves of gendered binary thinking in Klein's oeuvre, I am mostly interested in the potential power of her relational concepts and how the formation of the self is developmentally theorized.

[22] While I will be engaging with queer affect theories that have produced a good number of critical ideas around the concepts of attachment and desire, in this dissertation, I am not going to engage with classical or contemporary theories and studies of psychological attachment theory as I agree with Davis's and Dean's, and Andre Green's as they cited, contention that Bowlybian attachment theory's "surveillant-visualist sensory modality" employs a highly deterministic understanding of mental illness and its aetiology, leading to causal explanation of deficiencies in the early parenting environment that carries an "implication that the unnatural proximity [of atypical parentage practices and friendships] in urban environments may be conducive to the flourishing of nonreproductively focused forms of human sexuality, including homosexuality" (2022, 103-112)

and synthesis of objects and feelings" (Kernberg 1975), "the need of selfobjects" and "mirroring needs" (Kohut 1977), "the authentic or inauthentic self's relationship with the body and the others" (Mitchell 1993), and "the dissociative responses to trauma" (Bromberg 1998).

Recognizing the contemporary object-relations theories' lack of engagement with the later eras of an individual's socio-psychological life, which is overwhelmingly susceptible to myriad environmental forces (social, cultural, historical, and political), I intend to question what happens to one's needs for a holding, safe, and facilitating environment as they grow up? Do these needs eventually vanish if the developmental trajectories have been experienced rather successfully (presumably in a queer-affirmative setting)? Is it possible that a teenager or a young adult continues to need the same kind of positive regard and unconditional love for their authentic selves and feelings, not only from their parents but also from the social others with whom they spend most of their waking life? What happens to the separation/individuation needs when we consider them in a larger context, where a group of people feel like they are losing their sense of identity in the face of rapidly changing social relations and ward off that anxiety by disavowing and fighting particular groups and marginalized people?

The traumatic aspects of an experience are not always determined by the abrasive, catastrophic happenings, in which there is an abrupt, external insertion of something frightening and overwhelming into the psychic world of the individual. The absence of or the withdrawal of the necessary, positive conditions, as Winnicott posited, can also be experienced as trauma, denying the developing child the optimal conditions for healthy psychological development (Mitchell and Black 1995/2016, 209). Attending to this logic, I would like to question how LGBTQIA+ individuals' experiences of living queer are affected and organized by socio-cultural absences and withdrawals, considering how individual and collective traumas starkly resemble each other in the sense that one is devoid of an unconditionally loving and a safe environment which could have encouraged and supported one's explorations, experimentations, and search for non-normative identities and intimacies [23](Erikson 1959). In the next sections of this chapter, I look at how Queer* trauma has been conceptualized and studied in different disciplines and subfield specializations in social sciences.

[23]I consider the stories and the memories about the exclusionary, phobic reactions of the family, friends, and close others at school/work as prolific sources of psychosocial interpretation and analysis, as most of the parents' traditional beliefs and expectations on gender and sexuality are potentially traumatizing for the LGBTQ+ individual in the Turkish context (coming closer to individualized cases of relational trauma in the scope of familial relations). But I also expect that the stories of discrimination, bullying, and violence at school/work will demonstrate the porousness of the social/psychic boundary as the presence of a threatening and hostile environment may continue the pernicious relations and affects from the earlier periods by not providing the safe, psychic space for an 'optimal' psychological growth.

1.4 Transdisciplinary Trauma Studies of Queer* Trauma

In *Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Cultural and Literary Criticism* (2014), Buelens et al. display the historical trajectories of what has come to be known as 'trauma theory', the early conceptualization of which is stated to have started with the joint attempts of "law, psychiatry, and industrialized warfare" in the West (Luckhurst, 19 as cited in Buelens et al. 2014). Crystallized at a point of 'turbulence', in which the "impact of trauma and the theory that studies it respects no academic boundaries and shapes not only affective 'feelings' but also more formally recognized knowledge" (Eaglestone 2014, 12), trauma has been a popular topic of inquiry, not only in history and the Holocaust studies, but also in politics, sociology, psychology, philosophy, and literary and cultural studies. Regarded as the 'founding' texts of trauma theory, Judith Herman's *Trauma and Recovery* (1992), Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's *Testimony* (1992), and Cathy Caruth's *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (1995) have all engaged with the psychoanalytic understandings of trauma as the unspeakable, world-shattering experiences that push the limits of language, representation, time, and space. However, these 'founding' texts have mostly relied on the universalizing definitions of trauma as 'transhistorical and structural', which resulted in their marginalization of the non-Western and minority traumas and understating the historicity of trauma and its 'real' political and ethical consequences (Craps 2014, 46). As a result of this, the more critical modes of thinking have become necessary to study and understand the experiences of the minority groups whose precarious subjectivities are put to higher risks of violence and possible future trauma through 'injurious interpellations' (Butler 1997, 104).

Over the next decades, the exigent need for more contextualized, psychosocial approaches was crystallized in the demands and criticisms of a newly emerging field; transdisciplinary trauma studies and critical trauma studies [24]– contemporary, interdisciplinary approaches towards the study of trauma culminated at the intersections of psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, postmodernism, affect studies, critical race theory, and mad studies. In transdisciplinary trauma studies, trauma is treated as a cultural product of history and politics, requiring an analysis of the cultural representations of trauma and the psychological, socio-historical, and political effects of

[24] Since post-post-structuralist social sciences have been going under heavy transformations, trauma studies have proliferated into various sub-disciplinary approaches. Even though their theoretical standpoints and critical aims are quite similar, transdisciplinary trauma studies may be distinguished from critical trauma studies on the grounds of their methodological and theoretical focus on transdisciplinarity whereas some of the key theoreticians of critical trauma studies have been known to situate themselves against the cultural trauma paradigm of J. Alexander and other post-structuralist social scientists' readings of trauma. Therefore, in this dissertation, even though I use key figures and their readings in critical trauma studies, I situate myself in the scope of transdisciplinary trauma studies.

those representations. Correspondingly, transdisciplinary trauma studies not only aim to destabilize the binary relationship between the "allegedly traumatic component of all human conversation" and the "concrete suffering of victims of physical and mental trauma" (Kansteiner 2004, 194 as cited in Rothberg 2014, 13), but it is also interested in uncovering what the trauma researcher does to the lived experiences of traumatized subjects through the specific discourses of trauma. The criticality of contemporary trauma studies stems from its Foucauldian approach to the psychiatric medicalization of trauma and its biopolitical consequences as well as its theoretical commitment to deconstructing the common binary oppositions, namely; " between every day and the extreme, between individual identity and collective experience, between history and the present, between experience and representation, between facts and memory, and between the 'clinical' and the 'cultural'." (Casper and Wertheimer 2016, 4). Committed to uncovering the implicit processes of creating social categories of 'clinical' subjects in need of biomedical interventions and institutionalized forms of 'healing', this dissertation integrates the non-essentializing and non-reductionist ideas in the contemporary traditions of clinical psychoanalysis into a "theoretical holding' marked by anti-normative sensibilities and affinities that are deemed productive for such a project.

1.5 Queer Theories of Queer* Trauma

In stark contrast to the psychoanalytic and psychiatric definitions of trauma under the diagnostics of PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder), Reactive Attachment Disorder, Disinhibited Social Engagement Disorder, Acute Stress Disorder, and Other or Unspecified Trauma and Stress-Related Disorders (DSM-V 2013), contemporary (transdisciplinary and critical) trauma studies, as Ann Cvetkovich explicates, approaches their subject matter through culturally and historically informed sensitivities, which enables the researcher to treat it "as a social and cultural discourse that emerges in response to demands of grappling with the psychic consequences of historical events." (2003, 18). Focusing on the everyday forms and effects of the traumatic experiences in our ordinary emotional lives, Cvetkovich makes a distinction between the origins and effects of punctual traumatic experiences (the so-called 'event-based' traumas) and the concept of 'insidious trauma' [25] coined by feminist

[25] Referring to Root's and Brown's texts, National Resource Center on Domestic Violence's website defines 'insidious trauma' as "the daily incidents of marginalization, objectification, dehumanization, intimidation, et cetera that are experienced by members of groups targeted by racism, heterosexism, ageism, ableism, sexism, and other forms of oppression, and groups impacted by poverty". Root argues (1992) that even if the traumatizing experience is not a single event, once subjected to insidious traumata, an individual's psychic functioning and well-being gradually deteriorate and result in emotional dysregulation and stress-

therapist Maria Root (1992) and developed further by Laura Brown (2009), who is also a well-known feminist clinical psychologist. Recognizing "the task of such violence may be more difficult because it doesn't always take the form of visible and punctual events" (30), Cvetkovich reinterprets trauma, through a Marxist historicization of affects and sensations, "as a sign or symptom of a broader systemic problem, a moment in which abstract social systems can actually be felt or sensed" (2003, 31). In this dissertation, inspired by Cvetkovich's neoteric lens on trauma, it is argued that a feminist queer reading of the contemporary psychoanalytic theories of gender and sexuality may help us to study the affective, psychological consequences of insidious, everyday traumas and enable us to imagine a different kind of clinical/therapeutic practice as well as new modes of queer politics in Turkey. Furthermore, it is presumed that a psychosocial perspective on relationality that does not understand it only in terms of parent-child relations will enable us to realize the permeable, theoretical boundaries between different types and registers of trauma.

Throughout the book, Cvetkovich uses the term 'queer trauma' whenever she refers to various forms of trauma (sexual, psychic, or physical) within the scope of LGBTQ+ experiences, however, it is not explicitly stated, though implied, what it is that 'queers' the traditional concept of trauma in her approach rather than the term 'queer' acting as an umbrella category for non-normative gender and sexual identities. I, on the other hand, seek to broaden the scope and theoretical utility of the concept of 'queer trauma' by initially opening it up to the anti-normative reinterpretations of postmodern, psychosocial, affective queer perspectives, through which, I advance, it will be possible to demonstrate that what is queer in this 'kind' of trauma is not only to do with 'queer desire/sexuality/gender identity', but it is also connected to the theoretical and practical difficulty of defining it with discrete terms – Queer trauma's eccentric transcendentality that defies any normative, subjugating attempt to confine it within specific paradigms or a monodisciplinary mindset. By thinking through the experiences of bullying (Atlas and Pepler 1998), different trauma responses (Horowitz 2011), attachment-related trauma (Bowlby 1969; Main and Solomon 1993), secondary and vicarious trauma (Pearlman and Saakvitne 1995; Baird and Kracen 2006), microaggressions (Sue 2007) as well as the interrelations between family members, relatives, peer groups, teachers, community, broader society, time and place (Bronfenbrenner 1992), I wish to solidify the theoretical strength of the conceptualization of 'Queer* trauma' by cementing its

---

related problems due to the persistent, usually covert forms of violence and threats. Brown's unique contribution has been her emphasis on the importance of attending to the cultural, historical, political, and economic structures that played determining roles in the onset of insidious trauma, and her reformulation of insidious trauma within more contextual, heuristic lines, which she argued, can initiate a conversation about privilege and the question of the therapist's cultural competency.

theoretical hold in actual social realities [26]

Granted that this restructuring is akin to Cvetkovich's and Westengard's eclectic approaches to 'insidious trauma', which favors the "accumulated effects of small, persistent acts of microaggression combined with unacknowledged institutional and systemic violence" (Westengard 2019, 15-16), I see productive capacities in not disregarding the empirical findings of clinical psychoanalytic and developmental psychology, in which the definitions of trauma and its related concepts (i.e. resilience, retraumatization, compassion fatigue, embitterment, etc.) provide prolific potentials for revealing and representing the strong emotional reactions and disruptive affects that may hinder 'functional' psychological well-being (Mishna and Sawyer 2011). In line with Westengard's conceptualization (2019, 3-5), I define "Queer* trauma" as the manifold psychological effects of persistent, systemic, and accumulated traumatic experiences of embodying and living one's non-normative gendered and sexual subjectivities and desires in psychic, social, cultural, and political systems that delegitimize, pathologize, discriminate and even inflict violence to them for their 'dissidence'.

1.6 Psychosocial Studies

So far, I have presented the theoretical frameworks, along which I redefine 'Queer* trauma' in response to post-deconstructive social theory and relational psychoanalytic traditions, however, the problem of delineating between the individual and the social aspects of trauma (its communal, cultural, historical, and political aspects implicated). As I realize the overwhelmingness present in undertaking a task of studying across colossal spheres of human life (psychic, social, and cultural), which may need to be studied separately in their own right, I turn to Stephen Frosh's legacy and what he terms 'psychosocial studies' – a transdisciplinary approach/field of study that examines psychic and social processes as "always implicated in each other, as mutually constitutive, co-produced, or abstracted levels of a single dialectical process" (2016, 478). This mode of inquiry, which combines psychology, sociology, anthropology, gender studies, postcolonial studies, queer studies, and psychoanalysis, enables me to trace the discussions and the conflicts about the 'nature' and 'role' of gender and sexual difference through the abstruse theories of trauma and

[26] I am aware that not all these concepts and theories are sustainable in a single work due to their assumptions and contradictions, therefore I want to selectively work with some of them to display that this conceptual and terminological 'crowdedness' stems from the queer 'nature' of trauma, and instead focus on the ways queer sexuality/gender experiences traverses through multiple areas, theories, and concepts like a punctured multidimensional, multi-registral axis.

mental illness. Even though he remarks that psychosocial studies are not bound to any particular discipline or intellectual tradition, Frosh's innovative approach is largely built upon the Freudian, and Post-Freudian psychoanalytic thinking (including object-relational and self-theorists as well as Lacanian and postcolonial and queer psychoanalytic theorists), providing a 'portal' to realize how self and society (regardless of individual fantasies or trans-local social transformations) intersect at their unconscious, imaginary representations (Elliott and Frosh 1995, 6). Besides, psychosocial studies bring our attention to the psychoanalytic interconnectedness of trauma to relationality and sociality [27]; to our relatedness to each other, and the questions of otherness (its incommensurability) in the formation of gendered and sexualized subjectivities, both in familial and broader social contexts as well as across different disciplines [28]

Followingly, I aim to examine "the triangulation between the human subject, culture, and society" (Frosh 2018, 6) and how these triangular relations are translated onto the trauma and mental health narratives of a marginalized group of people living in a country that keeps threatening their psychological and bodily well-being. I argue that the psychosocial approach towards these 'turbulent' encounters between queer experiences and psychoanalytic practices [29] could test the limits of psychoanalytic theories of gender and sexuality beyond the clinic, which relentlessly holds onto its promise to offer a holding and supporting medium that helps the client to reexperience, reframe, reinterpret, and mentalise

Psychoanalytic theories of sexual difference and gendered subjectification. Indeed, it is at the very root of psychoanalysis as "a way of reading trauma" (Fletcher 2013 as cited in Frosh 2018) that the social oppression of others is located as a central axis, which makes way for a radical psychosocial insight that does not reduce human relatedness to specific relations in familial triangulation. Regardless of this proximity between trauma and relationality in the psychoanalytic literature, I remain cautious

---

[27] Except for the cases I deliberately differentiate between the two, I use the term "sociality" in a manner that incorporates the workings of and the meanings allotted to the concepts of relationality with the assertion that relationality already implicates the porous boundaries between the self and the others/the Other on the broader social and cultural context.

[28] For the transdisciplinarity of the field, Frosh states that "In the same way, as psychosocial studies seek to be a trans- (as opposed to inter-) disciplinary practice that negates the easy assumption of 'in here, out there', subject and object, psychic and social, it needs to constitute itself in such a way as to constantly unsettle its own activities and assumptions" (2010, 199). Following this warning, I remain vigilant to the possible 'victories' and/or 'failures' of applying psychoanalytical ideas and concepts developed in the clinic to the areas beyond the confines of the clinic. I think queer theory has always had a similar distrust or hesitations towards these 'quick' acts of translations. For this reason, I maintain that qualitative psychosocial research may yield effective insights into the encounters between queer theory and psychoanalysis.

[29] In this research, there is an implicit agreement that the matters of the clinic are inseparable from the theoretical preoccupations in psychoanalytic literature. Thus, a synthesizing approach (between theory and practice) is enforced while I also pay attention to the non-equivalent relations between psychoanalytic practice and queer theory.

of the task of translating concepts that are produced exclusively for the clinic into broader socio-cultural spheres [30] As Frosh remarks, most psychoanalytic concepts do not usually work in the same way once they are translated and carried to non-clinical situations (2012, 58). It is around this mist, "the smoke that gets into our eyes" as Frosh describes, that I would like to find my way around this mist, and embark on the search for psychoanalyses that would not 'optimistically' promise lives with clear visions, but instead could offer plural ways of living after the trauma – an evolved and transformed ways of living in ever-continuing cycles of (un)becoming that can withhold "the pain and the exhaustion" (2015, 214).

[30] For this translational task, Frosh writes: "[W]hat is being enacted when it moves 'outside' is a translation across and extension of psychoanalytic ideas and practices, raising issues about the distortions and possibly creative alterations that take place along the way. Of particular concern is the extent to which the limitations on 'wild' analysis (Freud, 1910) that are produced by the clinical situation (meaningless or wrong-headed interpretations might, one hopes, be constrained by the presence of an actual analysand who can speak back to the analyst) are lost once the restrictive boundaries of that situation are removed." (Frosh 2010, 36)

2. AFTER QUEER METHODOLOGIES: MIXING METHODS, DISRUPTING THE WAY

The white light above is flickering anxiously. The lightbulb [31] seems to be enjoying the play (within the play) dramatized before its dull-eyed illuminance. My weary eyes open up to a sight of my then 67-year-old mother sleeping on a drabby hospital chair, dozed off. I am lying in the hospital bed, heavily sedated, feeling nauseated and inexplicably still worried about what I am now supposed to do despite the strong-enough- to-knock-down-a-horse dosage of post-surgery narcotic medication and painkillers in my blood stream. A day before, I was grading some student papers, and now I could not feel any of my extremities below my left knee. It all caught by surprise because when my aggressor attacked me, I was thinking that my interference worked effortlessly without creating any problem: A 40-something man, whom I had long known to be an explicitly homophobic, hyper-nationalist neighbor based on our short daily communicative exchanges in the market before, was physically beating his wife and his two-year-old boy. Everyone was watching the man throw his wife and their son like a flour sack, and no one seemed to be planning to do anything. I suppose everyone reminded themselves of the old Turkish dictum saying that "outsiders shouldn't stifle with anyone's family business". Frankly, I was reminded of the same Turkish (misogynist) teaching as well as remembering how badly these events usually end up for the person that interferes with the wrongdoing as in the case of Kadir Şeker (Bianet 2020), who was imprisoned for more than a decade for involuntary manslaughter while he was trying to prevent a man inflict violence on his partner.

Despite the rush of these precautions, concurrent with my seeing of the blood flowing from the infant's mouth, I lost control over all my conscious thinking processes and,

[31] The image of the lightbulb is no strange symbol to the eye and the mind of a Turkish citizen as it has been carved into our imagery systems of representations as the icon of AKP's visual representation in the political realm since its foundation 2001. The irony in this first 'eye-opening' experience of mine in my sickbed is to be greeted by the very symbol of the political power that has, for more than two decades now, fostered an anti-LGBTQIA+ climate that renders anyone non-normative vulnerable to assaults and attacks such as the one in this case.

much to my surprise, experiencing what I had only read about in my psychology textbook, I found myself at the scene of the beating without ever planning to do so. Pointing at the now-bleeding kid, I told the so-called father to pay attention what he actually did, and how frightened his son was, and suddenly the man came to his senses (!) or so I thought. As I was able to stop the one-sided violence, I felt relieved and went back to my table to continue grading. But, a couple of minutes later, I found myself knocked down onto the concrete floor with the assaulter, now wearing heavy winter boots, jumping forcefully on my kneecap and my lower leg. Having witnessed this violent beating from the comfort of the outside of my mind, as if I was watching the event take place on my body like a referee, I counted thirteen strong stomping and kicks until I lost all sight and consciousness. For the first time ever, my mind stopped its anxious eccentricities, and the pain of overthinking shifted towards a pain of another kind, now in my lower leg and kneecap. As my sight blurred and twisted, I saw my 67-year-old mother, who was trying to intervene, being thrown to the rock-hard floor.

The main reason why I am telling this story here at this point in this dissertation and not in another place is because it is this unfortunate event that brought the reality of trauma back into my life, my lexicon, and my research interest. Ironically enough, trauma has been the bedrock of my journey on this ephemeral earth-plane, from the early foundation years of queer childhood to my teenager years of my coming-of-age into the queer, emerging adult that I am now. But, much like the historical trajectory of the study of trauma, which is marked with multiple forgettings and remembering, I never liked to invoke the word of trauma around the vicinities of my life story or how I liked to frame it. Once I have read the majority of my selected books and articles from my curated reading list for the thesis, I realized what kind of a 'typical' case my life story of multiple traumatization was emblematic of: I grew up in a household with two mentally-disabled older siblings who were physically and psychologically violent for at least the two-third of my young years, I was sexually abused for almost an entire year when I was a 11-year- old queer kid whose curiosity over sex was exploited and later weaponized to publicly shame [32] me in front of my

[32]The main line of reasoning in this sharing of extremely private memories of trauma is not only to demonstrate how my positionality has been imbricated within the diverse experiences of many other queer people in Turkey, but it also testifies to Cvetkovich's findings in her study of sexual lesbian/queer trauma as a common point of belonging and resistance among queer public cultures. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, I have not encountered any mention or notion of a queer trauma cultures in Turkey's case; however, at the risk of utilizing my personal case and connecting it to the stories of trauma that I have compiled here, I would like to open up new possibilities for respective intellectuals, researchers, and activist to start archiving and producing work that pinpoint to a pressing need to form unique queer therapeutic public cultures in Turkey. Moreover, following Stryker's and Whittle's ideas on (de)subjugated knowledge production, I would like to show how my position as the author derives explanatory power not from the authorial, all-knowing pretense of an expert, but rather from my embodied experiences as the speaking subject. On this note, I agree with Stryker's assertion that "no voice in the dialogue [or the text] should have the privilege of masking the particularities and specificities of its own speaking position, through which it may claim a false universality or authority." (2006, 12). Also, I agree with Bistoen's words on the structural, invisible prohibition on the un/speakability of traumatic experiences such as sexual or

peers, and so many more complex traumas that span over large periods of time.

It still baffles me how long I resisted to accept that I was traumatized. It did not make a lot of sense when everyone was doing their best to take the elective psychology course on trauma when I did not even once consider taking it when I was an undergraduate student. It is almost absurd that I kept disregarding the word of 'trauma' whenever I read Freud as I was writing my master's thesis on psychoanalytical anthropology of gendered and sexual subjectification. It was like an 'ick' to me. Whenever I read about sexual trauma in my doctoral courses about feminist theories and activism, I somehow managed to treat it like a mere topic of inquiry that did not mean anything to my psyche or my developmental history. It became clear only when I started to read about psychological trauma in great detail that it was me all along! Perhaps believing that I was protecting myself from further psychic damage at the time, I had become a mastermind of much diligent conscious and unconscious repression and denial. Regardless of my entire efforts to divert, digress, or deny what was calling to me, trauma soon caught up to me, not just as a pressing physical and psychological actuality, but also an epistemological question of not-knowability. Therefore, it would not be me exaggerating when I say my research topic and questions found me rather than it being the other way around.

I was not unfamiliar with the psychological studies of trauma and the relevant psychopathological and clinical literature surrounding it, despite my subtle efforts not to concoct any associations between what I was being taught and what I had been through. Even to the overconfident yet barely understanding mind of my undergraduate mind, the psychological trauma literature was far from perfect in terms of its pathologizing, universalizing, and individualistic account of traumatization and the suggested ways of rehabilitation and therapy. I knew that I needed to turn to less deterministic, less grandiose and authoritarian disciplines to better situate my research questions in a lived social context, and in lieu of these interdisciplinary motives and phenomenologically-oriented goals, I turned to the literatures and methodologies of feminist studies, queer studies, and psychosocial studies – all three had their unique disciplinary pasts of 'failures' and 'successful', fruitful engagement with psychological, specifically psychoanalytical, literatures on trauma in relation to their close engagements with anthropological and sociological discussions on the matter of trauma. Since I believe that it is both impractical and intellectually hampering to try to track the epistemological histories, knowledge systems, and methodolo-

---

domestic abuse. Such transgressive acts of speaking of the traumatic cut within the Symbolic are capable of introducing much societal upheaval that unleashes an image, or a terror, of a new world brought open by the encounter with the traumatic on this macro-level (2016, 170-171).

gies of these interdisciplinary projects as separate and distinct from one another, I would characterize my re-reading of queer theories in this dissertation as an already feminist project in essence and soul, arguing that any anti-identitarian [33] and anti-normative epistemological and political project that does not entail a criticality of anti-feminist discourse and anti-femininity is bound to replicate and proliferate a hegemonic project of normalizing patriarchal masculinity.

In a similar fashion, I would personally take it as an epistemological betrayal if I ignored the much-neglected histories of all the women victims and survivors of patriarchal physical and sexual violence, the 'hysterical' women patients of early late- Victorian physicians and psychologists , and the brave activist women of the post-WWII whose collective woes over their subordination and defiance against a male-dominated view of warfare and perpetual violence flown to the streets. Therefore, whenever I use to the term "queer" as an adjective aimed at a theoretical knowing, a methodological approach, or a binary-defying thinking pattern, you can always assume that it is accompanied by a preceding word of 'feminist'. I would usually call this terminological mingling with the coinage of "Fem(me)inist Queer" to maintain the reciprocal relationship between feminist project of resisting the normalizing patriarchal forces on the forced structuring of the cisheterosexual couple's erotic and sexual relationship on power and violence as well as alerting my readers to the ways how, even in queer circles, there are patriarchal norms and tendencies at work to promote the masculine norms of behaviors and affects over the feminine, effeminate ways of being, living, and desiring.

Admittedly, any attempt at contextualization of the debates and controversies in feminist and queer theories runs the risk of proliferating their "political grammar", which is an endeavor that I would gladly take; however, due to the word constraints on this project, I would focus solely on certain knots of theoretical, methodological, and political reflections of mine on this tempestuous convergence. Hence, I would like to underscore that there are no definite historical moments in which the ideas and demands of feminist theorists are clearly distinguishable from the motivations and struggles of queer theorists, since these imagined narratives of progress, loss,

[33] As Davis and Dean (2022) discuss in great detail, one of the key possible contributions of a merger between queer theory and psychoanalysis lies at their concurred dedication to studying and challenging the way identities "serve as the primary bulwark against unbinding – and hence against sexuality in the psychoanalytic sense. Identities are binding; they force coherence our of disorder and alterity. [...] Further, identities are misleading because they conceal from me my incoherence, my constitutive dividedness, and those aspects of me which I cannot readily identify or sympathize. [....] Given its deleterious history, psychoanalytic resistances to heteronormativity – and to the idea that there is just one correct developmental route to sexual maturity – are always to be welcomed. But pluralizing identity as 'identities', far from ameliorating the problem, actually exacerbates it, just as multiplying defenses does nothing to mitigate defensiveness. Every identity is an imaginary formation, a province of the ego with its territorial borders. Group identities are no less defensive than individual ones; possible they are more so" (31-32) as we keep seeing in the Turkish political mobilization attempts at invoking a collective, affective solidarity based on their national-religious, conservative values and identities. The latest hand gestural symbolization of the "Grey Wolves" at UEFA 2024 can be given as a great example of such an attempt.

or return are nothing but invented discursive techniques that ensure the chimeric continuity and uniformity in the historical trajectories of the debates around gender and sexuality (Hemmings 2011, 16). For this reason, I animate the concept of "affective solidarity" (Hemmings 2012) as an epistemological and ontological tool of bridging and strengthening the political tissues between feminist theories and queer theories. According to Hemmings, affective solidary may reorient our focus on the common or similar modalities of engagement with research, theory, or politics that have always prioritized other, non-patriarchal ways of being together and knowing differently.

Notwithstanding the promising potentials of queer theories to destabilize and problematize the feminist theories' claims on fixed, stable gender categories and the heteronormative sexual positions (Eng et al 2005, 3), it is wise not to forget Nancy Fraser's insightful warning that there are always ambivalences inherent to an intellectual or a political project of emancipation to go in the 'wrong' direction [34] and end up falling prey to the temptations of neoliberal and heteropatriarchal capitalism to maintain its forces of marketization (2013, 241) and its fictitious promises of a conditional recognition solely through consumerism such as "pink capitalism" or populist co-optation of the radical political demands via neoliberal policies and discourses' lure of "good citizenship" for the queers (Puar 2007).

Queer theories and feminist theories may be deceitfully hijacked by the economic, cultural, and political goals of a capitalist society if they do not recognize that the subordination of the subaltern categories (people of color, indigenous people, women, homosexuals, HIV patients, psychiatry patients, etc.) is enabled and reproduced simultaneously across three domains: (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation (Fraser 2013, 215). In the light of Haraway's reasoning that natural and biosocial sciences did not simply reflect the 'realities' of our experiences of gender and sexuality, but are mired in the reproduction of those sexist knowl-

[34] Although it is beyond the goals of this project, one is bound to revisit the theoretical discussion on this issue between Judith Butler and Nancy Fraser, where they discuss the implications of the distinction between injustices of misrecognition and injustices of maldistribution. Whereas Fraser (2013) argues that Butler resurrects an older view of capitalist society as a "monolithic 'system' of interlocking structures of oppression that seamlessly reinforce one another" (183), Fraser contends that there is a distinction between the economic and the cultural, not between the injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution (184). Fraser (2013) finds Butler faulty at assuming that "the heteronormative regulation of sexuality is a part of the economic structure by definition, despite the fact that it structures neither the social division of labor nor the mode of exploitation of labor power in capitalist society" (181). When Fraser says that "[Butler] assumes that injustices of misrecognition must be immaterial and non-economic" (179), I believe that she is misreading some of Butler's main arguments, by which she reduces them to a matter of trans-materiality or suprasymbolism. My readings of the both theorists convince me that they do meet at the junction of recognizing how institutionalization of cultural norms, symbolic marking of the culturally normal and the abject, and how the mechanisms of misrecognition all intersect with a materializing effect on the way the material social world is constructed and organized. Since the phenomenological realities of trauma are actually situated at the margins of the division between the social and the psychological, it is these materializing effects of the cisheteropatriarchal capitalist society that wishes to erase the burden of the social-political from the conscience of the decision- makers and warmongers, and place it within the psychic circuit of affective self- management and endless sessions in the clinic.

edges (1991, 22- 24), I proffer it is time we reclaimed what had been given up, the scientific terrain of knowledge about sex, genes, anatomy, and psychology as lucrative terrains of knowledge- making that could be reconstructed by non-ideological, value-free conceptualizations.

This methodological goal of transdisciplinary 'dare' lies at the bedrock of this dissertation's close engagement with clinical and empirical psychological literatures on trauma. While it is not a necessarily a political science project per se, remembering Foucault's apt statement of how the act and idea of sex and sexuality became a public issue between the state, the individual, and the then-emerging sciences of biopolitical regulation (1978, 26), this project professes its political commitments to the feminist queer goal of criticizing the legitimatizing discourses [35] around the sterilized life of the heterosexual couple and the deployment of 'a' sexuality [36] that reproduces itself in an alliance with the cisheteronormative anxieties of the nation-state obsessed with offsprings and reproduction.

As one of the best exemplary cases of such intellectual projects, Fausto-Sterling's critical examination (2000) of the alleged 'scientific' findings, which are alleged to support the gender binary, the sexed functions of hormones, the sex-differential roles of genes, and the sexed brain, illuminates the efficacy of realizing the androcentric, heteronormative historicity of our knowledges about our bodies and nature (14). Therefore, throughout this dissertation, whenever you see the term "gender", you should remember that I see this complex phenomenon as an embodied and symbolized culmination of various biopsychosocial factors, which I borrow from van Anders et al. (2023). In their seminal paper, van Anders and their colleagues (2023) make an innovative linguistic play with the conflation of the concepts of gender, sex, and

[35] As Saketopoulou reads French psychoanalyst Piera Aulagnier's work on psychoanalytic relationship between the infant's early psychic life and the latter life-long engagement with signs and signifiers, it is stated that "discourse does not refer to language per se but to the aggregate effects of the way the social is structured and to the way, in turn, it structures us (1972 as cited in Saketopoulou 2023, 92). This is an experimental mixture of Foucauldian understanding of discourse with the object-relational understanding of the infant's relation to signs and psychic process of meaning-making.

[36] My conceptual understanding of the concept of "sexuality" is principally in line with Foucault's definition, which he postulated as "the set of effects produced in bodies, behaviors, and social relations by a certain deployment deriving from a complex political technology... one that is "originally, historically bourgeois, and that in its successive shifts and transpositions, it induces specific class effects" (1978; p. 127). He proceeds to discuss sexuality's connection to the workings of power as "a result and an instrument of power's designs" (p. 152). The very proto-queer foundation on the conceptualization of sexuality and its connection to gender lies, I believe, in the same paragraph, in which he writes "But, as for sex [we need to read this as gender in English], is it not the other with respect to power, while being the center around which sexuality distributes its effects? Now, it is precisely this idea of sex in itself that we cannot accept without examination" (1978, 152). I would have preferred to put the terms "gender" and "sexuality" in quotations marks any time I refer to them, following David Valentine's usage to suggest that I do not take them to be "self-evident experiences nor natural explanatory frameworks" (2007, 15); however, that is not sustainable for the somewhat smoother reading experience that I wish my readers to enjoy with the recognition that the use of asterisk and the parallel unconscious flow of my footnotes already making it difficult.

sexuality into the term of "gender/sex/uality" [37] in order to underline how these concepts and lived realities related to one's sense of gender identity, sexual desires, and their biological/anatomical experiences in and of gender sensuousness. They specify that by the usage of gender/sex, they refer to "how gender (sociocultural aspects of femininity, masculinity, and gender diversity) and sex (biological/evolved, biomaterial, and bodily/physical aspects of maleness, femaleness, and sex diversity) are most generally tied together in ways that are interconnected and/or difficult to disentangle" (van Anders, 2015, 2022, 2023, 1). They also note that they separate these concepts whenever they see appropriate since these realities do not always necessarily intersect with one another in every social instance and occasion.

With the recognition that the so-called 'hard' sciences, the empirical and quantitative disciplines and their much-praised scientific 'objectivity', have been polluted with the historical and political complicities of their doers with the ideological cultures of the dominant Western, bourgeois, androcentric, and cisheteronormative worldmaking (Harding 2004, 5), this project imagines an alternative configuration of science that is not content with the statistical maneuver of some sort of a 'magic wand' that justifies the conscious erasure of the social realities of certain groups and members with the argument that they are outliers and the experiences of these oppressed and disregarded groups will not generate substantial consequences for one's results. Remaining faithful to the theoretical and practical contributions of Harding's "standpoint feminist theory", which argues that all human knowledge is inevitably socially situated, I implement a critical view of doing science that treats it not as a myth of "what escapes human agency and responsibility" but instead as a reciprocally-constituting and undoing act of holding oneself accountable and responsible for "translations and solidarities linking the cacophonous visions and visionary voices that characterize the knowledges of the subjugated" (Haraway 2004, 93).

Hence, rather than naively pursuing and present a non-contextualized understanding of science that unrealistically disattaches from the human-endemic situationally of knowledge production, I embrace a queer feminist objectivity that does not deny the researcher's limited social location or their situated knowledges. Simultaneously with my methodological rejection of enacting more "god tricks" (Haraway 1991), I

[37] The early foundations of this feminist/queer approach on psychological science have been presented before by a pioneering paper by Eagly and Wood (2013) whose "biosocial constructionist" approach on sex/gender research has informed much of my perspective in general on the psychological study of gender/sex/uality. Furthermore, I am also in debt to Hyde et al.'s paper (2018) which summarized the main challenges against the gender binary in this area of studies. Notwithstanding the pervasive accusations against the activist 'motives' of feminist and queer researchers that are said to injure the rigor and utility of science, I concur with van Anders et al. that it only "undermines the scientism of hegemonic science, highlighting the important contributions to knowledge – and to science – other disciplines have made and can make, expanding our notions of who authorities are and can be" (13).

do not wish to position my queer feminist methodological approach on a morally-superior ground to those of the followers of 'strong objectivity'. I simply believe that the subordinated, the subjugated, and the subaltern has a socially-triggered capacity to reflect critically both on the false promises of the radical relativist and totalistic views of scientific endeavor. In this light, I synthesize and inform my research methodology within a crux of feminist standpoint theories of knowledge production and Foucault's proto-queer project that scrutinizes not just what is not said or studied in a given regime of scientific knowability, but also pay attention to which scientific discourses are considered integral to the "new regimes" of discourses of the sex of the heterosexual couple (1978, 26-27). To quote Haraway, I concur that "the standpoints of the subjugated are not 'innocent' positions. On the contrary, they are preferred because in principle they are least likely to allow the denial of the critical and interpretative core of all knowledges" (2004, 88).

As Haraway notes, "complex differentiation and merging of terms for 'sex' and 'gender' are part of the political history of the words" (1991, 130) , which codes the world, in her own words, into artificially or at least intellectually non-challenging binary oppositions where one comes to hierarchically dominate the other. Yet, I am also aware of the level of abstraction inherent in these words or similar worded sentences on feminist + queer methodology since most of the literature produced on this notion likes to refer to the words like "contradiction, oxymoron, paradox, chaos, and mess" (Lescure 2022, 6) which do not necessarily provide a practical pathway for the research practising/theorizing researcher in the field. Therefore, to remain vigilant of the lurking dangers of going too astray and abstract in the pursuit of an 'extremely' postmodern and allegedly "reality-disattached" mystification of my ideas, findings, and arguments, I do not solely rely on theoretical discussion, but I build on a mixture of data building and sense-making with the reported accounts of other 172 LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey and my own autoethnographic accounts and analysis of my lived experiences as an 'out' genderqueer and androphilic queer young scholar/academic whose gender expression has been a great source of interpersonal and institutional conflict, violence, and trauma [38] since my early childhood.

---

[38] One exigent question still remains relevant as to the question of how gender, sexuality, and sex (as in the act of fucking) are central to the topic of trauma. In other words, it is acceptable to ask what kind of theoretical and lived relationships I assume or expect to uncover between sexuality, gender, and trauma in the lives of queer people in Turkey. One could easily argue that because of their non-normative ways of life, which affect their sexual desires and gendered identities, trauma can be invoked to be a self-structuring psychic event, as in earlier Freudian understanding of the libidinal economies of the Oedipal triangulation and the ambiguous ways in which gendered identifications occurred in the scene. The more contemporary versions of such accounts have been presented by the infamous American psychiatrists or psychoanalysts of the time, namely Meninger, Bieber, and Socarides (Herzog, 2015) and a large group of evolutionary psychologists (Hoad, 2018). However, it should be clearly indicated that I, as the author of this dissertation, am not fond of the idea or the argument that there is anything inherently potentially traumatizing in the developmental course of a queer gendered and sexual subjectivity more than it is for the case of cisheterosexual 'path'. It is instead the prejudiced ways parents, close relatives and other social figures in the intimate circle of socialization treat the gender non-conforming or the sexually non-normative 'peculiarities' of the growing child. For more detailed discussion of these issues, please see Giffney and Watson's C*linical Encounters in*

Therefore, my methodological positionality is also informed by Ellis and Bochner's theoretical and practical work (2000) on writing on one's self within a cultural field that not only relates to 'my' story but also challenge me to look deeper into the ways I and my interlocutors tell their stories and the way they narrate these stories rather than simply collecting and reporting stories. Echoing Lorde (1984) and Hurston (1990), I also treat these stories of suffering, despair, resistance, and angst as evidence to the entanglement of the private and the public as in showing how the seemingly personal stories are part of larger structures and systems of oppression. With this spirit on shared experiences and affects, I am methodologically invigorated by the implications of how Yep, Alaoui and Lescure (2022) describe "queer relationality". Although the concept itself is of utmost importance in the context of what I examine in this dissertation, queer relationalities, according to their arguments, have three methodological implications: (i) queer relationality emphasizes the ordinary, mundane flow of our social interactions across different cultures, locations, histories, sensations, and emotional investments, (ii) it insists on operational precision and full dedication to criticality, and (iii) a deeper understanding of the researcher's position and the research's social context (Yep et al. 2022, 13). I would add a fourth dimension of "queer failure" (Halberstam 2011), which I believe is also a dynamic part of queer relationalities.

2.1 Mixed Method: Queering the Methods in Social Sciences

In *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences: Research in the Age of Info-Glut* (Luker 2008), Luker starts with a story of how her education in quantitative and later qualitative sciences did not satisfy her scholarly 'thirst' for implementing a rigorous but nuanced approach on conducting research. My story is yet another, similar one from the opposite direction: I was first educated in literary and qualitative research methods, but I was never satisfied with the limitation of thinking only in terms of a small-scale focus. Then, I was introduced to statistics, quantitative research methods, and experimental methods. Although I enjoyed the freshly-obtained opportunity to be able to think of my ideas and results in a larger scale, I soon realized that the subjugated subjects, the outliers of all kinds, were not much liked or considered in the grand picture of everything. It also became clear that in the Turkish higher educational system, anything to do with numbers was more appreciated and considered not only as a more worthwhile and serious job, but also a masculine

Sexuality: Psychoanalytic Practice and Queer Theory (2017), and Hertzman and Newbigin's *Sexuality and Gender Now: Moving Beyond Heteronormativity* (2019).

project, whereas qualitative research methods were seen as inferior ways of doing research, if they were gracious enough to call it 'science'. This is eccentric because the sociological school of thought at Chicago apparently had a direct opposite approach on this antagonism between the quantitative and qualitative ways of doing social science (24).

I knew that neither of these possible options were sustainable for me, at least not at the level of rigor and excellence. Numbers treated the subordinated subjects and their lived experiences as statistically contaminating data, outliers to be taken out of the picture for a more linear line! When we could not reach out to the 'necessary' amount of minoritized individuals, the answer was a request on our part to reconsider our research questions or hypotheses. In fact, the reality was that we were interested in the thorny realms of issues and experiences related to the most 'intimate' and 'taboo', but neither of these methods were sufficient enough to either locate and reach out to these groups of people that we wanted to work together with or our sample was so limited that it begged the question of how much of our findings would hold true for the entire system. The obvious answer was an experimental interweaving of these two different ways of doing science, but I needed more time, more experience, and more brewing. Luckily, the time has finally come: Not that I believe I am finally done, baked and ready to serve, but at least confident and informed enough to flirt with both approaches and what they may offer to this research object. Realizing both the potential and costs of the both approaches, I share Cameron Hay's optimistic approach on the promises of mixed methods. In *Methods that Matter: Integrating Mixed Methods for More Effective Social Science Research* (2016), Hay writes:

> "A mixed methods approach offers a different vision: (1) allows the research problem itself to guide the methodology; (2) uses a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to examine that problem both deductively and inductively so that findings will be explainable; (3) produces results that engage scholarly conversations across disciplines as well as speak to policymakers."(2016, xii)

In the following subsections, I provide details as to how I started with a quantitative, survey methodology in which LGBTQ+ individuals in Turkey were asked to answer some personal questions related to their mental health, social relationships, and their past and current experiences of anti-LGBTQ+ treatment. Then, I will provide details as to how I conducted my in-depth interviews, what sorts of questions I prepared and asked, and what kind of challenges I encountered during my interviews.

Finally, I reflect on how these data in different formats can be linked to one another, and what this translational project may do for this project's main goals.

2.2 The Quantitative Phase

For survey methodologies, in which participants are provided with a number of self-report questions, I concur with Luker, who cite a Republican pollster named Frank Luntz, that "survey methodology doesn't work very well when the categories themselves are in flux, and any attempt to survey the distribution of sentiment is faulty because people themselves don't know how they feel" (2008, 37-38). Whereas Luntz was quite probably trying to justify why and why not some of the previously-predicted results failed to crystallize, I think this insight is on point not because it winks at a psychological research problem related to dysthymia, but it also points to a very material reality inherent in the study of desire, gender, and sexuality: the facts that (i) most of the current identity categories of gender subjectification, sexual object choice, and change in all its polymorphousness change incessantly as the social world change, and that (i) people are not always ready or even willing to give a name to what their heart or pants desire, which is their most natural right.

In this screening phase of this study, I aimed to explore how previously-determined mental health indices of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey will be distributed among the population, and how these indicators and correlations may be interpreted in line with the theories engaged in this thesis. In this project, psychodiverse queer population is defined as a group of individuals who have experienced and/or continue experiencing different psychological states of well-being and functionality as in the cases of neurodiverse and 'mad' individuals (LeFrançois, Menzies, and Reaume 2013). In line with the previous studies on the intersections of queer trauma, sexuality, gender, and queer politics (Cvetkovich 2003), and the relationship between cultural-political, insidious trauma and queer lived experiences (Westengard 2019), the researchers would like to explore how psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey experience their gendered and sexual subjectivities within the context of systemic and structural, insidious trauma, especially in Turkey's socio-political context. In addition to the above-provided purposes, this research aims to incorporate qualitative and quantitative research methods in a mixed, unitary manner, in that it will employ the mixed-method perspective (Bager-Charleson and McBeath 2022) as it will determine the quantifiable level of psychological distress of its participants, and continue with qualitative means of exploring the depth of the

informed psychological phenomena.

2.2.1 Brief Literature Review

The psychological and social study of trauma is vexed from the beginning because of its entwinement in an ambivalent position in its chain of causality, in that we refer to a potentially psychologically-devastating event as trauma while we refer to the psychological outcome of this potentially disruptive event at the same time as trauma. Hence, we are presented with another dimension of the "dialectic of trauma" (1992) that Herman talks about (in Chapter III) – this time in the context of its temporal unbinding of cause- and-effect contradiction. While this equivocality is theoretically valued and effectively harnessed in psychoanalytic accounts of trauma with mostly positive prospects, this situation remained a constant problem of operationalization and clarity in the study of trauma. One of the traditional solutions to this conceptual and methodological conundrum has been historically offered by more quantitative and empirically-oriented psychologists interested in this field. Having been heavily influenced by the earlier seminal works on the concept of a trauma specific to members of minoritized groups (Brooks 1981; Root 1992), Meyer presented the first systematically sound model of traumatization specific to the individuals who experience life-threatening and mental health debilitating events and suffer from various psychological problems, with stress being the ultimate 'mark' of the trauma.

Subsuming various social, psychological, and structural factors that lead to a deterioration of positive mental health outcomes under the concept of "minority stress", Meyer (2003) argued that due to their stigmatized status in society, LGBTQIA+ people were prone to experience more potentially traumatizing events, ending up suffering from a specific type of escalated stress that cisheterosexual people do not experience in the context of their desires, gender identity, gender expression, or authentic feelings of being queer in their own ways. Situated in a theoretical framework that encapsulates societal prejudice, discrimination, and violence, and the subjective interpretation and internalization of these events and systems of thoughts and beliefs, Meyer described a dual pathway model that distinguishes between distal and proximal minority stressors.

Distal stressors refer to events or conditions of life such as discriminatory and persecutory policies, laws, or cultural norms and practice that accumulate on the psychological well-being of the LGBTQIA+ individual. These are generally categorized under the three subcategories of (i) discrimination events, (ii) victimization events,

and (iii) everyday discrimination events/ microaggressions, all of which refer to actual outside stressors that potentially traumatizing and/or at least substantially stress-inducing events or behaviors that minorities are exposed to. In addition to the fact that the minority stress model encapsulates an understanding of the "ways insidious trauma (Root 1992) could account for the disproportionate prevalence of mental health difficulties" among LGBTQAI+ individuals (Keating and Muller 2020, 126), it should be clear that different conceptualization of other dimensions of traumatization is inherent in the theoretical framework of Meyer's model as shown in the subscale of everyday discrimination events, also known as "microaggressions" (Sue et al. 2007; Nadal 2013). [39]

Proximal stressors, on the other hand, refer to the subjective interpretation of these events, attitudes, and behaviors as generally negative self-reflexive reappraisals of the social stigma that is inflicted upon them. These are generally categorized under the three subcategories of (i) internalized stigma, also known as internalized homo/bi+/trans*negativity, (ii) anticipation of social rejection, and (iii) identity concealment. All three have been theorized to appear through similar socialization processes marked by environmental messages that signal inferiority and shame-instilling qualities in the category of being a sexual and gender dissident person (Frost and Meyer 2023, 51). Although the items on the current measures are not generally tailored to account for the ways in which traumatization can later lead to self-debilitating and indirect ways of self-harm and self-sabotaging behavior, the identity-on 'reflection' of these events and their subjective 'meanings' attest to the findings of how pervasive retraumatization, as in aggravating externalizing problems, is among traumatized individuals, especially among LGBTQIA+ people (Guelbert 2023).

Against the backdrop of these bifurcating categories of minority stressors, Meyer identified the potentially protective role of social support that can reduce the impact of these (post-traumatic) stressful events under the factor of "community connectedness". Despite its sensitivity to recognizing the potential power of coping mechanism provided by a supportive social circle, individual levels of resilience [40] sources, and

[39] Sue and their colleagues defined microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue et al. 2007, 271 as cited in Munro et al. 2019). While this early definition was provided in the context of racial microaggressions, it was Nadal and their team that expanded the concept to LGBTQIA+ related experiences of microaggressions. (for a detailed application of the concept in a group of racial minority immigrants in the United States, please see Sissoko and Nadal 2021, 85-98). As a subcategory of traumatizing experiences in the everyday life, microaggressions can be best understood as "small cuts"

[40] My understanding of the concept of "resilience" follows from Blum's distinction (2009) between its two types. First one refers to "one that implies resistance to traumatic decompensation, and the other that assures recovery from it. Referring to the first type, Blum noted that some individuals, admittedly a minority, manage to avert being traumatized or have only very mild and transient disturbance when faced with dire circumstances. [...] Referring to the second type of resilience, Blum emphasized the confluence

structural protection, this seventh component is bound to function less effectively in cultures where such support systems are politically, legislatively, and societally prevented from the start. Until recently, most studies formulated their hypotheses and conducted their analyses with a total minority stress index score or the roles of distal vs. proximal stressors, recent studies have also started to pay attention to specific levels of the minority stress model by measuring and testing for associations across global, domain, and subdomain measures (Weeks et al. 2021; Goldbach et al. 2021; Cepeda et al. 2020).

Since its 'debut', minority stress model has been studied widely with different hypotheses, models, and samples, and substantial extensions have been made as well as having been criticized for various reasons. One clear addition was the inclusion of transgender and gender diverse individuals and the unique ways in which their gender non-conformity or the lack of gender affirmation lead to minority stress (Hendricks and Testa 2012). Another fundamental contribution to the model has been the psychological mediational model (Hatzenbuehler 2009) which propounded that the general state of negative mental health outcomes may be due to the systematic, ongoing exposure to minority stress, which in return diminish general psychological processes such as emotion dysregulation, trust problems, schema formation, social support seeking, or ruminative thinking (Helminen et al. 2022). It should be noted that this mediational model has specific assumptions in terms of the order and direct of effects when it comes to what may be considered as a protective and/or resilient factor. While the literature now abounds with studies sometimes focusing solely on specific subdomain levels such as the mediating role of community connectedness on a respective relationship between proposed variables, most studies have pointed to a relationship between distal and proximal factors where distal minority stressors predict proximal stressors, some studies have also found the opposite direction of predictive relationship (Ragins et al. 2007; Douglas and Conlin 2020).

Notwithstanding its popular usage and efficacy, the minority stress model does not provide theoretically crystal-clear explanations for the ways in which trauma and minority status-related stress may converge and differ from each other in terms of operationalization and their clinical sequalae. In the same light, it is not strictly clear how the insidious and systematic exposure to potentially traumatic events is

---

of variables needed to assure recovery from trauma." (48-49). The second is tied to various factors ranging from "the powerful role of supportive strangers and non- familiar caretakers, the ethical imperative to bear witness, the contribution of superior 'intellect' in adaptively dealing with psychic endangerment, but above all, the ever- sustaining strength of good internal objects... in leading to the gestalt of what we call 'resilience" (49). Therefore, as I keep using the term 'potentially traumatizing', I think of the protective, first kind of the resilience concept, the second, however, I invoke when I wish to underscore not only the necessity of psychosocial supportive factors that are in need of in synchronous dedication to withhold and heal, but also to the earlier (and hence unchangeable) elements of psychic fortitude that, this time carries us back to the past and the therapist's clinic.

incorporated into the theoretical backbone of the theory and the items that are designed to measure its different components. Almost synchronous with the emergence of Meyer's model, there also arose other theories of minority stress that pay abundant attention to the structural and systematic ways LGBTQIA+ people are continuously exposed to identity-specific stressors. Two remarkable bundle of work in this category are namely those of Kira's studies on systemic forms of trauma, namely "collective identity trauma", and "cumulative trauma" (Kira et al. 2012; Kira, 2021; Kira 2022), and Eagle and Kaminer's works on continuous traumatic stress [41](2013; Stevens et al. 2013; Eagle and Kaminer 2015). In these accounts, it is operationally clearer how trauma and stress are treated and examined in relation to each other, there are currently no Turkish adaptations of their scales, hence, I could not proceed with these concepts. Yet, I opted to administer a specific trauma scale (PCL) and minority stress scale (MSM) at the same time, believing that the minority stress theory does not pay enough attention to the ways traumatic symptoms (cognitive, affective, and interpersonal) are experienced by the sufferers (Robinson 2018; more on this in the discussion subsection).

One prominent reason that I examine post-traumatic stress and minority stress as different yet intimately related constructs, stems from the informed position of mine that, fortunately only a specific portion of people that have been exposed to potentially traumatizing events end up experiencing what we have come to refer as PTSD symptoms. In the data of the U.S., it was reported that only 6.8-7.3% of the people in general population develop PTSD in the clinical sense (APA 2013) whereas the prevalence rates increase significantly for LGBTQIA+ people, rising up to 47.6% in some sub-samples (Livingston et al. 2020; D'Augelli et al. 2006). In Turkey, however, it was seen that the prevalence of PTSD is higher compared to the general population in the U.S. around 10.8% (Gül 2014) to 19.6% (Tagay et al. 2008). However, the recent studies after the 2023 earthquakes reported even higher rates of 51.4% (İlhan et al. 2023). Except for the natural disaster type of traumas, there are only a few studies that report population-wide statistics PTSD in Turkey whereas there are no studies, as in the knowledge of the author, that report PTSD prevalence rates of LGBTQIA+ population in Turkey. Following the studies

[41] According to Eagle and Kaminer's definition, Continuous Traumatic Stress refer to "the condition of, or response to, being compelled to live in a context characterized by current and future danger, in which traumatic stress is therefore not past or post" (Eagle and Kaminer 2013; Stevens et al. 2013) as cited in Eagle, 2014. It is argued that in today's world, people who are living in high conflict societies or those living in where crime is rampant and violence is more eminent are more likely to experience CTS. Eagle writes that "one of the cardinal features of such contexts is that alongside exposure to extreme threat is an absence of social or state protections to moderate violence and to hold perpetrators accountable. In some instances the state itself may perpetrate violence against citizens, as in repressive and totalitarian regimes..."(2014, p. 14). These words consolidate how apt the concept of CTS actually is for the current study; however, due to time limitations and other predicaments, the author did not venture into adapting this scale. Instead, I first sought to experiment and report on the findings of these selected constructs and scales. In the future, it is my hope to adapt this scale and compare and contrast how the findings of that future study may talk to the findings of this current study.

that report high correlations between PTSD scores and MS scores of LGBTQIA+ participants (Gold et al. 2011; Shipherd et al. 2019; Cardona et al. 2022; Livingston et al. 2022; Bedford et al. 2023; Marchi et al. 2023) and childhood abuse, and MS (Roberts et al. 2012; Thoma et al. 2021), I examine all three constructs, namely: post-traumatic stress, childhood abuse, and minority stress.

In relation to the relationship between PTSD, childhood trauma and minority stress, it was found that minority status-specific stressors predict PTSD symptoms among sexual minority women (Szymanski and Balsam 2010; Straub et al. 2018) and among trans* people (Breslow et al. 2015; Dworkin et al. 2018). These findings are meaningful considered in the light of the studies that report LGBTQIA+ people being at greater risk for exposure to violence, potentially traumatizing events, and clinical deterioration in their mental well-being with high rates of PTSD, emotion regulation issues, depression, anxiety, suicidality, substance abuse, among many other internalizing and externalizing issues (Roberts et al. 2010; Lehavot and Simpson, 2014; Reisner et al. 2014; Pachenkis et al. 2015; Straub et al. 2018; Solomon et al. 2021). Specifically, LGB individuals (Friedman et al. 2021) and trans* and gender diverse people (TGD) have been reported to experience higher instances of childhood abuse (Valentine and Shipherd 2018; Thoma et al. 2021). Despite this growing literature in the Global North, there are no studies in Turkey that has yet examined how LGBTQAI+ individuals in Turkey experience their traumas and how these symptoms (and hence stories) are related to other mental health- related factors as in childhood abuse, minority stress, and psychological distress. With the recognition of this lacunae in the literature, I have investigated the possible associations between these factors and discuss the procedure, results, and my interpretation and discussion of these results in the following pages.

The hypotheses I had and tested were accordingly:

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant correlation between minority stress and psychological distress (including anxiety, depression, and somatization) in LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey.

Hypothesis 2: Childhood trauma mediates the relationship between minority stress and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

Hypothesis 3: Transgender and gender-diverse individuals report higher levels of childhood trauma, abuse, and neglect compared to cisgender participants.

Hypothesis 4: Non-monosexual individuals (e.g., bisexual) report different levels of minority stress compared to monosexual individuals (e.g., gay/lesbian).

Hypothesis 5: The effects of minority stress on PTSD symptoms are moderated by the level of support from social circles and individual resilience factors.

2.2.2 Procedure

Participants were recruited via online announcement posts that explicitly stated that the eligible participants should have experienced and/or continue experiencing various psychological difficulties and problems in their daily lives as well as identifying themselves under the gender and sexual identity categories of any of the LGBTQIA+ acronym (see Image 1). The online survey was created and presented to the participants in the Qualtrics survey software (see Appendix, Form 3). The participants first filled out the Informed Consent Form-I (see Appendix, Form 1) and complete the brief demographics form (see Appendix, Form 2). Then, the participants were presented a series of questions regarding their clinical symptoms of depression, anxiety, and somatization, traumatic experiences, childhood trauma experiences, and daily experiences related to minority stress. At the end of the survey, the participants were presented with the Debriefing Form- I (see Appendix, Form 4), which included information regarding the next phase in the study and why and whether they may participate in the second phase.

In the quantitative stage of this research project, the survey took around 45-50 minutes, which may also explain the low number of participants and why some of the participants did not finish answering the entire survey. Participants, whose scores were calculated later to be above the determined cut-off line for the Global Severity Index, were then contacted via their correspondence information to be called for an in-depth interview that took place 60-120 minutes (more on this in the qualitative subsection in the following pages).

The aims of the quantitative phase of the study were to (i) function as a pre- screening procedure to ensure the eligibility of the participants to move onto the second phase (in-depth interviews) as well as (ii) to explore how the general population-wide characteristics were distributed in this sample. Once the online data collection concluded in a month, I calculated the GSI scores of 54 and over (those with significant indications of psychological difficulties and issues) and were called for an in-depth interview for the next stage.

2.2.3 Participants

299 LGBTQIA+ individuals (self-identifying) voluntarily participated in this study. However, 127 of the participants failed to complete the entire survey for various reasons and hence were excluded from the data analysis. The remaining pool of participants consisted of 74 cisgender women (%43), 31 cisgender men (%18), 53 nonbinary and other gender non-conforming individuals (%30.8), and 6 trans women (%3.5) and 8 trans men (%4.7). The mean age of these participants was 24.2 (SD= 5.87) while 56 of the participants did not specify their age. In this study, the majority of the participants identified their sexual orientation with the terms of "bisexual", "pansexual", and "bi+'. These three close categories were recategorized under the umbrella term of 'Bi+' (%41.9) in line with the general inclusive potential of the label "Bi+". The second most-populated sexual orientation category was 'Lesbian' (%16.3) with the participants identifying their sexual orientation as "Queer" following them in order (%15.1). There were 10 heterosexual individuals who were excluded from the data analysis. There was 1 asexual person, and 9 people who chose to describe their sexual orientation with gender- congruent terminologies rather than 'traditional' sexual orientation categories. For statistical purposes, they were subsumed under the category of "Queer" in this project.

The majority of the participants in this study had a monthly income level that they identified as "middle-class" (%41.3) with lower middle-class participants (%25.6) and upper middle-class (%19.2) participants occupying a considerable portion of the sample pool. Although only 123 of the participants answered "yes" to the question of whether they have been diagnosed with a mental disorder before (%71,5), it was seen that even the participants that did not choose this option demonstrated over-the-base level of clinical symptomatology in terms of their depressive, anxious, and traumatic experiences, hence, they were included in the analyses.

In terms of their clinical diagnosis and psychopathological difficulties they were experiencing, the majority of the participants identified more than one clinical diagnosis. In close inspection, it was seen that all of these comorbid entries had the common diagnoses of depressive and anxious symptomology, hence these were followingly recategorized as the "anxious misery" group (%41.3) in line with the internalizing-externalizing clustering models in the literature (Krueger et al. 1998; Cox et al. 2002; Watson 2005). The singular diagnosis of depression was stated by 18 individuals (%10,5) whereas the singular diagnosis of anxiety was stated by 21 (%12.2). In addition to 4 entries of bipolar disorders, 2 entries of personality disorders, 1 entry off eating disorder, and 1 entry of dyslexia, there was only 1 trauma entry as a received diagnosis (more on this in the discussion section of this subsection).

In addition to this, either 52 of the participants did not receive any official mental disorder diagnosis or they did not wish to specify it. Our further analyses of the clinical symptomatology suggested that they did not wish to give a name to it even if they were experiencing some mental health issues. See Table A.2 for demographic characteristics of participants.

2.2.4 Measures

2.2.5 Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI-18)

The short version adapted from the original 53-item self-report measure of the Brief Symptom Inventory has three factors of somatization, depression, and anxiety, each of which are measured equally by 6 items. It has a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 ("not at all") to 4 ("extremely"). The Turkish adapted version of the scale (Şahin and Batıgün 2002) has been found to be a reliable scale in the current literature ($alpha = 0.94$). According to the diagnostic and administration criteria of Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis 1975; Derogatis and Melisaratos 1983), the Global Severity Index (GSI), one of the three global indices of psychological distress, has been said to be the most sensitive indicator of the respondent's distress level, which combines information about the number of symptoms and the intensity of distress. GSI is calculated by the summation of the scores of the three-symptom dimension on the short version of the scale, and by dividing the sum by the total number of items the participant responds (Derogatis 1975, 33). The T scores of participants above 54 and/or when two primary dimension scores are 54 or above are said to indicate a statistically significant indicator of psychological distress and psychiatric disorder (Derogatis 1975, 34), which renders them eligible 'psychodiverse' subjects for this research project. Also, the composite outcome of the combined scores of somatization, depression, and anxiety has been termed "psychological distress" in this study. In the current study, the internal consistency of BSI-18 is ($\alpha = .92$)

2.2.6 Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ-28)

The Revised and Expanded Turkish Childhood Trauma Questionnaire is, as the name suggests, a revised and culturally-adapted version of the original Childhood Trauma Questionnaire – Short Form (CTQ-28) by Berstein et al. (1994). The measure assesses the prior five factors of emotional abuse, emotional neglect, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and physical neglect and the newly-added dimension of

overprotection-overcontrol. It is a 33-item self-report measure that has a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 ("never") to 5 ("very often"). The final total score is calculated by summing the scores for each dimension from 1 5 with a total score between 5-25. Its validity and reliability have been successfully determined by Şar et al. (2012, 2020). In the current study, the internal consistency of CTQ-28 is ($\alpha = .89$)

2.2.7 PTSD Checklist for DSM-5 (PCL-5)

The PCL-5 is a 20-item self-report measure that is utilized to assess PTSD symptoms as described by DSM-5 criteria. It has a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 ("not at all") to 4 ("extremely"). It consists of four subscales of B criteria (re-experiencing dimension), C criteria (avoidance), and D criteria (negative alterations), and E criteria (hyperarousal). The Turkish adapted version of the scale (Boysan et al. 2017) has been found to be a reliable scale in the current literature ($\alpha = .94$). According to the recommended criteria of measurement (Weathers et al. 2023), there has been provided a total symptom severity score that ranges from 0 to 80, which can be calculated by summing the scores of each 20 items in the scale. It has been stated that a cut-off score between 31-33 is suggestive of a probable level of minor to moderate PTSD. In the current study, the internal consistency of BSI-18 is ($\alpha = .93$)

2.2.8 LGBT Minority Stress Measure (MSM)

The LGBT Minority Stress Measure has been developed by Outland (2016) as a requirement of their M.S. degree. It was designed to assess the unique factors experienced by LGBTQIA+ individuals that cause them to later experience what is known as "minority stress" (Meyer 2003). The measure focuses on the participants' past and current experiences with anti-LGBTQIA+ beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. The measure has seven factors such as identity concealment, everyday discrimination/microaggressions, rejection anticipation, discrimination events, internalized stigma, victimization events, and community connectedness. It is a 50-item self-report measure that has a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 ("never happens") to 5 ("happens all the time"). The distal score is calculated by summing up the scores of three subscales of discrimination events, victimization events, and everyday victimization/microaggressions whereas the proximal minority stress score is calculated by summing the scores of the subscales of rejection anticipation, internalized stigma, and identity concealment. The total score of MS is calculated by adding all the

scores of the subscales and subtracting the score of community connectedness from the total sum of scores for an individual's level of MS. The measure's psychometric qualities were tested on a sample of 640 LGBT individuals with a high number of 119 gender non-conforming individuals. Confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated a good model fit, validating the seven-factor structure outlined above. The internal consistency of the scale was high ($\alpha = .91$) and each subscale had robust reliability scores – their Cronbach's alphas ranging from .73 to .88. In the current study, the internal consistency of BSI-18 is ($\alpha = .94$)

2.2.9 Results

In Table A.2., there have been presented the descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables of this study. The degree of post-traumatic stress symptomatology of 172 LGBTQIA+ individuals in this sample was 42.5 (SD=16.1). However, 16 participants did not answer the questions in the following scales, hence the below reported data applies only to a number of 156 participants. The mean of the scores on the childhood traumatic experiences of the participants was 74.2 (SD= 18.2). The mean score on the BSI-18 was 58,5 (SD= 12,1). While the mean of the scores on the distal factors of the LGBT minority stress scale was 62.8 (SD= 17.6), the mean score on the proximal factors was 46.8 (SD=15.1). The mean of the total scores of both distal and proximal factors combined was 123 (SD= 28.3).

As can be seen, there was a statistically significant correlation between the measure of post-traumatic stress symptomatology and childhood traumatic experiences (r(156)=.37, p.<.001). Secondly, both post-traumatic stress and childhood trauma were significantly correlated with measure of distal minority stress respectively, (r(156)=.40, p.<.001) and (r(156)=.46, p.<.001). In a similar vein, post-traumatic stress was significantly correlated with proximal minority stress (r(156) = 41, p <.001) and childhood trauma was significantly correlated with proximal minority stress (r(156) = .21, p <.001).

As the part of the same construct, distal minority stress was significantly correlated with the measure of proximal minority stress (r(156).48, p.<.001). Finally, the indicator of psychopathological symptoms as in the composite score of depression, somatization, and anxiety was significantly correlated with the measure of post-traumatic stress (r(156) = .77, p.<.001), childhood trauma (r(156).28, p.<.001), and minority stress (r(156)=.41, p <.001). Next, I conducted an independent-samples t-test to compare the levels of posttraumatic stress, childhood trauma, psychological distress, and minority stress for cisgender and transgender participants, the latter of which

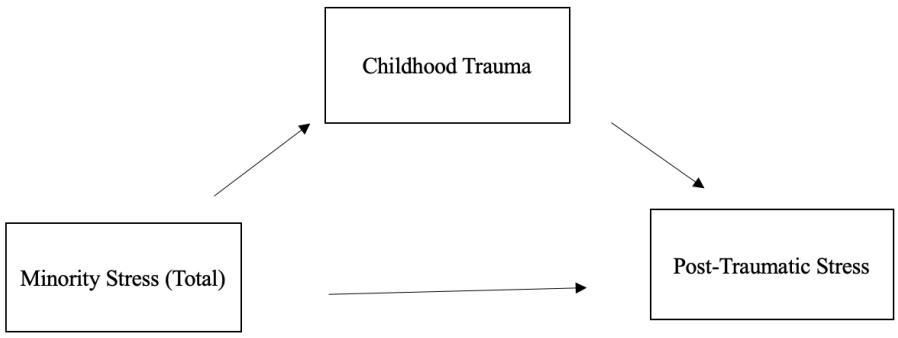
Table 2.1 Correlations Among Key Study Variables

Variables	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. PCL-5	42.5 (16.1)	-	.37**	.77**	.41**	.40**	.47**
2. CHQ-33	74.2 (18.2)		-	.28**	.21**	.46**	.40**
3. BSI-18	58.5 (12.1)			-	.37**	.35**	.41**
4. Proximal MS	46.8 (15.1)				-	.48**	.85**
5. Distal MS	62.8 (17.6)					-	.85**
6. Total MS	123 (28.3)						-

** $p < .001$ (two-tailed)

included the groups of genderqueer and other gender non-conforming individuals. For PTSD, CTQ, and BSI scores, there was no significant difference in the scores for cis and trans participants with the exception of a statistically significant difference in the scores of childhood trauma for cis participants (M=68.1, SD= 13.3) and for trans participants (M=79, SD= 16,6); t (156)= -4.43, p=<.001. Secondly, another independent sample t-test was performed to compare the levels of posttraumatic stress, childhood trauma, psychological distress, and minority stress for monosexual participants (gay men and lesbians) and plurisexual participants (bisexual, pansexual, and bi+ people). There were no differences in the score for posttraumatic stress, childhood abuse, or psychological distress; however, there was a significant difference in the scores of minority stress for monosexuals (M=129,3 SD= 31.7) and for bi+ participants (M=119.4, SD= 26,4); t (149)= 1.48, p= .005.

Figure 2.1 Mediation Model



To test the hypothesis that childhood trauma may mediate the effect of minority stress on post-traumatic stress, I tested for a mediation model using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). The analysis' results indicated that minority stress was a significant predictor of childhood trauma, B =.62, 95% CL [.40, .85], $\beta = .402$, p <.001, and that

childhood trauma was a significant predictor of post-traumatic stress, B = .19, 95% CL [.05, .33], β = .22, p =.005. These results supported my mediational hypothesis. Even after controlling for the mediator, childhood trauma, minority stress was still found to be a predictor of post- traumatic stress for the participants, B = .22, 95% CL [.13, .31], β = .39, p = .005, consistent with partial mediation standards. Approximately 33% of the variance in post- traumatic stress was accounted for by the predictors ($(\hat{R2})$ = .33). The indirect effect was tested using a percentile bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 samples (Shrout and Bolger 2002), implemented with the PROCESS macro version 3.5 (Hayes, 2018). These results indicated the indirect coefficient was significant, B = .14, 95% CL [.07, .22], standardized β = .16.

In addition, I estimated a moderation model using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018) to examine whether different income levels will moderate the effect of minority stress on post-traumatic stress. Minority stress significantly predicted post-traumatic stress (B = .26, 95% CL [.04, .47], p = .02. However, income level did not moderate the association between minority stress and post-traumatic stress (B = .004, 95% CL [-.10, .10], p = .93). Finally, I conducted a one-way between-subjects ANOVA to test whether different scores of psychological distress (BSI groups divided into low, medium, and high categories). The analysis indicated that the ANOVA was significant, F (2, 152) = 15.47, p <.001, indicating that BSI groups' mean stress levels were not equal. To potentially see where the differences may be coming from, I ran Post-hoc test, and The Tukey HSD's results showed that low BSI group showed significantly lower minority stress levels (M = 108.77, SD = 25.96, N = 57) compared to medium BSI group (M = 124.83, SD = 21.69, N = 42) and high BSI group (M = 135.61, SD = 28.31, N = 56). But there was no statistically meaningful difference between medium and high BSI groups in minority stress levels (p = .13, 95% CL [-1.97, 23.51]).

2.2.10 Discussion

In the qualitative part of this dissertation, I examined the possible statistically significant and/or meaningful associations between various risk factors of negative mental health and trauma experiences and symptoms of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. Specifically, I tested for possible correlations, mediational and moderational models between psychological distress (anxiety, depression, and somatization), PTSD symptoms, childhood trauma, abuse, and neglect, and minority stress experiences of both distal and proximal sorts.

First, I investigated how gender identity, gender non-conformity, and minority stress

derived thereof are correlated with one another. In line with the findings in the literature (Roberts et al. 2012; Mongelli et al. 2019), transgender and gender diverse participants reported higher levels of childhood trauma, abuse, and neglect compared to cisgendered participants; however, despite the prevalent findings in literature, no differences were found between cis and trans participants in the degree of their PTSD symptoms, psychological distress, and minority stress. One possible reason for this is the fact that the majority of the sample in this study, regardless of their gender non/conformity had extreme levels of traumatization compared to the mean of scores provided by the studies conducted in the Global North. This finding is meaningful considering how early transgender and gender diverse individuals report the start of their traumatizing experiences in their families' mostly gender-authenticity-constrictive atmosphere (Shipherd et al. 2019; Valentine et al. 2023; Ramos and Marr 2023).

Next, I tested for the possible effect of non-monosexual attraction on the levels of psychological distress, post-traumatic stress, childhood abuse, and minority stress. Similar to the first exploration on the effects of demographic differences, I could not find any differences in the scores of post-traumatic stress, psychological distress, and childhood abuse. However, it was found that monosexual individuals (homosexual men and women) reported higher levels of minority stress compared to bisexual participants. This finding is in stark contrast with the overall findings in the literature, which underscores a persistent degree of higher stress levels for bisexual individuals. This particular finding in the context of this research may be due to the fact that bi+ participants are overly represented in this sample, and/or that bisexual participants may be experiencing higher levels of traumatic invalidation (Cardona et al. 2022) which may lead them to undervalue the degree of specific stressors they are experiencing due to the prevalent misconception that "they do not suffer as much as" gay men and women. (Obradors-Campors 2011)

In this phase, it was found that childhood trauma mediated the relationship between minority stress and post-traumatic stress. Previous studies have demonstrated the indirect relation of childhood trauma on post-traumatic stress (Roberts et al. 2012). As of yet, no studies have studied whether childhood trauma and adverse childhood experiences may mediate the relationship between minority stress and post-traumatic stress. However, supporting the mediational relationship between childhood adversities and post-traumatic stress in heterosexual samples (Fung et al. 2022), it was found that similar patterns are at work in this sample, albeit this time dependent on the level of minority stress indicators, which I argue that cumulatively may lead to a more devastating PTSD scenarios for individuals who had traumatizing childhood experiences in their early years in lieu of Hatzenbuehler's integrative

mediation model (2009; Velez et al. 2022). Hence, the earlier decision to administer PTSD and MS scales separately was justified on the light of our analyses of the data, which sheds light on different aspects of multidimensional and multifaceted cases of discrimination and oppression.

With that being said, it may be plausible to test for these alleged relationships as possible moderating relationships rather than mediational ones since the mediational model implies that childhood trauma explains how or why minority stress leads to PTSD symptoms. This means that minority stress would cause childhood trauma, which in turn causes PTSD symptoms. Considering a moderation model for this particular relationship may be more appropriate if one intends to understand how childhood trauma influences the strength or direction of the relationship between minority stress and PTSD symptoms, rather than explaining how or why this relationship occurs. If childhood trauma is believed to alter the impact of minority stress on PTSD, a moderation model may allow us to explore these complex interactions and determine whether the effect of minority stress varies depending on different levels of childhood trauma. However, my goal in this screening stage was to explore and test for the mediational arguments and hypotheses in the literature.

This study was the first in literature to look at the effects of childhood trauma on the relationship between minority stress and post-traumatic stress. Previous studies looked only at the trauma as an independent or a dependent variable rather than looking at the complex way it is intertwined with traumatic childhood experiences and minority stress. This project is also the first to report on the minority stress, PTSD symptoms, adverse childhood experiences, and psychological distress information of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey as in quantitative data. Therefore, this research expands the literature by providing the novel data on the mental health indicators and determining factors in Turkey's LGBTQIA+ population, demonstrating how LGBTQIA+ based discrimination and the possible traumatizing experiences stemming from these instances may play a vital role in the gradual diminishment of this population's mental health symptoms. One of the main strengths of this study is its sample's diverse demographic characteristics, especially with its numbers that showcase a high level of representation of gender non-conforming individuals and plurisexual participants.

Consequently, this study is hoped to provide theoretical and practical information that may aid the researcher and clinicians in Turkey who work closely with LGBTQIA+ individuals. I anticipate that this study can help clinicians to become cognizant of the traumatizing effects of minority status-based discrimination on their clients' mental well- being and how quickly the structural and systematic

traumatization may "get under the skin" (Hatzenbuehler 2009) and lead to a cycle of retraumatization. Finally, it is hoped that it can aid practising clinicians and researchers to realize that it is more meaningful to treat the discourse of psychological trauma, both in research and in the clinic, as a continuation of a larger web of diverse social and psychological theories that understand its embeddedness in social structures, cultural ways of othering, and systematic ways of political oppression and violence (This will become clearer in the analysis of the qualitative data in the later chapters).

2.2.11 Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations that one should take into consideration before interpreting these results and interpretation of the findings. First of all, the current study used solely self-report measures of post-traumatic stress symptoms, childhood trauma, psychological distress, and minority stress instead of measuring these phenomena on a neurophysiological level or as they appear in their most authentic state of complexity which ensures a higher level of external validity. Also, as it was later found out by the initial analysis, even though the participants were not provided with an official psychopathological diagnosis by a mental health professional (or at least they did not provide one), their symptoms indicated at higher levels of psychological distress, post- traumatic stress symptoms, traumatizing childhood experiences, and minority stress- related problems. Therefore, it would be beneficial to increase the sample size (i), use neurophysiological experimental designs to measure the subjective level of psychological distress and related pathological criteria (ii), and employ clinical interviews that demonstrate more in-depth, nuanced data (iii).

Several limitations should be taken into account while interpreting the results of the current study. Although potentially untenable for its ethical stakes, manipulating the level of traumatizing or triggering stimuli may explain the role of these possible variables more effectively in terms of establishing direction of effect. Also, as noted before, participants' demographic characteristics and the distribution of their post-traumatic stress symptoms, degree of childhood trauma severity, psychological distress, and minority stress were not normal, creating a problem of non-normality and little variance.

The statistical analyses showed that this sample of Turkish LGBTQIA+ individuals form a rather homogenous group in terms of the high prevalence of depressive and anxious symptoms, PTSD scores, and level of traumatic childhood experiences, and

minority stress – with the exception of two individuals. First of all, this is very likely that this was the case as I recruited participants from online outlets that had specific demographics of participants who have relatively higher levels of education, physical and cultural capital, and follow the online sites and profiles that I shared my call for participation announcements. However, instead of treating as 'outliers' and normalizing the data further, I decided to keep them in the pool as I eschew such statistical strategies as invalidating acts of marginalization on the numerical sphere. One possible reason that may explain why the participants' scores mostly clustered around particular points or limits may be due to the fact that the data were gathered from social media outlets that appeal to mostly LGBTQIA+ university students and/or social media users who follow the social media pages of LGBTQIA+ associations in Turkey, therefore being somewhat limited to a convenient sampling procedure. Finally, the fact that subsamples in the data showed different sizes and weights may have undermined the power of my analyses especially when gender identity or sexual orientation were included as covariates or orthogonal factors.

To sum up, trauma (post-traumatic stress), childhood trauma (adverse childhood experiences), and minority stress (distal and proximal stressors) are all intricately related to one another in a web of multidirectional effects, and remain strong in predicting psychological distress of LGBTQIA+ participants in Turkey. The initial analyses demonstrated that the effects of minority stress on the question of whether it may lead to post-traumatic stress symptomatology is mediated by the participants' earlier exposure to traumatizing events in their childhood. These results indicate that the integrative mediation model of minority stress is meaningful in the context of Turkey's LGBTQIA+ population, which necessitates the mental health practitioners to pay extra attention to the ways their queer* clients in Turkey may be more susceptible to suffer from PTSD and be more exposed to be affected negatively by a gradual deterioration in their general psychological processes such as emotional dysregulation, rumination, or risk-taking behavior. These findings hopefully may shed light on the risk factors that perpetually impair the positive mental health outcomes for this minoritized population, stimulating applied researchers and policy makers to work collaboratively to reduce these minority stressors and potentially traumatizing agents and conditions. To explore these issues more in a multi-layered context, with an intensified focus on the ways the socio-political and the cultural is implicated in these 'symptoms', I have conducted in-depth interviews with a few selected members of the Turkey's LGBTQIA+ communities. In the next subsection, I provide relevant information for the qualitative phase of this dissertational project.

2.3 The Qualitative Phase

The second stage of the dissertational research was the qualitative phase, through which I aimed to explore and examine how some of the statistically observed patterns in the quantitative phase were actually lived and experienced by the LGBTIQA+ people in Turkey in their daily lives. I wanted to investigate not only how trauma/s emerged in their life histories but also how their specific experiences with minority stress reflected on their subjective mental health issues, everyday relationalities, and their interpretation of the violence and traumatization caused to them by social-cultural and political factors. Since this research project incorporates a phenomenologically-informed, narrative research of the lived experiences of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey, it combines the dual approaches of critical narrative research (Emerson and Frosh 2004), which "encompasses the study of individual experiences and learning the significance of those experiences" (Renjith et al. as cited in , 3), and interpretive phenomenological research, which identifies "significant meaning elements, textural description (what was experienced), structural description (how was it experienced), and description of 'essence' of experience" (Renjith et al. , 3).

As exemplified in numerous studies (Karlsson et al. 2014; Jyothi et al. 2016), the suggested number of interviewees for phenomenologically-oriented qualitative research project is around 8-12 individuals. As Creswell underlines (2013), phenomenological qualitative studies that involve the process of collecting data through in-depth interviews generally consist of approximately 10 individuals (161). Relying on the notion of thematic saturation, which "refers to the point in data collection when no additional issues or insights are identified and data begin to repeat so that further data collection is redundant, signifying that an adequate sample size is reached" (Hennink and Kaiser 2022, 2), I have chosen the proposed number of interviewees for this project as 13 interlocutors, which is on the higher rank of the mean of saturation of proposed interviews (Braun and Clark 2013; Vasileiou et al. 2018; Hennink and Kaiser 2022).

Throughout the duration of in-depth interviewing, I conducted 13 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with the eligible participants. All interlocutors were recruited through snowball sampling and flyers that were distributed online on various social media outlets and pages of LGBTQIA+ NGOs in Turkey. The first part of the qualitative data was collected from three LGBTQIA+ persons in Turkey during the months of May-December 2023. Three other interlocutors were interviewed during February 2024 whereas the other, remaining seven interlocutors were interviewed

during March-June 2024. The duration of the in-depth interviews was around 50 minutes to 150 minutes in line with the suggested duration for any in-depth interview (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). When it took longer than 2,5 hours, we stopped the recorder and continued our conversation in its natural flow. The interviews were conducted in Turkish and were held with native Turkish-speakers who resided and/or used to live in Turkey (for at least 7 years). All interlocutors were asked to give informed consent, written and oral, as the first step in the interviewing process. Upon the interlocutor's acceptance of participation with informed consent, which was simultaneously read out loud to the participants, they were asked to provide their name, surname, and sign the informed consent document. The in-depth interviews were generally conducted online as well as in previously-selected not populated cafes in Kadıköy and Beşiktaş, two central city spots in İstanbul.

During the interviews, the participants were asked direct/indirect questions regarding their gender identity, sexual orientation, age, occupation, and other pertinent subjective information, and hence they were notified about this aspect of the research in the informed consent and they were informed explicitly that they could opt not to participate and/or leave at any point during the interview if they wished to do so. Upon the completion of the interview, the interviewee was presented with the Debriefing Form- II (see Appendix) and was asked whether they had any questions or comments they would like to direct at me. The informed consent form was provided as the first step in the pre- interview process, including information regarding anonymity, confidentiality, and voluntary participation. Only those who accepted the conditions of consent were able to continue the interview process. Despite the official assurance that their interview data would be recorded electronically and any personal information they provide would not be shared with anyone outside the researchers (see Informed consent in Appendices), five of them refused their interview to be recorded, and I opted to take simultaneous notes as our conversations went on. However, this limitation ended up affecting the exact correctness of the quotations directly taken from the interlocutors' statements since there were few spaces or missing words despite the hard effort I put to note everything down. On moments such as these, I decided not to quote as much, but summarized the point of view in hand.

As I aimed to examine how queer trauma emerges as a lived reality in everyday narratives and mental health narratives of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey, a small portion of the questions in the interview protocol focused on the participants' prior experiences with mental health services, professionals, and discourse in Turkey. The testimonies and stories of the interlocutors I provide underscore the psychosocial processes through which psychological (familial and relational beyond the confines

of the family) dynamics are mediated by the larger structures and forces of the social realities. Concurring with Warner's contention that "the distance between psychoanalytic generality and the complex histories of public and private remains great", I follow in the footsteps of Froshian psychosocial studies, which theoretically and methodologically allows me to account for these missing histories between the individual and the collective as well as the public and the private within the axis paved by the concept of queer* trauma.

Even though the questions were verbalized in a way that prioritized everyday relationships, mundane details, and memories, it was recognized that some participants were uneasy during and after the interviews. Since they had been notified before that, if they wished their data not to be used or written on after the interviews, three of the interlocutors later reached out to me and asked me not to use their data. Neither I nor the informed consent explicitly stated or mentioned the term 'trauma' first in order not to direct or mislead the interviewees in a predetermined path. As it was expected, the majority of the participants brought up the word 'trauma' themselves accompanying it with the associated concepts of violence, shame, and hatred.

Aside from the above-mentioned possible post-interview distress, the research involved no risk for participants. In case participants needed to talk to a LGBTQIA+ affirmative, mental health official (a practising psychotherapist) after the interviews, they were given a list of willing psychotherapists (three different individuals) to contact and arrange face-to-face and online sessions to buffer the possible post-interview distress factors. The relevant details were shared in the debriefing document once the interviewing process ends (see Appendix). At the end of the interviews, the participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions they had for the interviewer, and the most frequent question, which I answered honestly, why I was interested in these topics, and what kind of psychological disorders I was suffering from (I found it amusing, to say the least, that all were sure of the 'Yes' answer to this question but were wondering which and how).

Conforming my premonition that most of the interviews would play out as vehemently emotional and potentially interpersonally discomforting experience, my interlocutors and I also experienced, as they attested to this in our conversations, a one- of-a-kind talking space where we felt, even for an hour or two, that we could be our most authentic, vulnerable selves without fearing any stigmatization or negative responses. Once the traumatic memories became unbearable for the interlocutor, I asked them if they wanted to stop the entire interview, which I assured to be perfectly okay. The two participants that experienced the highest amount of discomfort

in revealing their past experiences in the context of mental health experiences, and gendered and sexual experiences told me that I was playing the part of a psychotherapist. In return, I assured them that I was not going to use their data in order to generate psychological theories about themselves or focus on their mental health issues from a pathologizing perspective. Despite this, the two later ended up asking for their data to be taken out of the analyses, which I naturally agreed with. This choice of sharing my writing and findings were in line with Kirsh's recommendations for a feminist research project (1999, 65-85) as well as with Wolf's suggestions on how to challenge feminist dilemmas in fieldwork [42] (Wolf, 1996, p. 1-41).

All of these complexities experienced in the interviews may generate the question of why I bothered with this unsettling research topic in the first place, especially when I am no trained clinical psychotherapist or a clinical researcher in that sense. However, I believe that it will be clear in the following pages that, this research project will be the first study in Turkey to provide first of its kind data about the intersectional experiences of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey to transnational and national academic circles and literatures engaging with these themes and topics. This research, I argue, also reveals how autocratic, conservative politics in Turkey affect LGBTQIA+s' daily lives and their struggles with mental health. As part of the feminist and queer affirmative methodology embedded in the research, I also gave my interlocutors a chance to take part in the process of interpreting the data (post-interview process) and provided them with a strong sense of agency in the way they chose and approved/disapproved how their experiences were written about by me.

Although I recognize that interview data as subjective and limited as it is, it may also reflect, if analyzed and interpreted fastidiously, "accurate accounts of the kinds of mental maps that people carry around inside their heads, and that it is this, rather than some videotape of 'reality', which is of interest to us" (Luker 2008, 167). Therefore, I do not see the phenomenological gap between the experienced 'reality' and the 'truth' of it all as a binary antagonism. Rather, I believe that the 'truth' of any experience is already imbricated with the tendency of the person to narrate the same event in a different way, which has been one of the fundamental narration devices I was in the lookout for, as I believe trauma to inflict itself on the psychic

[42] In framing ethnographic research as an exploration of queer publics, we can move through diffuse social forms without expecting them to be bounded in time and space as the concept of the field traditionally requires (Jackman 2010, 126). As Rooke once wrote, "Doing one's fieldwork close to home requires that we think of the field as having fluctuating boundaries which are continually expanding and contracting (When a participant calls me six months after my fieldwork has ended am I momentarily in the field again? If I bump into a participant when I am out shopping in the local high street and have a chat is that a moment of fieldwork? Should I just ignore that last message now that I am not in the field?)" (Rooke 2010, 30).

symbolization [43] potentialities of the individual and the group in complex, belated and oxymoronic ways. Moreover, the stakes are already high when it comes to queer data, whether quantitative or qualitative, and the question of how to categorize and analyze it, in that "queer data is more than using data to tell stories about the lives and experiences of LGBTQ individuals: the presentation of data is also an opportunity to see themselves reflected, although this mirror image is never a truly accurate representation" (p. 7). This has been experienced in the way how difficult it was to reach out to LGBTQIA+ participants/interlocutors that were willing to provide personal and detailed information as to their everyday lives and their psychological well- being: their past traumas, doleful memories of discrimination, and their psychological unrest. In relation to data, one last question remains as to whether it was worth collecting these stories and data on the respective categories and themes? As Keilty writes in *Queer Data Sciences* (2023):

> "the way data politics affects queer subjects has taken on a new sense of urgency in light of a changing digital, health, and administrative landscape, from hostile antisex and antiqueer policies by major technology companies, the security theater of airports, the disproportionate rates of policing of queer people and people of color, digital surveillance in border security, the biopolitics of pharmaceutical companies, online data breaches, and the proliferation of digital health and administrative records, to name only a few" (Keilty 2023, 11)

In the light of this insight, I remain adamant in my conviction that the following chapters, the theories therein and the interpretive analysis of the interlocutors' stories and the information they provide, provide a mode of presentation that goes beyond the mere introduction of queer data. Instead, I believe that the political and deconstructive epistemological motives in this project are manifested in the ways my psychosocial approach not only attempts to queer the way queer data is collected, but it also sutures the alleged methodological disconnections between different modes of doing research. Therefore, I do not approve any approach or wish

[43] As Edelman wrote, "Freud's metapsychological theories, after all, repeatedly articulate a structural return to a trauma occasioned by an earlier event that has no existence as a scene of trauma until it is (re)presented—or (re)produced—as a trauma in the movement of return itself. His theories, in this way, define a psychic experience in which the most crucial and constitutive dramas of human life are those that can never be viewed head on, those that can never be taken in frontally, but only approached from behind." (1994, 175). As I will show in the following chapters, this is a common point of view in the mimetic approaches to trauma. While I agree with the belated return of the traumatic material and the unconscious 'nature' of the repressed or non-metabolized material, I also propound that we should not neglect the conscious, cognitive efforts of individuals and groups' efforts to constantly make sense of what they have experienced, what they are feeling, thinking, and what they can do about it. While cognitivism has been subjected to much harsh criticism in relation to understanding the complexities of trauma (Matthies-Boon 2023), I do not agree with much of the criticism that deny the minds of the victims and survivors the mental agency to grapple with the residues of trauma and fight it on their own means.

that will try to utilize these findings on the mental health outcomes of LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey to further their anti- LGBTQIA+ goals to pathologize these people and groups. If anything, as it will become clearer in the following chapters, these findings speak to the fact that they [the negative mental health factors] are crystallized consequences of various psychosocial elements of discrimination, violence, and structural ostracization. As the author of *Queer Data Science* (2022) Guyan argued, "when data captures the lives and experiences of LGBTQ people, numbers do not speak for themselves – they always speak for someone" (1). I would argue that, especially when this data is extricated from its complex layers and rendered less abstract, it can show that queer data in its all forms also speak at the expense of some others, particularly those who have tried their best to obscure, censor, and erase the realities of the minoritized groups who previously did not have access to producing their own knowledges. This project, in essence, is another stepping stone in the larger project of procuring knowledges of the subjugated [44] (Foucault 1980). In the next chapter, I will present a historical overview of the early studies of trauma in the house of psychoanalysis and trace its development to more contemporary studies that follow a similar path of producing authentic knowledges on how these people and groups understood their traumas and how they pressed for alternative ways of theorizing it.

[44] As one may call it as such, I would also like to think of this project as another step in the epistemological history of "problematizations" that Derrida talked about in relation to Foucault's archeological project in *the History of Sexuality*. In *Resistances of Psychoanalysis* (1998), Derrida wrote that "The point is to analyze not simply behaviors, ideas, or ideologies but, above all, the problematizations in which the thought of being intersects 'practices' and 'practices of the self', a 'genealogy of practices of the self' through which these problematizations are formed." (115). Mine is an addition to this larger complex where I try to contribute with the discursive apparatus of trauma, uncovering the entanglement of the concept with the realities of non-normative genders and sexualities.

3. A HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF TRAUMA

From the moment of incipience, the concept of trauma has been a fundamental tenet, if not the budding point, of psychoanalysis [45] and the so-called 'talking cure'. While the meanings attributed to the definitions and etiology of trauma have changed tremendously over the years and across different disciplines, a traumatized mindbody (Rothschild 2000), however, traumatization is conceptualized, and individual and collective stress reactions have been central to the area of study known as "trauma studies". Even though the historical records of traumatized individuals can be traced back as early as the times of Greco-Roman physicians Aretaes of Cappadocia and Galen of Pergamon (Veith 1965 as cited in Libbrecht and Quackelbeen 1995), albeit under the diagnosis of a "wandering womb" (the genesis of hysteria as a nosological category), the enigma of trauma crystallized into its early psychiatric and biomedical form during the late nineteenth-century on the hands of a few practicing neurologists and researchers on continental Europe. Having first appeared as a physical injury to the brain or the spinal cord (Erichsen 1867), the definition of trauma was later conceptualized to have psychological causes, going through multiple retheorizations under different diagnostic names throughout the history of the clinic (Page 1885;

[45] As Foucault underlined decades ago, psychoanalysis and queer theory do not have a necessarily amicable relationship considering their intertwined pasts in the perennial enigmas of sex and desires In particular, Foucault was one of the first theorists who criticized the psychoanalytical endeavor as "the bourgeois' project of ensuring their reign of power" which came to 'discover' a way to scientize the continuation of their bloodlines in a way that ensures the inheritance of the accumulated economic and political powers across generations. "The anxious subjects of an ever-changing capitalist society", he wrote, "found the cure for their existential death throes in the significance and meanings attributed to their sexuality which inculcated the idea that they were the 'righteous' ones in stark contrast to the hysteric women, onanist children, the anti-natalist couple, the homosexual, and the other 'perverts" (1978, p. 105). Despite this tension and the latter controversies between the psychoanalytical theories of sexuality and queer theories, there are a few, yet not to be disregarded, commonalities in their projects such as their eagerness towards questioning and examining what the 'normal' signifies and at what costs it achieves its normalcy, and both traditions' suitability of interdisciplinary communication. While it should not be forgotten that psychoanalysis is not a unified theory and practice or an absolute knowledge that defies radical revisions or self-critical reexaminations (Dean and Lane 2001, 6), Freudian and contemporary psychoanalytical theories of sexuality may still offer us useful tools and concepts about thinking what it means to desire someone, how we come to understand our bodies and desires in relation to social others, and how our unconscious desires work their way into our waking minds. As Bersani (2010) observantly notes, psychoanalysis could revolutionize queer studies with its lessons that "modalities of desire are not only effects of social operations but are the core of our very imagination of the political and the social" (43). Granted that psychoanalysis is equally, if not more, indifferent to the dynamic confluence of the psychic and social processes and the question of how the 'private space' is incessantly recreated and restructured by other people and the Other of the social order (Frosh 2019, 109), both projects nevertheless are interested in the damages and suffering done to individuals and groups by the category of a norm.

Charcot 1887; Oppenheim 1889; Janet 1889, Freud 1896; Myers 1915; Kardiner 1941; Krystal 1968; Horowitz 1978).

As Wertheimer and Casper underscore (2016), following the cultural turn in the sciences and the Foucauldian critique of the biomedical and psychiatric epistemologies, the field of 'trauma studies' moved away from the early psychoanalytic and psychiatric approaches and onto more contextualizing, historical, and cultural approaches, now incorporating "twentieth-century movements and ideas, including structural functionalism, psychoanalysis and its interlocutors, postmodernism and poststructuralism, the constellations of theories/methods/interventions known as 'identity politics', the turn to affect, critical body studies, critical race theory, and the new materialism" (4), to which I would assertively add gender studies, sexuality studies, and queer studies [46]. Considering the vast historical span the concept of trauma has traveled as an object of knowledge and a way of experiencing one's psyche and the psychosocial world, it comes as no surprise to witness that today's world is swayed by a swarm of trauma-fetishizing TV shows and mass-antagonizing politicians who rely on the aggravated consumption of 'traumatophilia' (Luckhurst 2008). In this atmosphere of what I call 'trauma-jerk', one cannot have a regular day without finding themselves gobbled up by some form of trauma talk, either via popular culture consumption (literature, films, novels, streaming platforms), digital media use, or willing or compulsory institutional contact (via legal, military, psychiatric, and psychological means).

Concerning how the concept of trauma has become a buzzword to refer to any psychologically-distressing events or stimuli experienced by the modern subject, Rothberg and Hamilton (2010) warn against the pitfalls of 'sweeping every suffering and hurt under the umbrella term of trauma', which may obscure the framework in which the commercialized and medicalized discourses and institutions on trauma 'industry' benefit from the authority and the ability of scholars, psychiatrists, clinicians, and social workers to diagnose and intervene in the cases of trauma-related issues. As Bond and Craps underscore (2020), while they believe that there are still optimistic futures for trauma theories, "it is important for trauma theory not to overestimate its ability to diagnose, let alone solve, the problems that plague

[46] As queer theory aims to destabilize the tenuous truth claims to identity, so do psychoanalytical sexuality theories and certain ranks of gender studies, which propose that sexuality is imprinted, from the very beginning of social life, on the very desire of others and unconscious identification from outside. Perhaps, in order to explore how queer theory stipulates psychoanalytic clinical practice to different imaginations of desire that could envisage sexuality and gender beyond designated gender roles or lack/failure (Nigianni and Voela 2019), one of the most productive and reciprocally thriving strategies to assuage the 'encounter' between psychoanalysis and queer theory will be questioning and examining why the two, seemingly disparate disciplines have come up with their unique concepts, terms, and formulations on the question of sex and sexuality, why they are playing the 'language games' they seem to be playing (Wittgenstein 1958, 5) and what they could learn from each other by communicating how their respective knowledge of desire, sex, and love could enrich one another if their theoretical, political, and ethical motives may dovetail, especially in their common critiques of the identity discourses.

the world today, such as exploitation in an age of globalized neoliberal capitalism [47] and the devastations caused by human-induced climate change" (141). While the original meaning of the word trauma translates to 'wound' in Ancient Greek, implicating oxymoronically both the wound itself and the remedy to that physical injury (see Derrida's work on *pharmakon*), neither the meanings of the concept nor the perspectives towards its study are singular nor congruent with one another. To the contrary, in the age of "cannibal capitalism" (Fraser 2023) that strategically diverts the masses' political engagement and resistance from the actual forces of subordination and violence, trauma, if not probably framed and handled, becomes an individualizing and depoliticizing tool to silence traumatized subjects.

In the context of how societal and nations traumatize individuals through collective practices, norms, and plain violence, one should pay extra attention to Lauren Berlant's insight (1997) in regards to the insatiable appetite of capitalist, neoliberal societies that viciously feed on the public rhetoric of mass national pain and the lurking possibilities of being traumatized. Related to this view, Fraser presents this timely observation:

> "Certainly, today's crisis does not fit the standard models that we have inherited: it is multidimensional, encompassing not only the official economy, including finance but also such "non-economic" phenomena as global warming, "care deficits," and the hollowing out of public power at every scale. Yet our received models of crisis tend to focus exclusively on the economic aspects, which they isolate from, and privilege over, other facets. Equally important, today's crisis is generating novel political configurations and grammars of social conflict. Struggles over nature, social reproduction, dispossession, and public power are central to this constellation, implicating multiple axes of inequality, including nationality/race-ethnicity, religion, sexuality, and class." (1997, 2)

It seems that the fervent discussions around the utility and sufficiency of the existing theoretical frameworks of trauma are not going to end any time soon as seen in the polarizations between the scholars of postmodern trauma theory and the scholars of the more empirical, sociological, and psychological trauma theory (Kansteiner and Weilnböck 2010). However, it has been suggested that, despite these multifarious ways to theorize, study, or treat trauma, it came into existence as a result of

[47] In using the term 'globalization' in relation to capitalism here, I follow Wendy Brown's definition of the concept of globalization which she describes as the "ubiquity of capitalist social relations across the globe and the penetration of capital into nearly every crevice of every culture. But the steady geographic and demographic concentrations of wealth, capital, finance, and production that have characterized capitalism for the past two hundred year appear to have given way to more fragmented, dispersed, intricate, transient, and even some ephemeral formations" (2001, 9).

particular socio- historical changes in the infrastructure of modern Western society. Luckhurst argues that trauma is a notion that arises exclusively in the context of modernity [48] originating as a consequence of the advancements and societal shifts in the nineteenth century. It is a byproduct of the technological and statistical society, capable of producing, proliferating, and quantifying the various 'shocks' experienced in modern life (2008, 19). This interest in the social and psychological transformations among the masses is best illustrated in the canonical works of early European social scientists like Durkheim (see *Suicide*, 1897) and Weber (see *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* 1904).

3.1 The Birth of Trauma Clinic

The more structured study of trauma started only during the latter half of the 19th century, which can be attributed to various interlaced changes in society, economy, politics, and technology (Bond and Craps 2020, 12), altering the psychological well-being of individuals in their everyday lives. The new cities were shrouded by the suffocating smoke of the factories, people were overwhelmed by the new, isolating working conditions – the agricultural labor under the feudal system was replaced by standing on an assembly line surrounded by mindless machinery of vapor and monotony. In a time of such rapid change and collective apprehension of every new invention, railways were one of the popular dreads among these technologies as hundreds were continuously reported to die from collisions. It can be stated that the study of psychological trauma started with the studies of early physicians and

[48] A similar idea has been propounded by Patrick Bracken in *Trauma: Culture, Meaning, and Philosophy* (2002), where he suggested that modernity was implicated with the above-stated, similar contradictions that emerge from the cultural structure of rapid change and meaninglessness associated with its "feeling of dislocation" (207). Hence, he argues that the 'emergence' of modernity in the Western society coincides with a specialized, novel way of understanding pain and suffering, which is introduced into their minds at their weakest point (213). In the same vein, Micale argued that psychological trauma was a "historical illness", writing that "the greatest significance of past traumatic experience lies in its meaning for the sufferer to the source of his or her suffering, not in the relation of the individual historical case to some generalized disease model" (2017, 304). Though I agree with the two historicizing views that prioritize the sudden cultural and societal changes introduced with the structural changes following "the two revolutions" (Nisbet 1993), I do not find it convincing enough to disregard the neurological and psychological symptoms/reactions following traumatic events that end up in various forms of overactivated stress systems, rumination, emotion dysregulation etc. Of course, all of these reactions may depend on how the mind of these people and groups understand these potentially traumatizing stressors: It remains to be tested whether people from different historical periods and more realistically from different cultures will react similarly to an event that is not 'normally' considered traumatizing in their society but still reacted against with increasing levels of stress, horror, and following disruption in mental representations of good/evil, fair/unjust etc. Hypothetically speaking, I would dare to say that it is possible, even if it is not found in our historical records, that the individuals and groups of people that lived prior to modernity still experienced these 'natural' reactions to the events that undermined their psychic holding in the world, their mastery over their bodies, the disruption in their symbolic realm of meanings, and what to do with all the new emerging forms of meanings of all kinds (social, neurological, psychological, and hermeneutical), which do not always have to end in all negative, destructive ways. For a better structured, fuller perspective on what they choose to examine under "hermeneutics of distress" (Bracken 2002, 133), see *Postpsychiatry* (Bracken and Thomas 2007).

neurologists' interest and treatment of the survivors of railway accidents. It was initially argued that people who were involved in a train clash had to be suffering from some form of a physical injury to their brain or spinal cord. Railway spine marked the initial emergence of a trauma theory that sparked controversy due to conflicting perspectives, with competing theories placing it on opposite ends of the spectrum between physical and psychological causes. Surgeon Erichsen played a pivotal role by publishing a series of lectures that effectively associated the term with a physical explanation. (Luckhurst 2008, 22)

At first, the physicians and surgeons at the time believed that the ensuing psychological changes in the patient's decorum, personality, and overall functionality were a result of the physical injury, and the studies on the 'railway spine' continued to proliferate. The first psychologizing approach came from Herbert Page, who propounded that "fear and shock were in and of themselves capable of inducing enduring psychical damage" (Bond and Craps 2020, 15) – a view that was soon taken up by many clinicians around Europe like the German-Jewish neurologist Hermann Oppenheim, who also studied the traumatized victims of railway accidents. According to Oppenheim, traumatic neurosis (the first known use of the term trauma as a nosological category) presented a functional symptomology, which "were the result of molecular changes in the central nervous system, not of the structure of the nerves themselves" (Luckhurst 2008, 34). However, as Bond and Craps astutely demonstrate (16-19), these early studies on trauma, simultaneous with the medico-legal changes in Germany's welfare state and its insurance laws on medical pension, necessitated a paradigmatic shift in the way clinical sciences handled mental disorders, having resulted in an obdurate distrust towards the diagnosis of 'traumatic neurosis' on the grounds of possible malingering. Over the years, mental health professionals have continuously reviewed and explored this body of work, but numerous fundamental concepts that underpin the examination of trauma can be directly linked to the contributions of Charcot, Janet, and Freud (Bond and Craps 19).

As stated above, amongst the many prominent names that appear in the history of the study of hysteria and traumatic responses to psychologically distressing stimuli, Freud is usually the one that gets much of the credit for popularizing the concept of hysteria and introducing it into the clinical sciences, but two major physicians had a profound influence not just on Freud's own approach towards studying mental disorders, but also on many contemporary psychoanalytically and psychodynamically oriented therapists' perspectives on the unconscious [49], namely: Charcot and

[49] My understanding of the concept of the "unconscious" is fundamentally Freudian, following his words in *The Outline of Psycho-analysis* (1940) where he, by differentiating between three mental states of consciousness, preconsciousness, and unconsciousness, which he described as "psychical processes and psychical material which have no such easy access to becoming conscious but must be inferred, recognized and translated

Janet. Though they collaborated later, Jean-Martin Charcot was an earlier figure than Janet. He is considered to be one of the most famous figures in the history of psychiatry, if not the one, having mentored all the big 'fathers' of psychological sciences, including Freud, Janet, W. James, and Binet. Compared to the ideas of other physicians on trauma (mainly the German School), Charcot's opinion was that 'traumatic neurosis' did not need to be construed as a different category of mental disorder since, he argued, hysterical symptoms were indistinguishable from the proposed symptoms of the said traumatic neurosis (Harris 1991).

Influenced by the French physician Briquet, Charcot started his study of hysteria, which was theorized to subsume the neurotic symptoms of having experienced a traumatic experience. As the director of the famous neurology clinic at the *Salpetriere* Hospital, Charcot was working with patients who were suffering from neuropathic disorders. Common to the French School, Charcot believed that, notwithstanding the physical trauma or the brain lesion, was still related to inherited biological factors. As Micale writes;

> "Charcot ultimately judged the post-traumatic symptoms to be hysterical in nature. Above all, he noted that their severity and tenacity bore little relation to the nature and intensity of the physical injury. [...] Charcot knew these hysterical infirmities were as real, psychologically and subjectively, as those entailing actual structural damage. He observed further that, following an incident of this sort, many patients temporarily experienced a partial or total memory loss surrounding the event ("post- traumatic amnesia", in current medical terms), and he conjectured that there was frequently an inverse relationship between duration of loss of consciousness and degree of subsequent pathology." (1990, 385)

As it can be seen in the above excerpt, Charcot was presciently cognizant of the many aspects of experiencing psychological stress after traumatic experiences, or the modern symptoms of PTSD, if you may. His faith or allegiance to the degeneration model of the medical sciences failed him in realizing how anyone, regardless of their genetic predisposition, could experience psychologically distressing problems following traumatic events, though the ways in which the experience is construed (whether it has been constructed retroactively as a traumatic one) and the question of whether there may be certain genetic variants and polymorphisms in serotonergic systems (Koenen et al. 2009; Liu et al. 2015) and dopamine receptors (Lonsdorf et

---

into conscious form" (32-33).

al. 2009; Norrholm et al. 2013) are at the center of much contemporary, empirical psychological research (Banerjee et al. 2017).

As one traverses through the historical trajectory of the studies on psychological trauma and Charcot's contributions to them, one cannot disregard the question of gendered trauma and how the early studies approached the question of whether men and women experience hysterical symptoms similarly. In this context, perhaps one of the most important 'cases' of Charcot's life was Marie 'Blanche' Wittman – the ill-fated woman figure in Brouillet's famous painting, "Une leçon clinique a la Salpetriere", which depicts Wittman having a hysterical episode as dozens of perplexed men stare at the hypnotized women at the lecture hall. According to Michaels and Twomey (2021), Charcot introduced the view that hysterical women suffered from disorders of the nervous system in contrast to the archaic view that suggested hysteria was related to women's possession of reproductive organs. Through his study of male hysterics, Charcot is said to have "opened the possibility that men, too, could suffer from this malady" (2). Nevertheless, Charcot believed that women suffered due to their susceptible emotional dispositions and the difficulty they experienced to control their feelings whereas men suffered only due to conditions like working, drinking, and fornicating too much (Micale 406). So, it is here, at least in the Western canon of psycho-medical sciences, trauma bifurcates into the sex binary under the label of "hystero-traumatiques".

Another essential theoretician and therapist who played a determining role in the history of psychological trauma is Pierre Janet. A student of Charcot, Janet was also drawn to experimenting with the therapeutic potentials of hypnosis. Similar to this mentor, Janet believed that hysterical symptoms emanated from psychologically disturbing emotions and memories of the traumatic experiences. Accordingly, he added that his hysterical patients suffered not just from the emotional weight of the trauma, but mainly due to a mismatch between the patient's 'vehement emotions' and their cognitive schemes (van der Kolk et al. 2007). Having propounded the idea of disintegration between existing memories of the traumatic experience and the emotions attached to those memories, Janet's oeuvre remains one of the first theoretical frameworks that positioned the concept of dissociation into the center of clinical trauma research. As van der Kolk et al. (2007) pithily state, even psychologists and psychiatrists at the time who were not closely associated with the psychiatric group at Salpetriere reported the influence of Janet's work on dissociation and mental processes (van der Kolk et al. 2007). Even though Janet's contributions to the study of trauma and dissociation were ample and extremely sophisticated, his body of work was neglected when hypnosis lost its popularity and credibility as a reliable method of psychotherapeutic treatment.

In a paper on the disintegration of multiple self-states and the contested belief in unity and indivisibility of consciousness, Janet differentiated two different modes the mind works: Mental activities that maintain and continuously reproduce the past information, and mental activities [50] that aim to synthesize existing information in the way of integration (van der Hart and Friedman 1989). As he argued that dissociation is the critical factor that determines the eventual adaptation to a traumatic experience, he introduced his concept of subconsciousness. While his predecessors thought of the concept as an almost supernatural phenomenon, Janet asserted that the subconscious was responsible for the symptoms that were ailing the hysteric as it functioned as a "passive mental mechanism, resulting from a more or less temporary dissociation of previously associated mental content" (Walusinski and Bogousslavsky 2009, 334). Hysterics, Janet propounded, were suffering from psychological automatisms – the involuntary activity of the mind, which resulted from "dissociated nuclei of consciousness independent from the central personality, and developed in response to vehement emotional experiences" (van der Hart and Horst 1989), connecting the concepts of subconscious and psychological automatisms to traumatic experiences.

In relation to the role dissociation played in trauma, Janet propounded that dissociation was the critical factor that determined the eventual adaptation to traumatic experiences. According to his model, the traumatized subject was suffering from idees fixes (fixed ideas), which is "a kind of distorted experience, memory, imagination, or appraisal of the traumatic event" (Heim and Bühler 2006). These memories stored and maintained outside the conscious state of the mind, the argument goes, resulted in a different state of the mind, creating a divided mind: the conscious vs. the subconscious. Similar to Charcot, Janet believed that traumatic hysteria was a "special moral weakness consisting in the lack of power on the part of the

[50] In this project, I have knowingly not engaged with the neurobiological theories and studied on trauma as it is not within the scope of this dissertation. However, in addition to the seminal works of van der Kolk, there have been produced a great number of neuropsychological research that point at sound findings on the way trauma alter the neural workings of the brain. For instance, Schore, interested in the interdisciplinary dialogue between contemporary psychoanalytic research (mainly contemporary self- psychological research) and neuroscientific empirical studies, examined the development of the self and affect/thought regulatory structures of the infant and how these maturational effects are observed in the "emotion-processing" right-brain, whose 'healthy' development is postulated to be dependent on the question of whether the infant's the early-relational needs of a 'holding' environment and "good-enough" mothering have been met and buffered by the caregiver's supporting regulatory system (2009, 192). Rather than examining the conundrum of singular or multiple states of the self, Schore concentrated on the maturation of complex regulatory structures, which is facilitated, according to his neuropsychoanalytic and self-psychological view, by the early dual affective synchrony in the infant-mother dyad. In this conjecture, the empirical research he provided is remarkable, showcasing that self-recognition of 2-year-old infants occurs mostly in the right frontal occipito-temporo-parietal junction (Amsterdam, 1972; Suguira et al. 2005 as cited in Schore 2009), and that attachment-related experiences are seen to be occurring in the right cerebral limbic and cortical areas of the brain (Henry 1993; Schore 1994; Siegel 1999; Cozolin, 2002 as cited in Schore 2009). As a side note to this footnote, I would like to state that I stand with Jordan-Young and Rumiati who called for neuroscientific research that is not hardwired for sexism, implying that no matter what is being studied under the rubric of sex/gender, it would be wiser to study specific mechanisms that seem to present differences across sex/gender groups (ranging from hormone activity to traumatic stress or dissociative experiences) rather than continuing to "build a catalogue of differences" gathered from an already unstable and already binary and segregationist social reality (2012, 313).

feeble subject to gather, to condense, his psychological phenomena, and assimilate them to his personality" (Janet 1901 as cited in Luckhurst, 42). Unfortunately, the 'feeble subject' of interest herein was mostly comprised of divergent women and men who did not fit the cultural norms of their societies: Promiscuous women, women that did not want to get married or have children, masturbating girls and boys, homosexuals, racial minorities, and other 'deviants' [51] of the normative European society. Despite his belief in the moral weakness of hysterical patients, Janet's body of work is still considered to be indispensable to contemporary studies of psychological trauma. However, another physician at the Salpetriere was about to enter the scene and present his early model of psychological trauma within the framework of what has come to be known as psychoanalysis: S. Freud.

3.2 Into the Realm of Sex and Desire: Freud's Theories of Trauma

Reading Charcot's and Janet's ideas on altered states of consciousness and the role of the subconscious with a critical keenness, both of whom he worked closely at the Salpetriere. In contrast to the morally-patterned theories of hysteria (and hence trauma) of the French School, Freud did not believe that hysterical patients were weak-minded or immoral people, instead he and Breuer wrote generously on the quick and sterling brilliance of their patients. Also, contrary to Charcot's view that regarded hysterical symptoms as arbitrary and depthless phenomena, Freud argued that hysterical symptoms were complicated and enigmatic symbolizations of repressed wishes, desires, and memories, which if analyzed diligently would open a way into the hysteric's mental world (Micale 2009, 246). In 1895, together with his older friend Josef Breuer, Freud published the first systematic, thoroughly psychologizing account of (traumatic) hysteria, fifteen years after Breuer had carried out their "chimney-sweeping" sessions with Anna O., the pseudonym for Bertha Pappenheim who was an Austrian, Jewish woman suffering from severe hysteria following his father's fatal illness.

Having been consulting troubled women similar to Anna O. for a considerable amount of time (i.e. Dora, Emmy Von N., Elisabeth Von R.), Freud was soon captivated by the peculiar, traumatic narratives of these 'hysteric' women, who

[51] Even though psychoanalytical theories of sexuality have generally been associated with inimical acts of pathologizing particular modalities and configurations of sexual desires that are considered to be outside the norms as 'perverse' or 'deviant' alternatives to the 'healthy' forms of sexuality and love, it could be seen that the psychoanalytical project had a rather unconventional, tacitly anti-normative approach towards the ominous vicissitudes in the 'normal' functioning of the drives and sexual desires, at least in the early days of its incipience – long before the systematic medicalization and the gradually increasing homophobia of the practice in the hands of American psychiatrists (Dean and Lane 2001, 11).

experienced various debilitating symptoms, ranging from sudden changes of mood and emotionality to hallucinations, unexplainable somatic conversions, malfunctioning in speech and sensory experiences, strong suicidal impulses, and 'abusive' and 'naughty' behaviors that were considered 'not womanly' by the standards of their societies at the time. Writing on Pappenheim's psychosomatic problems which were exacerbated further after her father's death, Freud asserted that Ms. Pappenheim was suffering from the repressed memories of distressing and unbearably tormenting events and negative emotions tied to those memories. Echoing Janet's work on double self (though for Freud, the subconscious was an integral, topological part of the mind), Freud wrote that "the patient was split into two personalities of which one was mentally stable and the other insane" (1917, 77). According to Freud's interpretation, it was the actual traumatic experience of losing her father and the consequent mental symbolized associations between images, emotions, and memories that created her psychosomatic symptoms. This early work may easily be defined as one of the first texts on the psychological trauma that reflects on the realities of sexuality (and gender).

Though he had believed that all the women patients in *Studies on Hysteria* (1895) more or less suffered from actual, physical (sexual) traumatic experiences in their pasts, which were said to return (from their crypts in the distant days of childhood) and haunt the patient, Freud believed that there were forgotten (and repressed) memories of actual, sexually-connotated memories in these patients' pasts that they could not afford to confront. Perhaps anticipating the societal and multidisciplinary backlash to such a hypothetical argumentation, Freud moved away from the return of the repressed sexual traumas and instead laid the foundations of his formulation of the Oedipal conflict which, if not resolved 'successfully', could generate psychically troubled subjects, who would show an enigmatic aggregation of "exaggerated sexual craving and excessive aversion to sexuality" (Freud 1905, 165) – the very first time that a causal link was established between hysteria and the 'traumatic' discovery at the core of the Oedipus complex. Throughout this dissertation, I am going to call this traumatic discovery the concept of "foundational" or "constitutive" trauma, referring to the cisheteronormative theorization of becoming a gendered and sexualized subject at a certain stage of one's developmental history.

This theoretical shift in his theory of mind (and relatedly trauma and mental disorder) led Freud to abandon the concept of dissociation and the argument of disintegrated mind states. Instead, this new model, which discarded the idea that in the hysteric's history lies a physical, real traumatic event, incorporated the view that even fantasies of sexual nature could belatedly cause traumatic symptomatology. According to this framework, the mind is capable of censoring undesirable ideas,

emotions, and memories as well as retrieving and creating associations between these without the conscious doing of the individual. Hence, the concept of repression gains a more central place in his formulation. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), he writes that "repression – relaxation of the censorship – the formation of a compromise, this the fundamental pattern for the generation of not only dreams but of many other psychopathological structures" (166). This dynamic is closely related to the much later theories of post-traumatic stress disorder, which presents the traumatized individuals suffering from a situation of "dialectic of trauma" (Herman 1992), meaning that the traumatized individual's mind cannot handle a balanced compromise between the intrusive and numbing symptoms (via repression) related to the traumatic experience.

In the libidinal theory, "the causes of hysterical disorders", Freud propounded, "are to be found in the intimacies of the patient's psychosexual life, and that hysterical symptoms are the expression of their most secret and repressed wishes" (1905, 173). As stated before, the aetiological factors were no longer the literal recollections of childhood (sexual) trauma that were later dissociated from one's awareness, but rather the unacceptable desires of a sexual and aggressive nature that each child possessed (van der Kolk 1996, 54). This radical view of repressed infant sexuality started a whole new discussion in the history of psychoanalytic thought concerning the 'actuality' of lived trauma or the 'unconscious fantasies', most remarkably observed in the infamous debates between Freud and Ferenczi. Despite prevalent criticism and vehement opposition to his radical ideas, Freud continued his theoretical and clinical endeavors prolifically until he was confronted with the conundrum of trauma years later, when the returning, traumatized soldiers posed inexplicable problems to his libidinal theory – especially concerning the vexed question of why the soldiers kept having nightmares and disturbing flashbacks despite Freud's expectations for the ego to protect the balance from being overwhelmed by distressing stimuli.

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), Freud reflected on the previous cases of 'traumatic neurosis' and differentiated between "ordinary traumatic neurosis" and those identified by a factor of fright and terror, which "is the name we give to the state a person gets into when he has run into danger without prepared for it, it emphasizes the factor of surprise" (598). This dissertation more or less leans onto a revisionist direction of this view, implying that the shock and fright of traumatic event(s) may not need to be punctual or based on a singular event, since it is argued that it is possible for the emotions of feeling aghast, shocked, and terrorized may form as a result of temporal accumulation. Nevertheless, his solution to the question of why the traumatized individual keeps experiencing distressing experiences is key

to my understanding of one of the key mechanisms of traumatic stress syndromes. Asking how the repetition of repressed, unwanted memories and emotions fit the pleasure principle, he wrote that "there are ways and means enough of making what is in itself unpleasurable into a subject to be recollected and worked over in the mind" (601). This argument, in my opinion, provides much individual and cognitive agency to the traumatized subject, since it implies conscious (and unconscious at the same time) cognitive efforts to master the non- integrated psychic trauma material.

After the third paradigmatic shift in his study [52], Freud started to engage more closely with the psychological ramifications of social and historical events. In these later works such as *Totem and Taboo* (1912), *The Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), and *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), it becomes more apparent how the concept of trauma is resituated at complex historical and cultural contexts. Of course, it is possible to interpret this coming of this shift in the light of his own experiences of having been subjected to socio-cultural violence and hate under the Nazi regime. As I have touched upon this issue elsewhere (İpekçi 2018), Freud's ideas on the original patricide, the murder of the 'primal father', and the ensuing trauma on the tribe and the sons is now popularly discarded on the grounds that it is almost magical in the way it theorizes about anthropological and historical beginnings of civilization and its psychosocial trajectories, however, his ideas (1913; 1939) on some sort of genetic transmission [53] of psychological traumas (at this point social at some extent) is still relevant to contemporary trauma studies, especially for those working in psychoanalytically and psychodynamically oriented clinical areas

---

[52] Around the same period, in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), which is saturated with numerous footnotes that function like Freud's unconscious wishes to emend and break open his heteronormative, patriarchal tendencies to interpret the life of the developing child in ways that seem fit for him and the late-nineteenth-century Vienna, Freud caustically noted that a homosexual object-choice have already been made and actualized in the unconscious of all human beings (145). With respect to non- heteronormative forms of sexuality, Freud (1905) wrote that there is a "primary bisexuality" in all human beings which is later channeled into a monosexual (heterosexual or homosexual) object-choice through various psycho-sexual developmental stages (141). Even though he saw no use in continuing the traditional attribution of degeneracy or immorality to 'inversions' as he cogently argued that the so-called 'perversions' were "something innate in everyone" (171), his theory of sexuality nonetheless was installed on the goal of establishing a clinical practice that was tasked with differentiating 'normal' and 'optimal' forms and routes of sexual development from the 'aberrant' and 'unhealthy' ones. In contrast to Reich's liberationist project of sexual freedom for all, Freud advocated that the 'healthy' end-goal of his psychoanalytical developmental scheme was the formation of a heterosexual object-choice with the allocation of polymorphous sexual instincts to the injunction of a reproductive function (206). Despite Freud's inclusive approach on plurisexual capacities of the infant (the pansexual polymorphous expansiveness), some modern psychiatrists such as Richard C. Friedman state that "[their] patients who are bisexual do tend, however, to present interwoven strands in which bisexuality is connected to their psychopathology..." (Freiedman, 94 as cited in Fonagy et al. 2006) with the insinuation of the bisexual imagery is more easily alterable compared those in "truly" (!) gay or heterosexual men.

[53] Whence the question of the transmissibility of trauma is evoked, it does not need to be confined to genetic or evolutionary transmission solely. In fact, the field of suitable knowers on this matter is populated by psychological researchers and psychotherapists, whose expertise on the subject fortify the view that it is possible to experience some of the psychological effects of a traumatic event without living it firsthand. Secondary victimization, also conceptualized in relation to other similar forms known as vicarious traumatization and compassion fatigue (Figley 1995), denotes the psychological and affective consequences of hearing or witnessing a traumatizing event experienced by other individuals. Therefore, most of the literature on transgenerational trauma relies on the theoretical and clinical information on the way people are vicariously traumatized by their witnessing of these events or even hearing of them.

of study and practice [54]

3.3 From Making Love to Making War: Traumas of War

In the following decade after World War I, the interest in trauma and related mental disorders fade into the background. This peculiar ebb and flow of the concept of trauma, gaining utmost importance in certain times or moving to the background in others, has been said to be a unique quality to the nature and history of the study of trauma. As Leys underscores, "The history of trauma itself is marked by an alternation between the episodes of forgetting and remembering, as the experiences of one generation of psychiatrists have been neglected only to be revived at a later time. Just as it took World War II to 'remember' the lessons of World War I, so it took the experience of Vietnam to 'remember' the lessons of World War II, including the psychiatric lessons of the Holocaust" (2000, 15). Speculatively, one dominant reason for these series of conscious and unconscious forgettings of epistemological heritage may be explained by the very overwhelming truths in the nature of trauma, how it hurts even to study it, let alone experiencing transnational, behemothian wars that killed thousands on the forces of hate, intolerance, and greed. Perhaps, the medicalization of the field of psychiatry in the United States following atrocities these practitioners experienced at the hands of Anti- Semitic Nazis.

After breaking away from Charcot and Janet's focus on hypnosis as a suggestible mode of psychotherapeutic treatment for hysteria and Freud's psychosexual theory, scholars and clinicians in psychological sciences encountered novel forms of 'traumatic neurosis' now titled "war neurosis" or 'shell shock' by the physicians and therapists of war-returning soldiers. Regarding the nature of war neurosis, the much-neglected psychologist and anthropologist W. H. Rivers, wrote that the "painful thoughts [of the soldiers] were pushed into hidden recesses of his mind, only to accumulate such force as to make them well up and produce attacks of depression" (Rivers 1917, 175 as quoted in Luckhurst 2008, 56). While the clinicians at the time were thoroughly engaged with the question of whether the returning soldiers were truly suffering from their psychologically disturbing experiences of causing or receiv-

[54] While some numerous contemporary psychoanalysts and researchers see potentials in Freudian oeuvre for queer imagination and politics (chiefly Jacqueline Ross, Leo Bersani, Tim Dean, Eve Watson, Noreen Giffney among many other contributors to *Clinical Encounters in Sexuality* 2017), it should be remarked that this alleged queerness cannot live up to the promise of offering the desired degrees of freedom and equality to all, especially women. Freud's discernible predilection for portraying masculinity as the active and the original entitative of energy and change may be well illustrated in his proclamation that libido was "invariably and necessarily of a masculine nature" (1905, 219) – a somewhat early example of the now pervasive, insidious parallelisms between the sexed bodies of males and females and their biological constituents (sperm and ova) with the tropes of activity and passivity (Martin 1991).

ing violence and witnessing war atrocities, or 'faking it' to be released from duty (the case of malingering), it would not be a profitable development for the countries at war to consider offering governmental pensions to the returning soldiers, which would have cost them a great deal of money. Thus, psychological trauma entered "a new ecology of industrial and bureaucratically organized war. Shell shock develops as a dynamic construction between psychology, neurology, military bureaucracy, technology, and the political imperatives of warring nations and public opinion." (Luckhurst, 51).

With the World Wars entering the scene, "the notion of psychological trauma had to confront new institutional conditions, most obviously, a military establishment reluctant to recognize the psychological illness as anything other than simulation or cowardice." (Luckhurst 2008, 51). Hence, following the work of Babinski, a former student of Charcot who rejected his mentor's legacy, militaries embraced the view that the psychologically disturbed soldiers were not suffering from shell shock, but instead, they were hysterics, implying the then-popular idea that hysteria was related to an inherent degeneracy of the patient or ill-will of the soul. As Bond and Craps note, the discussions generated by the shell shock conundrum were important for:

> "the ways in which they revised many of the conceptual and disciplinary tensions that informed the study of trauma throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and pre-empted a number of the complexities that would later affect the field of trauma studies into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries: highlighting the disjunctions between physiological and psychical accounts of traumatic causality, revealing the disciplinary fractures between psychiatric and psychoanalytic modes of diagnosis and treatment, raising questions about the verifiability of traumatic neuroses, demonstrating how trauma breaches the boundaries between public and private life, and foregrounding the imbrication between medico-legal regimes of knowledge and the agendas of the public-political sphere." (Bond and Craps 2020, 31-32)

The earlier discussions around suggestibility vs. the actuality of the trauma back in Freud and Ferenczi's debate were suspiciously revived by the military officials and governments that did not want to take any responsibility for what happened and relatedly eliminated any chance of reimbursement for the veterans. However, the majority of the psychiatrists working closely with the veterans solidified the view that the atrocities the soldiers went through and/or witnessed, the loss of an extremity or an organ, and the injuries they suffered were also traumatic enough to generate serious psychological problems.

For almost two decades after World War I, peculiar enough the debates surrounding the etiology and the prospective treatments of trauma once again seem to vanish from the vernacular of the clinic, echoing what Caruth stated on the importance of forgetting involved in a traumatized person's mental functioning. She wrote, "The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all." (1996, 17). I present that this applies to the nations and societies as well, who unknowingly (or unconsciously on the collective level) forget or repress what was experienced in the ominous past, they open themselves susceptible to suffer from the mistakes not learned, or more properly, lessons felt, but not integrated. Therefore, whence the World War II was wreaking havoc on the entire globe, shell shock had already become a regular 'nomenclature' for post-traumatic mental disorders, indicating a years-long solidified relationship between trauma and war. This new perspective is conspicuously juxtaposed with the psychosexualized view of the hysterics whose corollary, back then, was the effeminate, homosexual man. Just when cisheterosexual men started to experience post- traumatic stress responses, the world of psychiatry and clinical sciences was ready to accept that some events like wars were extraordinary and that they needed a new framework.

Two figures need to be mentioned for their work on trauma during the World Wars: Abram Kardiner and Robert Jay Lifton. As an experienced psychiatrist who was psychoanalyzed by Freud, Kardiner was one of the first psychiatrists to work closely with the shell shock patients at American military hospitals during WWI and WWII. His work on trauma-related neuroses formed the basis for the consequent studies on post-traumatic stress disorder. "Emerging from his observation of chronic shell-shock patients at an American veteran's hospital in the early 1920s and from his dissatisfaction with Freud's libidinal or instinctual theories to account for traumatic neurosis in war. [Instead] Kardiner proposed a conflict between the ego and the environment: "A trauma is an external influence necessitating an abrupt change in adaptation which the organism fails to meet" (Kardiner 1941, 79 as quoted in Luckhurst 2008, 57). Kardiner wrote that traumatic neuroses present consistent characteristics, including irritability that results from a diminished sensitivity threshold and an increased level of sensitivity to frightening stimuli. The traumatized individual in this framework also experiences sudden bursts of aggression and an overall decline of cognitive abilities as well as a reduced interest in their world (Kardiner 1941, 86-100 as cited in Young 1995, 90).

The other significant figure in this respect was Robert Jay Lifton, who worked closely with the veterans of the Vietnam War. In *Home from the War* (1992), Lifton wrote that the psychological assistance provided to Vietnam veterans was

extremely lacking. The veterans, who were severely traumatized, discovered that they were not welcomed as heroes on their return, instead it was as if no one cared about the awful deeds they were commanded to execute. This lack of recognition on their part resulted in a profound sense of being adrift and disconnected from society (Lifton 1992). This aspect of visibility or the sense of not being recognized, what J. Butler calls the "politics of recognizability", I argue, is central to most forms of post-traumatic stress disorders, since the mental aspects of the traumatizing event are solely present in the mental world of the victim, therefore the traumatized individual is expected to seek to be seen, acknowledged, and empathized by those who did not experience the trauma (for more on this issue in connection to queer trauma, see Chapters 5-6).

In a later article of his (1988), reflecting on other wars and historical atrocities such as the Holocaust and Hiroshima nuclear attack, Lifton identified ten general principles of post-traumatic stress reactions. Returning to Freud's later musings in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Lifton caught track of the enigma of the death drive and the related death-related issues surrounding human beings' life cycles and relationships in this world. Focusing on the themes of death imprint and ego of the defenses, he wrote that a fundamental reaction to an adult trauma was a disintegration of the self. Identifying adaptive and maladaptive residual symptoms arising from post- traumatic stress, he stated: "We struggle with the ambivalence toward the extent to which we want to eliminate these symptoms, because, although they are a problem, they also represent adaptation. Again the symptoms include evidence of residual doubling, which is a continuous adaptation. Indeed, perhaps one never loses a sense of that traumatized self fully, but one masters it and integrates it into a larger sense of self" (Lifton 1988, 30)

3.4 The Politics of Diagnosis: Trauma-Stress Continuum in Dispute

After Lifton publicized Home after the War, another renown psychiatrist, also a friend of Lifton, Chaim Shatan contacted Robert Spitzer, a psychiatrist who was tasked with editing the new edition of the DSM-III. Lobbied for a new diagnosis for this particular form of trauma, Lifton and Shatan convinced Spitzer on forming a working group for the 'new' disorder. Even though the incipience for the inclusion of a post- traumatic mental disorder dated back to World War I (shell shock) and WWII (war neuroses), continuing to the group therapies for veterans from Vietnam, DSM-III Task Force introduced 'post-traumatic stress disorder' to the manual and

opened the scope of traumatic experiences to situations besides war-related incidences, including any situation in which a person in their everyday life has become subjected to a life-threatening, extreme, unusual event that leads to severe stress, including recurrent nightmares, flashbacks, cognitive impairment, dissociative symptoms, sleep disorders, affective self- regulative issues, numbing, anxiety, depression, etc. In the first version of the DSM-III (before the revision in 1987), the diagnostic criteria parted ways from earlier stress disorders in three aspects (Young 1995, 107). Accordingly;

> "1. DSM-III specified that the etiological events for PTSD should be "outside the range of usual human experience" and should evoke "significant symptoms of distress most people." 2. DSM-III specified a set of observable post-traumatic symptoms, consisting of persistent and distressful reexperiences of the traumatic event, such as dreams, flashbacks, and intrusive images; symptomatic numbing, such as emotional anesthesia or loss of interest in activities previously found pleasurable; a tendency to avoid situations that might trigger recollections of the traumatic experience; and increased physiological arousal, evidenced in sleep disorders, difficulty concentrating, irritability, and so on. 3. DSM-III distinguishes subtypes of PTSD, based on whether the onset of symptoms occurred more (or less) than six months after the traumatic event and whether the duration of the symptoms was more (or less) than six months" (Young 1995, 107-108)

The 'inclusion' of PTSD as a psychiatric and psychological disorder introduced many advantages of leaving behind the previous idea that a patient's symptoms were either related to a previously existing hereditary or personality-related 'hysteria-like' element or cowardice (as in the case of the veterans), however, it also introduced another massive problem related to its nosology: since the diagnostic criteria included stress- related symptoms sharing great commonalities with other disorders such as depression, panic disorder, anxiety attacks, dissociative symptomology, there arose the question of how to determine whether these symptoms appeared 'after' the traumatic event, creating a problem of post hoc diagnosis. As Allan Young aptly retraces, the editors and task forces of the DSM and APA relied on the Kraepelinian approach to psychological nosology, leaving behind the legacy of psychoanalytic and psychodynamic focus on the complex dynamics in the therapy room, and the nuances of language, affects, and theoretical lineage, they grounded their work on 'empirical' data and statistical procedures. With the appearances of relatively newer terms of 'reliability' and 'validity', it seems that American psychiatry and psychological sciences found the cure for its previous lack of standardization and operationaliza-

tion by incorporating the ordained langue and of key institutions like the National Institute of Mental Health and private and governmental agencies that provided benefits and insurance to those suffering from mental disorders. (1995, 100-107). Despite these innovations, the validity of the diagnosis of PTSD has continued to incite fervent controversy (Reyes et al. 2008, 490).

This new approach, however well it may have benefitted those that were hurting and needed economic benefits from the American government, also culminated in a universalizing act of diagnosis – beyond the diagnostic problems inherent in the nosology of PTSD in the history of psychiatry and clinical practice (see Young's "Chapter 3: The DSM-III Revolution" in *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* for more detailed discussions of how different versions of the DSM-III revise and edit the later diagnostic criteria), and the historical and cultural politics of PTSD. According to this view, PTSD came into being almost like a performative speech act that led to the emergence of a specific type of the traumatized person of the late modernity (Diedrich, 2018 as cited in Sütterlin, 2020, 17). Concerning the role of different cultural dynamics and understanding of being a part of a group/society and how different meaning systems symbolize and confabulate what is traumatic (or not), using the case of a tsunami- struck Sri Lanka, Alford intuitively states:

> "If people experience depression, withdrawal, anxiety, and hypervigilance as the primary symptoms of traumatic injury, then it makes sense to see the solution as one of the discussing the symptoms and experience of trauma in that form of discourse known as therapy. If, however, the primary symptom of distress concerns the inability to perform one's social role – that is, the loss of one's place in society – then individual counsel may be irrelevant, even harmful" (2020, 6)

Even though I do not believe that ethically and professionally-sound psychotherapy of any form may be harmful in the long run, as long as the therapist is closely familiar with the world of meanings and cultural artifacts of the individual in therapy, there is an essential truth in Alford's words (2006), which also are positioned at the core of this dissertation's concerns: the generally neglected problem of how to contextualize the psyche of the individual in a Western society whose internal psychological world and relationships are multidimensionally and multifacetedly social, political, and contextually-situated.

As it has been noted before, the history of psychological trauma witnessed the rise of women (or more of a down) as the original subjects of trauma, even if it had started

mostly with men who were working on railway constructions or due to train collisions. However, trauma and its diagnostic corollary 'hysteria' soon became one of the ultimate tools of subordination of women who did not live and behave according to the wishes of the late 19th century men, including mental health professionals. As Micale highlights, "The medical history of female hysteria is an account of how men in power have seen women – the story of a controlling, panoptic gaze of one sex onto the other." (2009, 281). This is also true for the case of homosexuality since homosexual individuals at the time were prevalently believed to be suffering from an inherent lack of immorality and pertinent psychopathological tendencies that made them 'deviants' (see *Foucault's History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* for a detailed analysis of the subject matter [55]). As for male hysteria, Micale states that the medical history of male hysteria differs as it is not "a construction of the collective 'others' of modern and early modern Europe (women, colonials, Jews, homosexuals, criminals); it is, rather, a discourse of the self" (2009, 281). However, this is precisely how hysteria and the psychopathologizing constructions of the traumatized subject helped to solidify the impenetrability of the legitimacy of the white cishet male [56] of women, queers, racial and ethnic groups, the poor, the disabled, and other marginalized subjects. With the rising popularity of the feminist movement after the post-Vietnam era, the advocates of identity politics interfered and joined in the discussions. The feminist movement was just beginning to articulate "the psychological reactions of

[55] According to a Foucauldian analysis of the histories of sexualities (1990), it was the precipitate popularization of psychoanalytical therapy, the talking cure, the chimney sweeping, that culminated in the aggregated stigmatization and psychiatrization of individuals with non-normative sexualities, whose lives, joys, and sufferings were silenced and abused by the epistemic and material violence of the prevailing biopolitical and medico-psychiatric discourses and practices. Advancing that the new sciences of the late-nineteenth century and the new technologies of sex (discursive devices of disciplining and regulating desire, sexuality, and populations) established a different relation to the "truth of sex" which was postulated to be able to "speak our truth" (69), Foucault accused the conventional psychoanalytic therapies for creating a neoteric mode of thinking and talking about bodies and pleasures peculiar to a capitalist Europe – scientia sexualis, the discursive technologies of trapping bodily pleasures and fantasies within the increasingly controlling and regulatory shackles of psychiatric wards, confessional couches, and disciplinary school systems. As a result of these new logistics of maintaining power and control, this time through indictments to discourse about sex, the bourgeoise exploited the early psychoanalytic theories of sexuality in ways that aided them in creating new forms of alliances, not based on kinship relations but through the deployment of sexualities that hypodermically incited identificatory commitments to personal interests and people's 'truths' (120).

[56] Although I do not wish to engage with the theoretical discussion on the 'encounters' between queer theory and psychoanalysis, I owe much to Foucault and his thinking about the way early psychoanalytical thinking discursively established a science of a queer person whose developmental trajectory was said to be traumatically marked by an abusive event of some kind, or at least a fantasy of it. In this respect, it was Foucault who challenged Freud's untenable theorization of the Oedipal drama of the girl, wryly interpreting his infamous pronouncement of "little girl is a little man" (Foucault 1990, 118) as a substantiation of the psychoanalyst's confession that the contradictions in his conceptualization of female sexuality are mobilized to insulate the confusions surrounding the ineffable weight of the question of what women want. As explained earlier, Freud's dependence on the conventional understandings of masculinity and femininity occulted the possibility of offering an inclusive theory of nonheteronormative sexuality that does not take for granted the historically and culturally dependent meanings of gender roles, and hence avoiding all the implications of ascertaining the child's sexuality from the gender of their object-choice. Evidently, the classical psychoanalytical theories were imbued with phallogocentric assumptions of the clinician's understanding of what sex, gender, and sexuality 'shall' mean. In this light, I try to keep the skeptical approach possessed by Sedgwick alive as I traverse across these conflicting or 'failed' encounters. Echoing Foucault, Sedgwick also believed that "most psychoanalytic analyses of gender and sexuality focus on intrasubjective dynamics and familial relations, generalizing from these to abstract levels of culture such as the Symbolic and the law of the father. In doing so, they methodologically embed the equation of gender and sexuality with the realm of the family and the individual – blocking from view the mediation of publics and the multiple social, historical, and political frames of privacy." (1993, 55).

those who survived the Hiroshima bombing, the victims of Nazi persecution, the consequences of slavery and segregation on African-American identity, and women who had suffered incest or rape trauma" (Luckhurst 2008, 61).

3.5 Feminist Psychological Challenges to Traditional Trauma Theories

Out of this early group of feminists in the 60s and 70s, came Judith Herman, one of the most fervent, feminist activists and therapists ever since. In her seminal work, *Trauma and Recovery*, Herman stated (1992) that, despite PTSD being described as a normal reaction to extraordinary events like combat and rape, domestic and sexual violence and abuse were a recurring part of most women's ordinary lives. She argued that the higher statistical prevalence of PTSD among women was not to be examined within the constraints of a closed, mental economy and in relation to the so-called feminine brain, rather, this was a result of a systemic, psychological abuse of women in the hands of men, families, governments and cultural structures. However, this radical take on trauma from a feminist perspective was not received well by many male mental health professionals. As McFarlane and van der Kolk state (1996/2007), "It appears that as long as men were found to suffer from delayed recall of atrocities committed either by a clearly identifiable enemy or by themselves [as in wars], the issue was not controversial. However, when similar memory problems started to be documented in girls and women in the context of domestic abuse, rape, and sexual violence, the news was unbearable." (566).

Examining the psychological elements and dynamics present in a traumatized subject's mental world and their behaviors, Herman remarked that traumatic experiences are emblematic of a temporal arrest in the narrative memory. Echoing Freudian notion of the belated return of the repressed trauma material, Herman identified various psychological reactions to trauma such as hyperarousal, intrusion, and construction as well as becoming disconnected from the world, feeling in shock and terror, and experiencing problems in memory and states of consciousness. Underlining how the traumatized subject contradictorily wishes to metabolize and integrate distressing elements tied to the memory and the affects of trauma and does not wish to face the overwhelming task of remembering, mourning [57], and

[57] Freud's essay "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917) holds a special place in psychoanalytic trauma studies for his distinction between the two concepts. While melancholia was described as a psychological 'loop' of endless remembering and repeating of the traumatic act, mourning was understood to be a 'healthier' form of grieving. Accordingly, it was stated that when individuals are able to mourn their traumatic losses, they acknowledge the impact of the trauma and begin the process of emotional healing, which might involve grieving openly, seeking support from others, and finding ways to commemorate. On the other hand, the trauma, for the melancholic, results in a persistent state of unresolved grief and emotional paralysis. This

working through, Herman introduced the concept of what she calls the 'dialectic of trauma', which refers to "the conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them" (1992, 7). Herman believes that traumatizing events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely, but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life" (1992, 33). The 'right' answer to the question of trauma, accordingly, is to be found in whether the affected individual can be allowed to experience the loss, pain, guilt, mourning, and timely healing without making them feel unseen, unheard, and uncared for.

It is not just the memory system or the adaptational psychological functioning that is overwhelmed by the traumatogenic events. The entire cognitive systems of the traumatized go through drastic, 'life-shattering' changes, including their capacity to experience their emotions in the somewhat stable way they used to and/or maintaining a (functional) organizing and guiding sense of a self that grounds their cognitions on congruent states of consciousness (Herman 1992, 43). So, in other words, the mental world almost magically shatters into two-dimensional planes: the realm that allows the individual to continue their daily lives, and the 'darker' realm that inhabits the undesired, distressing emotions, memories, ideas, etc. Writing on how the memory system of the traumatized individual bifurcates into a dual system of selective amnesia and uncontrolled intrusion, she asserted that the recalcitrance of the psyche to remember and feel is what leads to the failure of conversion of traumatic memory into narrative memory, which is one of the first steps to possible healing (172-179). Tracing this phenomenon to the dialectic of trauma, she argues that this "gives rise to complicated, sometimes uncanny alterations of consciousness, [...] and which mental health professionals, searching for a calm, precise language, call dissociation." (Herman 1995, 1).

The most radical and novel contribution of Herman's to the study of psychological trauma was her contention that PTSD could not reflect the constellations of lived experiences of repeated trauma that lasts for a long amount of time as in the case of captive prisoners, abused children and women in family and marriage systems, and violated citizens under aggressive, authoritarian societies. Stating that the definition of PTSD in DSM-III does not capture the complexity of the condition, which focuses on prototypes involving war, combat, disasters, and sexual assault, Herman argues that the symptoms are actually more complex than what is presented in the DSM manual (1992, 119). As a result, she presents her suggestion

---

can manifest as chronic depression, where the individual is stuck in a cycle of self-blame and despair. The internalization of the traumatic loss means that the person cannot move past the event, and their sense of self-worth may be severely compromised. This state of melancholia can impede recovery and contribute to long-term psychological distress. I will provide Butler's re-reading of this account and apply it to my case in this project in the later chapters.

of "complex post-traumatic stress disorder' as another nosological category, which lists seven symptomatic criteria: A history of subjection to totalitarian control over a prolonged period (i), alterations in affect regulation (ii), in consciousness (iii), self-perception (iv), in the perception of the perpetrator (v), in relations with others (vi), and in systems of meaning (vii). (1992, 121). This type of trauma is to be found in conditions of captivity, which is typically seen and experienced in "prisons, concentration camps, slave labor camps, may also exist in religious cults, in brothels, and other institutions of organized sexual exploitation, and in families." (1992, 74).

While Herman underscores that the possibility of an individual to start experiencing PTSD symptoms fundamentally depends on the way the traumatic events have played out and the consequent meanings that have belatedly been attributed to it, she acknowledges that individual differences may also be influential in determining how the disorder will present itself (58). This situation of captivity entails conditions of dependence facilitated and ensured by social, psychological, legal, economic, and physical means. She defines these disempowering methods of establishing control over other people as "the systematic, repetitive infliction of psychological trauma" (1992, 77). According to Herman's clinical expertise and theoretical model, dissociation plays a key determining role in the way traumatic symptoms are expressed. Dissociation, she argues, becomes not just a defense mechanism against the traumatizing inflictions of the above-described psychological trauma, but it leaves long-lasting effects on the traumatized subject's personality organization (102-110).

Herman presents that human relationships are at the heart of traumatic events. One's ties to their family, friends, partners, and community are breached as a result of a traumatic experience. Recognizing that the shattering impact of the trauma does not apply only to the subject's structure of the self and their relation to social others, Herman propounds that the shattering also occurs on a meso-level between the individual and the community (1992, 51), which is responsible in conjunction with state powers, laws, and protective institutions to protect and ensure its citizens' safety and well-being, including that of mental health. To her, the restoration of the breach between the individual and the community lies on the public acknowledgment of the traumatizing events and their devastating after-effects as well as certain types of community-initiated (and government- facilitated) means of mental health support and collective remedial action (70). Even though she goes on to claim that even communities and groups that have been exposed to systematic political violence may demonstrate traumatic symptomatology such as "alternating cycles of numbing, intrusion, silence, and reenactment. Recovery requires remembrance and mourning." (242), Herman's primary focus remains on cases of severe childhood trauma (123-127) and the respective therapeutic modes of possible healing.

While I concur with her astute observation on the historical transformation of hysteria into three, distinct psychiatric diagnoses of somatization, borderline personality, and multiple personality disorders, which "perhaps be best understood as variants of complex post-traumatic stress disorders", sharing similar ties to a severe trauma in the childhood (1992, 123-127), I argue that the transdiagnostic risk factors leading to trauma symptoms need not be confined to the childhood or any other developmental period since the entrenched beliefs, norms, and practices surrounding the marginalized others' socio- culturally ascribed 'inferiority' and 'worthlessness' operate on all levels of everyday life, relations, and communications on an incessant manner. Although Herman's insights on sociopolitical aspects of trauma are fundamental to this dissertation's reconceptualization of the concept, her analysis mostly focuses on the vicissitudes of psychological trauma within the context of micro-systems as in the case of being subjected to controlling relationships in domestic and sexual life. In my approach, I expand this underdeveloped framework beyond the boundaries of the family and up to the social and political spheres, asserting that trauma's aftereffects are not to be studied solely within the limits of a micro-relational matrix of a few others in a household. Especially in Turkey's relational plane, I argue that larger family systems (more populated system of relatives), neighborhood cultures, and more aggressively intrusive and controlling state dynamics may pose particular challenges to this somewhat sterile theorization of repeated, prolonged trauma.

At the heart of this project's theoretical reworking of queer* trauma lie two other feminist psychotherapists and researchers like Herman that have informed much of my theoretical understanding of non-traditional forms of traumatization. The first figure is the feminist psychotherapist Maria Root (1992) who introduced the concept of "insidious trauma", which has been theorized as the everyday experiences of oppression, discrimination, and violence that permeate the lives of marginalized or disadvantaged groups such as women, people of color, and queer and trans* individuals. In her essay "Reconstructing the Impact of Trauma on Personality" (1992), which was published before Herman's work on C-PTSD, Root formulated insidious trauma as a blow to the traumatized subject's view of their selves and their perception of the world (238). She was quick to underscore how the majority groups that hold and benefit from the established hegemonic structures of power try to undermine the "microphysics of power" [58] and effect of the violence inflicted on the marginalized groups. Like Herman, Root talked extensively about the way in which

[58] I borrow this concept from Foucault and his use of it in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), which can simply be understood, if at the risk of oversimplification, as the way power relations are animated within the base up to the top, including the momentary instances of resistance and co-optation of the dominating power relations. This approach is informed by Johanna Oksala's work on the concept, through which she underscored the powerful force of everyday practices of freedom, which are also called the practices of the self that attempt "to resist normalization by approaching our lives as material for ethical and political transformation" (2015, 484)

insidious trauma, on the long run, shatters the sense of safety of the traumatized individuals and activated a sudden increase in the fight-or-flight responses in the neuropsychological defense systems. Moreover, in a similar vein to that of Herman, Root (1992) maintained that insidious trauma strained one's connection to one's self as in their trust in their worth, capacity, and integrity as well as their connectedness with others in the society (240).

The other key figure that extended the works of Maria Root and Judith Herman was Laura Brown who was another feminist psychotherapist. Similar to these two figures, Brown was highly critical of the then-reigning view of PTSD as a 'natural' reaction to an 'extraordinary' event as it was defined in DSM-III. This definition did not favor the lived experiences of those who lived in oppressive systems or those who had to remain in these systems or relationships for various other reasons that were outside the scope of their own doing or choice. As Ussher underscored, "If you open the DSM, it is not hard to find a diagnosis that fits – more than one- for most people. This does not mean that we are all 'mad', it means our behavior or our emotions are just easily defined as such – with the boundaries expanding all the time" (2011, 60). Funnily enough, despite the fervent eagerness of Big Pharma to keep multiplying the number of diagnoses, there was now a case of non-representation, which 'happened' to apply to the case of women and other subordinated members of our societies. As an out lesbian psychologist that recognized this gap, Brown called for a feminist rethinking of the diagnosis and concept of trauma, by which she wanted to uncover how the traditional 'scientific' perspectives were attuned to the world of heterosexual men only. Directing at her criticism at the diagnosis of PTSD in DSM-IV, Brown wrote that,

> "In the DSM-IV, trauma is conceived of as the single, terrifying blow, the assault on the body that arises from violence, disaster, or accident (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). But as Janoff-Bulman (1992) has so cogently noted, trauma becomes more likely to leave psychological scars on those occasions when it constitutes a shattering of a person's beliefs and expectations about a just and safe world." (57)

In her article "Sexuality, Lies, and Loss: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Perspectives on Trauma" (2003), Brown presented a comprehensive model for understanding trauma in the lives of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals by integrating several key paradigms that emphasize socio-cultural contexts and the unique experiences faced by LGB individuals. By contributing to the work on Root's insidious trauma, Brown highlighted that LGB individuals often experienced what she calls

"normative trauma" [59] by which she referred to recurrent and expected interpersonal trauma and loss due to their sexual orientation, including societal rejection, discrimination, and internalized homophobia. In this work, she exemplified how new traumatic events can trigger unresolved past traumas, especially for LGB individuals, and highlighted the countertransference issues therapists might face when treating LGB clients. Both Root's and Brown's work on these 'mundane' yet lethal forms of traumatization address how social structures and institutions built in the ideological image of cisheteropatriarchal hegemony perpetuate and render invisible the everyday traumatic experiences of certain individuals and groups. In the case of Turkey, as Zengin underscores, most Turkish families and state institutions are structured around a system of gender and sexuality that idealizes hegemonic masculinity as being cisheterosexual, able-bodied, authoritarian, conservative, culturally Sunni Muslim, middle-to-upper class, ethnically Turkish (excluding Kurdish, Armenian, or Jewish identities), and light-skinned (as opposed to dark-skinned). (2024, 18). within these systems of insidious oppression and violence, one's past traumas of growing up under the shadow of such burdens is exacerbated by one's continuous traumatization on their young adult or adult lives, which renders queer and trans people more susceptible to retraumatization in the long run.

The final theorist in the deconstructive project of unraveling the grandiose narratives of Criterion A traumas is Margaret Crastnopol's work on what she terms "micro-trauma", which is defined as the aggregate accumulation of negative and self- injurious relational experiences that psychically bruise one's sense of self-worth and affective equilibrium through repeated occurrences even though it may not be easily recognized and metabolized as "psychic bruises" at the time (2013, 1-3). In *Micro-Trauma: A Psychoanalytic Understanding of Cumulative Psychic Injury* (2013), Crastnopol explains that her work on micro-trauma builds strongly upon the Freudian psychoanalytic idea that traumatic experiences call forth certain defensive operations that aim to defend the self from hurt and injury. Tracing how different psychoanalytic and psychodynamic researchers have approached the 'question' of trauma (i.e., H. Krystal, J. L. Herman, B. Van der Kolk, S. Grand, E. Howell, and G. Boulanger and many others), she presents seven different types of micro-traumas, detailing how the majority of these micro-traumatic experiences are "underplayed" and their consequences for the individuals remain mainly "unarticulated, dissoci-

[59] According to Brown, sometimes, heterosexist and homophobic betrayal is direct and harmful. More commonly, however, it manifests subtly, through exclusion from heterosexual customs and realities. These acts of betrayal are not typically malicious or intended to harm the LGB person, making them emotionally complex and harder to recognize as betrayals. These subtle exclusions often go unnoticed by non-queer individuals and become apparent to LGB individuals only when discussed with queer peers. Consequently, these betrayals lead to feelings of confusion, isolation, and self- alienation. They reflect the unexamined heterosexist norms within the families, friends, spiritual communities, and caregivers of LGB people, resulting in thoughtless,unintentional exclusions. Acknowledging these betrayals emotionally and consciously is challenging for queer individuals.

ated, or suppressed" (4).

Situating the concept of "micro-trauma" in close proximity to, Masud Khan's concept of "cumulative trauma" (1963), and Ernst Kris's concept of "strain trauma" (1956), Crastnopol claims that her approach does not only focus on the psychological ramifications of early relational traumas (also called "attachment traumas"), but it instead highlights the prevalence of such relational traumatic experiences throughout one's life span (including adolescence and adulthood). Furthermore, she states that her work puts the 'necessary' amount of weight on the actual interactions with the real parents compared to the previous clinical work and theory that focuses too much on the internal object- relations and the inner world of the traumatized individual. Even though the micro- trauma subtypes, the exemplary scenarios, and the clinical vignettes provided by Crastnopol are not entirely restricted to the parent-child relations, due to her theoretical allegiances (relying on Fairbairn's and Sullivan's theories on inner psychic self and other representations) as well as due to the difficulty of navigating across various disciplines that do not necessarily try to talk to each other, Crastnopol's examples nonetheless suffer from being too dependent on the early traumatic scene of the mother-child dyad. For instance, she writes:

> "The mother shows what is objectional to her and the wider society – and helps the child learn how to discriminate these features – through the unconscious and unformulated communication of her own wishes, needs, and values (All of this is implicitly powered by her anxiety and efforts to quell it)" (2013, 12)

A few sentences later, Crastnopol mentions that these "forbidden gestures that come at first from the mothering one, but later from other important individuals in one's life... arouse one's anxiety in that they point to the bad-me – or, in extreme cases, the not me" (13). While non-parenting social others' impact is not disregarded in the above- described scenarios, I believe it is also apparent that an equal amount of importance and analytic rigor is not shown to how social, cultural, historical, and political forces reinforce and disseminate these "forbidden gestures" via equally, if not more powerful, destructive dynamics (But, this is not a mistake on Crastnopol's part, since she never states that her analysis of the micro-traumatic experiences will extend to more socio-cultural, macro- level instances).

This is the lacuna in Crastnopol's work that I aim to fill or, more precisely contribute to, broadening our understanding of these micro-traumatic experiences [or any other

term preferred in the literature to refer to daily life cases of systemically psychically bruising and damaging subtle-to-greater attacks] within the context of cisheteronormative, androcentric Turkish society. My approach to the parents' disavowal of the parts of the child they find intolerable extends to gender non-conformity and sexual dissidence, and hence not limited to the micro-focused child-parent matrix, and rather it traverses into higher levels in which the issue of "non-recognition" can be a topic of discussion for larger groups of people. This sex regulatory role of parents was also captured by Rubin [60] in her article "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" (2011) where she wrote about the key role families in enforcing sexual conformity, often withholding support from their childre who deviate from norms. On the role of the societal pressure of maintenance of cisheterosexual family, she wrote that "popular ideology holds that families are not supposed to produce or harbor erotic nonconformity. Many families respond by trying to reform, punish, or exile sexually offending members" (176).

Moreover, I wish to experiment with the concept of what I call "good-enough relating" that is experienced negatively in the parent-child relational matrix and apply the concept to social-cultural relational matrices in which "toxic relationality" becomes a recurrent pattern that marginalized and vulnerable groups such as LGBTQIA+ people keep experiencing in their encounters with the dominant cishet groups and their ostracizing values, beliefs, and practices (Ahmed 2004). Especially in the case of Turkey where being LBGTQIA+ is not yet a crime but a socially and culturally condoned and a negatively interpreted aspect of the cisheteronormatively gendered and sexualized repertoire of experiences [61] , the number of micro-traumatic experiences and the extent to which they aggregately culminate in a prolonged form of systemic, Queer* trauma [my preference for this complex case of trauma] is bound to be more higher compared to the European and North American cases in which legal and social rights of LGBTQIA+ individuals are 'better' guarded (at least by institutions and policies) and the level of Queer* representability and overall educational levels are higher than those of Turkey.[62] Followingly, I proffer that the

[60] Referring to Gayle Rubin's historico-theoretical argumentation for the inscription of a "sex/gender system" (1975), Sedgwick created an analogous pattern between sex/gender system and what she calls "habitation/nation system", which she bases on "the set of discursive and institutional arrangements that mediate between the physical fact that each person inhabits, at a given time, a particular geographical space, and the far more abstract, sometimes even apparently unrelated organization of what has emerged since the late seventeenth century as her/his national identity, as signalized by, for instance, citizenship" (1993, 145). This regulatory system, as I will make it clearer in the final chapters, not only applies to family system but also to the entire cultural continuation mechanisms of national identity and civil rights discourse, which magically applies only to some but not every citizen.

[61] Although it has been seen that, as of July 2024, the official websites of the governmental offices and municipalities have repeatedly and publicly called the LGBTQIA+ individuals that wanted to use their constitutional rights to have a peaceful march as "illegal groups" (Bianet 2024).

[62] This is an informed guess based on the knowledge of the field; however, it is still a prediction. It remains to be studied whether the LGBTQIA+ people in the Global North are actually at a better place in terms

prevalence and the severity of mental health issues experienced by LGBTQIA+s in Turkey will be higher due to the fact that it is more likely for a Queer* individual to experience LGBTQIA+phobic attitudes and behaviors in Turkey.

Even if Crastnopol presents various research demonstrating that the children coming from secure attachment backgrounds possess higher levels of resilience and strong self-protective cognitive resources to defend against the micro-traumatic injuries later in life, I argue that even if one's parents are not homophobic in the case of Turkey, it is almost practically improbable to ensure that the child grows up in a socio-cultural environment in which they are completely protected against the possible attacks. At best, they are going to witness many times other Queers* being the center of humiliation, shaming, and even violence. But, in line with my thesis' theoretical roots in queer theory's activist stance on defying and criticizing pathologizing approaches to mental health, I wish to problematize the source of the mental health issues expressed by my interlocutors, and instead analyze the cisheteronormative society as the 'bad-object' (not just in terms of its internalization as I mentioned before) but also as the real, concrete "parenting" figure which needs to ensure its citizens' safety, prosperity and social rights to actualize themselves. In short, as I try to translate some of the psychoanalytic theories and concepts to a more sociopolitical register of critical social theory (one that is informed by queer affect theories, psychosocial theories, and transdisciplinary trauma theories), I wish to analyze the projective identifications and maladaptive defense mechanisms of the Turkish cisheteronormative society (I will explain these concepts in detail in the later chapters) – an overarching aim that I want to maintain to trouble the distinction between the 'insides' and 'outsides' of the clinic as Stephen Frosh recommends.

In this dissertation, my approach to queer* trauma integrates Herman's (1992), Root's (1992), Brown's (2003) and Crastnopol's (2015) works on trauma as well as those of psychoanalytical theories of trauma revised until now. While the centrality of each theorist's ideas and works on my reconceptualization of trauma varies greatly depending on the degree of fit between their perspectives on gender and sexuality to the queer sensitivities of this queer psychoanalytic project on trauma, in that as I criticize some of Freud's sex-essentialist and patriarchal ideas on gendered and sexual psycho-subjectivity, I also utilize his central concepts of psychoanalytical processes in subject formation and conscious (and unconscious) mental functioning. Doing so, I apply psychoanalytical concepts like the unconscious, defense mechanisms, triadic psychic structures of the mind, dissociation, memory disruptions, and the psychosocial tensions between individual wishes and societal rules to the dynamics in

---

of enjoying their rights to social and legal representation, security, education, and welfare.

which my interlocutors navigate their everyday lives informed by their queer affects and attachments. Informed by the connection of gendered and sexual subjectivities to their queer lives in Turkey, I employ these concepts and theories in an inquisitive manner that queries how these concepts theorized in the limits of dual person mode of the clinic to a larger scope that includes not just larger groups of people but also social, cultural, and political histories of collective organizations. institutions, and structures.

3.6 Literary Psychoanalytic Theories of Trauma

Around the same time with the global rise of identity politics and collective struggle for equality for marginalized groups such as women, African-Americans, indigenous people, Latinx individuals, disabled, mad, and LGTBQIA2S+ people, socio- political and ethical concerns over how to bear witness to trauma and whether trauma is to be spoken and written about had a ripple effect on academic circles, particularly those concerned with the questions of how to write about atrocious, historical events of genocide and mass killings like the Holocaust. As Craps and Bond highlight (2020), "trauma theory stands in the tradition of Adorno Steiner, Blanchot, and Lyotard in that it, too, arose out of an engagement with the ethical and aesthetic dilemmas involved in bearing witness to the Holocaust; it is similarly and experiences that defy comprehension and narrativization, and invested in the idea that literature and art are somehow uniquely positioned to meet those contradictory demands (50). The effects of these discussions had an ostensible effect on the ways in which the literary scholars from Yale School of the late 1980s and early 1900s theorized about trauma and the problem of its representability. It is no coincidence that themes such as the atrocities of war, the long- enduring consequences of domestic physical and sexual abuse coincided with revolutionary social movements in Europe and the United States. Some of these key names to be covered here, regarding their valuable psychoanalytically-oriented works, are namely Cathy Caruth, Shoshana Felman, and Dominick LaCapra.

Considered to be one of the founding texts in 'classical' trauma studies literature, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (1996) functions much like Caruth's rebuttal of the claim that poststructuralism and deconstruction (involved with larger areas of literary and cultural studies) reduces extremely atrocious and 'real' historical traumas to the ' of representability, in that Caruth astutely demonstrates how neatly psychoanalytic theories and concepts fit into the representational

modes of cultural analysis and the 'dialectic' nature of trauma. Against the alleged claims of downplaying the role of historicity and the vicissitudes of the 'real' world, Caruth writes that it is possible to claim that her rethinking of reference (regarding the relationship between the historical event and not-always-chrononormative referentiality) does not wish to eliminate history, rather aims to allow the historical event to emerge according to its own elements which may not always be immediately available and comprehensible to the traumatized subject (1996, 11). One of the most radical contributions of Caruth's and other literary scholars of the Yale School in this era, including her mentor Geoffrey Hartman and the pioneers of poststructuralist thinkers like De Man and Derrida, was their claim that the meaning was not simply waiting in a system of signs, events, or music notes, instead, meaning was a slippery, ever-changing set of symbolic attributions of human- cognized construals depending on arbitrary positionalities of signs, affects, and modes of differences therein.

In the context of what psychoanalytical research and theories may contribute to our understanding and study of trauma, Caruth successfully demonstrated how Freud's own theories on the inexplicable forgetting of the event (and the perpetual haunting by the same 'non'forgotten memory of the trauma) illuminates psychological realities of those who have experienced traumatic experiences. In her short preface to another seminal text in the field, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (1995), Caruth states "The difficulty of listening and responding to traumatic stories in a way that does not lose their impact, that does not reduce them on cliches or turn them all into versions of the same story, is a problem that remains central to the task of therapists, literary critics, neurobiologists, and filmmakers alike." (vii). While Caruth situates the 'truth' of traumatic experience in "literality and its insistent return" despite the conscious efforts of the traumatized not to think of it, contrary to the claims of pure psychologization of trauma, Caruth acknowledges that the pathology is not of the unconscious mind or its functioning. Rather, the pathology and its symptoms, she argues, are to be found in the way traumatic experiences disrupt temporal logic of the event is distorted. In her works, Caruth relies heavily on Freud's psychoanalytic framework of trauma and the key psychoanalytic concepts, however, she also agrees that the relocation of trauma to the center of one's individual familial, developmental history may be criticized appropriately for its disavowal of the historical actuality of trauma.

Although Caruth does not shy away from underscoring the historical situatedness of trauma, even stating that PTSD may be considered to be "a symptom of history", she still argues that what ails the traumatized individual is the Freudian discovery that "the impact of the traumatic event lies precisely in its belatedness, in its refusal to be simply located, in its insistent appearance outside the boundaries of any single

place or time" (Caruth 1995, 9). Referring to the clinical data that reports the traumatized individuals suffering from "delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena" (1996, 11), Caruth writes,

> The experience of trauma, the fact of latency, would seem to consist, not in the forgetting of a reality that can hence never be fully known, but in an inherent latency within the experience itself. The historical power of trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at al." (1995, 17).

While this forgetting may be considered a 'maladaptive' response to trauma, it may equally be considered an adaptive response that enables the traumatized subject's survival. Analyzing Resnais' movie, *Hiroshima mon Amour*, Caruth points a moment of shock at the woman protagonist's encounter with death, not just at the moment of an injured soldier's passing, but also the continuation of her life. Recounting how the woman not knowing the exact timing of the soldier's death, Caruth writes: "Between the 'when' of seeing his [soldier's] dying and the 'when' of his actual death there is an unbridgeable abyss, an inherent gap of knowing" (39) and assuredly a self-tormenting circuitry of remembering and forgetting.

According to Caruth's view, the psychological trauma is not an inherently-given, solely neurologically or genetically mediated culmination of maladaptive cognitive and affective reactions to a traumatizing event, rather it is a psychological experiencing of the belatedness surrounding the self-shattering experience and the subject's inability to metabolize and make sense of this latency between the events and the consequent meaning and emotions attributed to it. Perhaps one of the most controversial claims in Caruth's account is the idea that traumatic experience, due to its unknowable 'nature', and belated characteristic that defies narrativization, is not representable, indicating at the mind's failure to symbolize it. This clearly is a detour to the Freudian workings of the unconscious, and even Janet's notion of disintegrated layers of cognitions, affects, and symbolizations on different levels of consciousness. Even though Caruth's works on trauma have been criticized for having rendered historical and political analyses as well as clinical, therapeutical endeavours somewhat unequipped or inherently inadept at representing traumatic past, and consequently the prospects of working through the trauma, her approach may also be read as a crystallization of the problem of not fully knowing what our traumas may have done to us, instead of reading it as a problem of whether and how we can represent them. So, instead of simply hoping that the unconscious asso-

ciations between the memory of trauma and the structure of its experience, Caruth presents a mode of understanding and studying trauma "from the site of trauma" that entails obscurity and uncanny possibilities of opening oneself up to the danger of not knowing.

Since trauma is argued to resist representation and register in language (at least in respect to the degree of its possible expression and referentiality), Caruth propounds those literary forms and literary language, thanks to their use of metaphors and other figurative means of expression, may defy the conventional, chrononormative pathways of memory formation. Of course, literature is not the only medium that may yield effective in the 'impossible' task of bearing witness to trauma, and trauma is not necessarily a force that always isolates the individual or shatters the foundations of a group. In Caruth's words, "the attempt to gain access to a traumatic history, then is also the project of listening beyond the pathology of individual suffering, to the reality of a history that in crises can only be perceived in non-assimilable forms. This history may speak through the individual or through the community" (1995, 156). Reflecting on Freud's ideas in *Moses and Monotheism*, Caruth recognizes the inscription of collective relationalities in the way trauma works, especially in communities. Revealing the impact of the historical in trauma, Caruth underlines Freud's insight that "history, like trauma, is never simply one's own, that history is precisely the way we are implicated in each other's traumas." (1996, 24).

3.6.1 Politics of Testimony and Traumatic Memory

A founding text in the 'classic' trauma theory, as equally important as Caruth's *Unclaimed Experience*, is Shoshana Felman's and Dori Laub's *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (1992). As Bond and Craps state, "Trauma studies as it emerged in the early 1990s is very much a collective endeavor, the product of a vibrant intellectual environment conductive to the cross-fertilization of ideas rather than the creation of single minds working in splendid isolation" (2020, 66). While Caruth focused on various forms of traumas, including the war-related traumas, historical traumas as well as religious traumas, Felman and Laub tackles with the psychic remnants of the original trauma in Western trauma canon, the Holocaust. As "a radical historical crisis of witnessing" and "an event without a witness" (1992, xvii), the Holocaust represents, for these two authors, the ultimate case of unrepresentability embedded in the numbing and paralyzing terror of the genocide. Coming from the same school of thought, the Yale School of literary studies, Felman examines the relationship between the act of writing and the

act of witnessing (and testifying) whereas Laub, as a practising psychoanalyst and psychiatrist, focuses on the intricacies of bearing witness to a trauma from a clinical perspective, concerning not only the psychological defenses of the traumatized subject, but also the defenses of the interviewer (the therapist).

In "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching" (1995), Shoshana Felman engages with the question of testimony and what testimony and its study from a pedagogical axis may teach those interested in the study of trauma, especially concerning the "interactions between the clinical and the historical, between the literary and the pedagogical" (13). Identifying testimony as a discursive practice that bear witness to the violent memories of past traumatic events, Felman takes, similar to that of Caruth, a psychoanalytic approach to the task of holding oneself accountable to the 'truth' of the event, and how to understand, write, and teach about crisis. Although she theorizes about the (im)possibilities of bearing witness to the memories of the Holocaust, influenced by the psychoanalytic theorizing about the unconscious dynamics of repression, acting out, and resymbolization, Felman introduces us with the power of art, and frankly any symbolizing, communicative project, which is capable of bearing witness to the unsayable and linguistically (at least to the limit of the Symbolic's confines) unspeakable 'truth' of trauma. Possibly it is due to this power of art and the fact that its products permeate much of our (sub)cultures that queer communities have relied a lot on the testimonial representation of many art forms and artistic products, much akin to the way I rely heavily on the informative and speculative power of movies and other art forms in this project.

In his two essays, "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening", and "An Event without a Witness: Truth, Testimony, and Survival", Laub examines the puzzling phenomena of not being able to convey and witness the reality of what he calls massive psychic trauma to the extent one wishes to accomplish. "The victim's narrative– ", writes Laub, "the very process of bearing witness to massive trauma, does indeed begin with someone who testifies to an absence, to an event that has not yet come into existence, in spite of the overwhelming and compelling nature of the reality of its occurrence" (1992, 57). At this point, it may be argued that Laub's claim (also Caruth's and Felman's) that there is an absence (and a departure) in the traumatized subject's narrative, one that has not been experienced and registered in the mind of the listener, contradicts the survivors' experiences of how stubbornly and crushingly the trauma is present in every moment of their waking and dreaming lives. However, Laub's goal is not to delegitimize the intolerable suffering of the survivors [63]. It is to demonstrate how silence and avoidance may come into the

[63] In a collaborated article, Laub and Auerhahn (2017) conceptualizes a view of trauma that they describe as an event that "overwhelms and defeats our capacity to organize [the knowledge of it]" as well as creating

picture, especially when the pain inflicted by trauma and the memories associated are too intense to withstand. According to Laub, a therapist or any listener intertwined in a mutual recognition of shared and (not-explicitly shared) knowledge of trauma, should rise to the task of meeting "the gaping, vertiginous black hole of the experience of the trauma" (1992, 40).

In another piece (2005), Laub introduces a complex case of "clinical collusion" between a woman whose father's sudden draft to World War II caused immense psychological problems in her childhood, an experienced psychoanalyst who himself was a refugee running from the Holocaust, but couldn't figure out how to help the distressed woman, and a supervisor who had not thought about the role of the shared history between the patient and the therapist. Through this case, Laub aims to exemplify a therapeutic case of "stalemate" in which the analyst, the patient, and the supervisor all fail to listen and comprehend one another analytically, underscoring how massive psychic traumas, in this case, an historical and societal trauma, leads to "empathic withdrawal" in the analytic field (Wilson and Lindy 1994, 16 as cited in Laub 2005). Laub explains this perplexing phenomenon through the concepts of "death instinct derivatives" and what he calls "the cessation of the inner dialogue with the internalized good objects" (307). Initially, Laub defines massive psychic trauma in terms of object-relational thinking, in that it is defined as "a deadly assault, both on the external and the internal 'other', the 'thou' of every dialogic relationship" (315).

Throughout the article, Laub explicitly states that massive psychic trauma results in the intensified manifestations of death instinct derivatives due to "the traumatic loss of the (internal) good object[s] and the libidinal ties to [them]" (316). Particularly, his statement that the loss of the good internal object might occur at any age strengthens my argument that some of the ideas and concepts in attachment-related, early relational psychoanalytical theories can also be translated into the later stages of one's life span and also be considered within a more complex structure of a more prolonged, systemic reformulation. Turning to Green's reflections on the much-feared disappearance of the bad object, Laub wrote that "confronted with

---

difficulties in metabolizing the negative affects emanating from the trauma, hence they present eight different forms of knowing: (i) Not Knowing, (ii) Fugue States, (iii) Fragments, (iv) Transference Phenomena, (v) Overpowering Narratives, (vi) Life Themes, (vii) Witnessed Narratives, and (viii) Metaphors. When examined closely, it can be seen that none of these forms of knowing and not-knowing are pathologizing per se, instead they refer to some sort of malfunction in the way we process post-traumatic information and affect, which is not said to be morally wrong or inferior. Of great concern among these eight forms of knowing and not- knowing is particularly the utilization of "metaphors" and imagery to organize both internal and external experiences within the confines of the traumatic scene. I believe these concepts are useful to think about how queer public cultures exhibit these forms of "not/knowing" in a collective, organized fashion. Furthermore, I would like to consider how Laub and Auerhahn's view on therapy "reinstating the relationship between event, memory, and personality" (41) may apply to the cases in which there is no single, massive traumatizing event, but rather multiple, micro-traumatizing events of systemic, insidious nature as in queer* trauma.

the horrors of emptiness (objectlessness), the most intolerable of states, the victim feels compelled to maintain the relation with the bad 'internal' object at all costs" (Green 1996 as cited in Laub 2005, 311).

This idea here compels me to think about the ways in which Queers* experience high levels of internalized homophobia in general. If this line of thinking is theoretically and practically realistic, it may explain the internal mechanisms of how some Queers* unconsciously internalize much of LGBTQ+phobic attitudes, and behaviors experienced throughout their lives. This line of thinking also stipulates my interest in how the cisheteronormative society relates to its bad 'internal' objects in general, possibly including any marginalized group or identity that is collectively abjected through various strategies in order to maintain the cishet society's 'morally superior', normative identity. In this respect, Butler's theory on "heterosexual melancholia" and "refused identifications" (1997), I argue, is fertile loci of queer theoretical and conceptual tools to implement into this psychosocial analysis of a pathological society (more on this in the latter chapters).

Towards the end of the paper, Laub identifies four mechanisms that are connected and 'triggered' by the death instinct derivates, which originate from the loss of the internal object and the necessary ties to the object: (i) traumatic experience shattering the ego boundary and the 'unleashing' of the destructive forces, (ii) the destruction of the internal other, (iii) the negative narcissism, and (iv) the identification with the internal world of the perpetrator (2005, 321). This formulation in particular, with unique references to a spatial reconceptualization of the relational matrix in which any connection is better than no connection, is extremely thought-provoking for this project, as it will be clearer in Chapter VI where I will engage with Berlant's concept of "cruel optimism", and how this concept ties effectively with the way Queers* and queer public cultures may remain attached to the hegemonic systems of oppression but also desire to reorganize these destructive relations in the field, in that via alternative, collective attempts at 'healthy' relibidinization.

Following Laub's argument that the analytic process in the case of traumatized individuals may become an unpredicted, precarious scene of reenactments where the therapeutic setting no longer contains the necessary level of safety for empathic, mutual recognition, I wish to entertain the question of whether queer* individuals in Turkey can work through their collective traumas of systemic discrimination and societal abjection when there are no willing, good-intentioned parties, in reality, wishing to work through their injurious pasts. Can it be the case that one of the most readily available reactions to Queer* individuals in Turkey remains to be the internalization of the bad (socio-cultural) objects in the face of not-recognition, even

if this recognition is less than ideal or self- destructive?

3.7 Counter-Arguments Against the 'Classical' Theories

In contrast to these 'classical' trauma theories, coming mostly from the scholars of literary and cultural studies in the 1990s and the early 2000s, there have always been alternative, competing theories of trauma, which have criticized both the psychological focus (and 'obsession') over the 'inescapability' of trauma's vortex of reenactments, and the multidisciplinary obsession with the Holocaust trauma. As one of the leading historians in trauma literature, Leys wrote the now seminal book *Trauma: A Genealogy* (2000) in which she traces different theoretical and clinical approaches to trauma starting from the early conceptualizations of hysteria and its relation to traumatic symptomology to more sociohistorical, devastating events such as the World Wars, the Holocaust, and the Vietnam War. Leys contends that she identified two reigning strands in the psychoanalytic literature of trauma studies; (i) the mimetic theory, and (ii) the anti- mimetic theory. The mimetic theory is said to propound the view that, because the traumatizing experience is so unbearable and destructive that the subject's perceptual and cognitive resources cannot survive the extreme injury, resulting in a shattered self and an altered state of mind, much like a hypnotic state of consciousness or a "trance state". According to mimetic theory, Leys presents, the traumatized individual is speculated to be unable to recall the traumatogenic event due to this peculiar unfolding of the events and is fated to act out or imitate the remnants of the traumatic scene (2000, 36). On the other hand, while the anti-mimetic theory also relies on the concept of imitation, it suggests that the subject, despite the sheer shock of the traumatic experience, can recall the traumatogenic event with optimal guidance since the subject is said to be capable of reflecting on the trauma.

While Leys' book does not set itself apart from the rest of the historical, theoretical readings that relied on psychoanalytic origins of trauma studies, one of the biggest contributions of her work is her unique, Foucauldian analysis of the tensions between the two sides of the trauma 'debate', and the detailed analysis on Freud's oeuvre. Regarding Freud's contradictory views on the origins of trauma, Leys wrote that Freud simultaneously believed that, on the one hand, the victim can remember the traumatic experience as it actually happened, on the other hand, is also highly prone to forgetting it or even being prone to suggestibility and creation of false memories under specific circumstances (299-300). Her Foucauldian lenses on the "progress-

through-time" narrative of the clinical sciences enables her to discern a vast area of theoretical and practical contention regarding the question of "knowability" of trauma, and the 'best' approaches towards viable therapy – a dispute that has not been resolved since the time of Freud.

Although Leys argues that her genealogy of trauma does not take sides while tracing different psychoanalytic approaches to trauma, it seems that she is more critical of the anti-mimetic approach of C. Caruth and B. van der Kolk. In regards to the trauma theories of the anti-mimetic theoreticians such as Caruth, Felman, and van der Kolk, holds Leys, it is clear that trauma is advanced as a non-representable and non-knowable phenomenon, one that raises the problem of the "unlocatability of traumatic experience" (296). In my readings of these literatures for this project, I do not agree with Leys that Caruth, Felman, and other so-called "anti-mimetic" theorists believe that trauma is unlocatable, and I also do not agree with Leys that these authors are undermining trauma's devastating effects and its real, historical, and social power. I have come to the impression that Leys' criticism of the anti-mimetic theorists stems from their use of oblique, literary language and the lack of engagement with historical, socio-political aspects of the 'real' traumas as well as these theories' universalizing tones on intergenerational traumas [64]. In the same way, Leys' genealogy does not venture into more contemporary and other pertinent schools of psychoanalytic and psychodynamic thought and clinical practice such as those of the object-relationists or the post-structural theorists, nor does she engage with sociological or anthropological theories on psychic, collective trauma. However, Susannah Radstone (2007) also criticizes the universalizing effects of situating trauma as a symbolic cut in the foundational trajectories of subjectivity. Hence, while she agreed that "language and representation emerge from and bear the mark of that primary break or separation constitutive of subjectivity", she also added that, "to align this break with trauma would constitute, in my view at least, a histrionic maneuver resulting in the pathologization of all life lived through language and representation – of all life, that is beyond very infancy" (12-13). In the next chapter, I will be engaging with the sociological theories of cultural and historical trauma that will remedy such a reductive model of thinking trauma solely as a case of constitutive psychic injury (without disregarding how the early ramifications

[64] Although a larger portion of trauma scholars have been adamant in documenting the intergenerational effects of a transmissible traumatic event such as the Holocaust, some scholars, like LaCapra, argued against the popular reflex towards treating the phenomenon of the "psychic leakage" between the patients and the therapists in the therapy room as a universal, all-applying phenomenon that extends beyond the mechanisms of the clinic. While LaCapra was not against the idea that some historical and social traumas may be similar to one another in terms of their "problems of traumatization, severe oppression, a divided heritage, the question of a founding trauma, the forging of identities in the present" (LaCapra 2001, 174 as cited in Ward 2015), he also cautions against generating 'all-encompassing' victimhood-claims which may 'unknowingly' lead to an appropriation and 'lessening' of the actual lived experience of the trauma survivors.

of dealing or not dealing effectively with these losses or negative affects may lead to individual and/or collective mode of projective identification or other psychosocial modes of marginalization or abjection). In relation to these examinations, I will be engaging with the questions of how and when certain groups start to understand their collective injuries as social trauma, and why sometimes "trauma process" may result in non-representation in the political sphere, exacerbating the present state of psychological 'damage' within certain groups whose suffering are refused to be recognized, witnessed, and apologized for with actual reparations and concrete acts of justice.

4. "BY THREE THEY COME": PSYCHOSOCIAL THEORIES ON VIOLENCE, TRAUMA, AND MEMORY

It is not uncommon for the idiolects of the clinic seep into the vernacular of everyday life and popular culture [65] The culture industry and its long-established crusaders, worldwide web, online daily newspapers, and social media, are now populated with blog entries, think pieces, and reaction posts on "therapy-speak" (Morgan 2023). Our daily conversations have been permeated with the terminologies of the clinic: "We discuss attachment styles like the weather. We joke about our coping mechanisms. We project, or are projected on to. We shun 'toxic' people. We catastrophise and ruminate. We diagnose, or are diagnosed: OCD, depression, anxiety, ADHD, narcissism. We make, break or struggle to 'hold' boundaries. We practice self-care. We know how to stop gaslighting. We're tuned into emotional labor. We're triggered. We're processing our trauma. We're doing the work", writes Eleanor Morgan on her short piece in the Guardian (2023). Of course, these observations are hardly new. In their preface to their pioneering book, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood* (2009), Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman states that "The trauma has become a major signifier of our age. It is our normal means of relating present suffering to past violence" (xi). Although it has now been normalized to invoke the term 'trauma' when one refers to almost any distressing or potentially 'triggering' event in the ordinary flow of their everyday lives, it is also

[65] "By three they come, by three thy way opens" is a summoning chant that is uttered by an occultist of Lilith in the popular game series *Diablo IV*. In the game's lore, notoriously known as the daughter of the Lord of Hatred, Lilith not only symbolizes the first resistance against the eternal war between the High Heavens and the Burning Hells – the first attempt to envisage an alternative way of being and living in the universe, but she is also the first 'carnal sinner' whose unforbidden erotic and romantic attachment/plans to lure the angel, Inarius, into the 'unforgivable' act of copulating. By transgressing all the mandates of both realms, Lilith epitomizes the first feminine force of power that takes an insurgent stance against the singular 'truth' of how to live. In the 'trailer' to the game, these incantational words of the occultist result in a bloody summoning of the 'First Mother'. As I will argue in this chapter, the concepts and actual realities of violence, trauma, and memory together culminate in a more encompassing understanding of the 'psychosocial', in that they illustrate how one cannot be studied efficiently without attending to the ways all three are complexly implicated in the spatio- temporal resolution of the traumatic sequalae and the environmental reactions to it. As a queer child who had found solace in the horror-fantasy world of Diablo, where one's gender or sexuality did not translate to normalized acts of homophobic bias, aggression, and violence, it seems only felicitous to have personally experienced that the trauma studies literature in cultural studies have enabled me to find a name for my past traumatic experiences, and equip me (and quite possibly, others like me) with similar, empowering intellectual tools and concepts to better understand our suffering and our distinct responses to them.

a term of creating tumult, “to utter the word ‘trauma’, Luckhurst stated, “is to invite controversy, it is a name for always contested ground” (2010, 192). As we will probably keep on debating for many years ahead whether we still live in a “trauma culture” (Kaplan 2005) or we have come to experience something ‘brand new’ in a time of "cannibal capitalism" (Fraser 2022), one clear exigency is to attend to the question of how to relate, attach, and resist a carefully manufactured system that systematically exposes us to potentially traumatizing events.

With the recognition that the social dimensions of trauma have always occupied a large portion of the cultural and political interests beyond the four-walled space of a therapy room, Fassin and Rechtman states that “[Trauma] concerns both individual and communities, since the boundary between the two is not always clear, particularly when considering the experience of individuals subjected to collective violence” (15). In these words, one encounters the apprehension of the inextricability of the lived experiences of psychological trauma from their social-cultural context, in which particular groups of people and waves of social trends mediate the existing modes of making sense trauma, and even whether a claim for traumatic injury can be invoked in the first place. Despite the tensions between individual psyches, structural hegemonic forms of framing ‘trauma’, and the social-cultural reception of these rather ‘hostile’ encounters, Fassin and Rechtman points to the non-extractability of the personal from the collective as such:

> “... [I]n psychoanalysis the analogy between what is happening at the collective level and what is going on at the individual level establishes a connection between the culture and the psyche, a connection which today lies at the heart of the politics of trauma; the collective event supplies the substance of the trauma which will be articulated in individual experiences in return, individual suffering bears witness to the traumatic aspects of the collective drama” (2009, 18).

Although it is indisputable that "trauma talk" has long saturated our everyday conversations and relationships with each other, perhaps more strongly ever since the grassroots protests against the Vietnam War and the mass women’s marches against gender violence in the United States and Europe, it has only recently become (roughly in the last two decades of the late-capitalist, neoliberal reign of Western imperialism) a driving force of self-governing and self-monitoring psychological tools that has been conceived as individuals’ responsibility rather than being a matter of ensuring citizen’s rights to enjoy ‘healthy’ psychological well-being and general welfare.

Despite many historical victories of counter-hegemonic political resistance (i.e. mass marches against the Afghan and Iraq war, social movements like #OccupytheWall-Street, #BlackLivesMatter, #Metoo), the world is still crippled with ever- growing currents of regional genocidal violence xenophobia, neoconservative extremism, pervasive misogyny, state-led anti-queer sentiments, and frenzied capitalist lust for further exploitation of the dispossessed. In the midst of worldwide terrorist attacks, mass school shootings, mass murders in queer nightlife spaces, and increasing femicide, our daily presence is stunned by a vast, dazzling array of traumas. Cognizant of this state of public desensitization, governments invite us to the pandemonium of commercialized self-care industry, and much like a readily available, over-the-counter remedy for any possible insurgent social movement or resistance, we digest the 'blue pill' of the white neoliberal capitalism: We are urged to take better care of ourselves, to attend more carefully to our material, consumerist needs of self-spoil. We are told to take a day off to visit the spa, hit the beauty salon and spoil ourselves with an extravaganza of polish nail or relax in a day of binge-watching and clubbing with bros – whichever meticulously curated sex-binary scenario suits to your liking. This, the system propounds, will 'cure' what is ailing us no matter how material and real our traumatizing experiences and psychological problems are. This imagery depiction, I hope, may illustrate the current situation of our psychological and relational capacities being snarled and diminished by the hegemonic narratives of the controlling agents of power and dominance. Having been provided to a haphazardly-chosen point of the beginning of 'our' problems, we are entrapped in the imaginary of the 'empire of trauma', which is "the product of not only of scientific developments, as is commonly suggested, but also of social history" (Fassin and Rechtman 2009, 22) – a social history of specific disciplinary pasts and intellectual and political games of dominance over the popular narratives and means of representation that I presented in the previous chapter.

If one remembers the earlier chapter's recapitulation of how certain national agendas, governmental decisions, and commercial self-interests resulted in different theoretical and clinical approaches to the early studies of trauma, the social history of trauma is an explicitly historical and political process – one that soon reformed and reframed the then-knowledge systems related to injury, violence, and recovery within the 'truth' of psychological violence. This rotation towards a more intrapsychic reconceptualization of trauma transformed the commonly-shared version of psychological-social reality at the time, legitimizating one trauma model (that of the medico-psychiatric model of PTSD) over alternative historical and cultural modes of understanding what happens during and after being exposed to traumatizing violent events. This mono-disciplinary usurpation of the reins of trauma

research by psychiatry contributed to the gradual diminishment of the alternative scholar perspectives and local, folk approaches on how to understand and 'treat' trauma. This problem has been voiced multiple times by a number of eminent thinkers in the field of critical trauma studies, for instance, Luckhurst, pointing at the cross-disciplinary tensions between history, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, law, and cultural studies, writes that "the problem of trauma is that it always seems to burst the frame of local disciplinary coherences" (2010, 194). While these ideas underscore the disconnections between different systems that study trauma with the remaining question of how to study it via transdisciplinary research prospects, it also implicitly relates to the forgotten, or repressed, focus on the interplay between the individual and the collective levels of experiences when it comes to psychological trauma and its dissolution in the social-cultural-political domain.

In this chapter, I will be engaging with the intertwinements between the social (collective) and the psychological (personal/individual) components of trauma. First, I will revisit some of Freud's latest works on the individual/collective divide on trauma with an informed awareness by the ideas of Stephen Frosh's works on the subject matter. Then, starting with a brief overview of the early psychoanalytic, literary, and historical research on the Holocaust, I will move onto the 'school' of cultural trauma. After engaging with the theories of cultural and collective trauma, I will introduce the key themes and arguments of (post)memory studies, presenting how these studies inform my approach on the transdisciplinary study of queer* trauma. Overall, I wish to utilize this chapter as an additional resource that will complement the earlier chapter's theoretical engagement with psychological trauma. Aiming to show how the psychological is formed and always already implicated in the social and other macro-forces, I would like to show how our solemn state of being 'helplessly' exposed before an extremely eager-to-traumatize psychosocial system, what Fraser calls a "crisis complex", "drives us into the jaws of obliteration" (2022, xvi) by annihilating our collective potentials for creating counterpublics that will ameliorate our abilities to care for each other, especially in the lives of queer* people in Turkey. Instead of searching for a 'cure' for their traumatized selves and 'maddened' minds (Kafer 2013), the queer* subjects in this project are thought to embody alternative, queer modes of living the traumatized time (Morrigan 2017).

4.1 Freud Revisited: The Original Debate in Individual/Collective Trauma Divide

One will probably find it ironic to realize that most of the teachings and words of a prominent theorist/clinician like Freud, who is known for dedicating his entire professional life to the questions of misunderstanding, slips, and missed opportunities of childhood pressing onto one's adulthood, have been gravely misunderstood and misinterpreted under the banner of more contemporary and paradigmatically more popularized forms of psychological science and practice – one that was fertilized in the U.S. soil with the lobbying efforts of a few heteronormative American psychiatrists whose practice and theories were remarkably distant and even dissonant with the later works of Freud's career and what psychoanalytic theory was evolving into at the time. Despite the fact that much of Western culture's intellectual and pop cultural legacy has been invaded by the terms and ideas of psychoanalysis, many will not recognize that what has been accepted as the all-applying image of Freudian legacy is not that of his nuanced, original ideas, but the oversimplified or distorted versions of the early American psychiatrists whose perspectives on the mind and its intricate interactions with world were limited by a segregationist view of the multidirectional and multilayered transactions between the individual and the environment and time they live in. Here, although my goal is not to generate an inherently coherent, strong case for reimagining a psychosocial Freud – Frosh, I argue, already excels in that; however, I would like to showcase how the historical and social have always been an inevitable part of the psychoanalytical project from the beginning (with the awareness that the clinic remains very much attuned mostly to the dynamics of small-scale interpersonal relationships), and of the psychosocial reality that I've taken to examine in this project.

On close inspection to the theoretical trajectory of Freud's works on trauma, one will see that the earlier focus on the individualized, intrapsychic experiences of war trauma soon evolved into larger and more baffling questions of how traumatic experiences may affect and injure larger groups of people, communities, and even nations. Though it is mostly looked down upon for taking a too radical stance on what he calls the 'original trauma' in *Totem and Taboo* (1919) – the alleged trauma of the murder of the primal father (for a more detailed analysis, see İpekçi 2018). *Totem and Taboo* remains one of the earliest works of Freud's in which he presents his hypothetical argument that many religious and cultural beliefs and practices of our societies are the historical accumulation of individual neurotic symptomatology of particular power-, magic-, and charisma- yielding people and groups that had

the authority to reorganize the society according to their desires. By this idea, he does not just refer to an imagined, shared history of Euro-American societies, but instead to a collectively-repressed psychological trauma of patricide and inner-group conflict based on struggle for autonomy and relational resources of forming kinship relations. Even though the state of his project in *Totem and Taboo* and the later works is notoriously hypothetical in terms of the evidence presented for a strong case-building, they may be the first examples of early psychosocial theorizing. In the introduction to *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (Freud, 1921 in Gay, 1995), Freud writes:

> "The contrast between individual psychology and social or group psychology, which at a first glance may seem to be full of significance loses a great deal of its sharpness when it is examined more closely. It is true that individual psychology is concerned with the individual man and explores the paths by which he seeks to find satisfaction for his instinctual impulses; but only rarely and under certain exceptional conditions is individual psychology in a position to disregard the relations is invariably involved, as a model, as an object, as a helper, as an opponent; and so from the very first individual psychology, in this extended but entirely justifiable sense of the words, is at the same time social psychology as well" (626).

Conjuring the vision of an 'unconventional' reimagining of Freud and his legacy, Stephen Frosh argues that this may allow us to "establish Freud a psychosocial thinker" (2022, 326), which is further corroborated by Freud's own words on the possibility that one can consider all the relations that interest psychoanalytic inquiry are also matters of social reality and social research (Freud 1921, 69 as cited in Frosh 2022, 327). Although Frosh's reinterpretation of Freudian psychoanalytic literature is laudable in the sense that he excels in finding the tiniest bits in Freud's writings that demonstrates how the social and the cultural had always been a fundamental part of his larger project, it also needs to be realized that, at least until the phase starting with *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) and the subsequent psycho [66]social works (with the growing recognition of the psychological effects of human-generated social catastrophes), Freud's focus on the 'group' is primarily tied to the unit of the family (Freud in Gay, 628-632). Yet, this is far from the current

[66]I wish to maintain the hyphen for once as I refer to the compound term here in the historical context of its emergence. As I argue that the theoretical and scholarly gap between the psychological and the social have been brought into our attention as of recent, I believe that it is important to differentiate between the current state of conducting psychosocial research from its early stage in which the social, although it was considered as a contributing factor, remained complementary rather than being understood as an inherent part of the dual implication in each register.

state of psychosocial analysis that seeks to explore "the manner in which psychology becomes a resource for meaning-making in everyday life, and the significance this has for people's understanding of themselves and the world" (Frosh 2010, 4).

However, these early ideas are soon developed into maturity with a growing focus on the functions of the superego and how it is exploited by "the internal policing system" (Frosh 2010, 25) that serve to govern individual tendencies or attempts that run counter to the political self-interests of the ruling classes or groups that have the control and the mastery over the intra-organization of the systems and the hegemonic grasp of the socio- cultural norms [67] and expectations of the dominant groups. Certainly, the foundational moment in the beginning of this line of thinking was the Freudian theorization of the Oedipal triangulation, through which he postulated one of the earliest contemplations on the process of social and cultural dynamics being implicated on the 'prognosis' of individual neuroses. Whereas the concepts of collective and individual traumas were non- existent back then, one can easily discern the connection between the Freud's theories on the emergence of feelings of shame, guilt, and the subsequent affective-cognitive after- effects, and the psychological outcomes of the collectively- binding restrictions, rules, and taboos exerted by the society and the controlling, authoritarian others in power. Here one needs to differentiate between two different ways of understanding the 'natural' emergence of collective trauma from the 'enforced' emergence of new traumatizing social realities, in that, in the first instance, we discuss the Freudian idea of a collective experiencing together a common, symbolically-relevant important event whereas the latter is a case of a hegemonic class or group imposing onto the system their psychopathologies in a way that it reorganizes the structure according to their idiosyncratic desires and against the psychological welfare of others.

In *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), Freud takes his analysis of the triadic relationships of the social, the cultural, and the psychological, to even further heights. He examines the alleged historical integration of the story of the Moses (not the Moses of the people of Israel, but a hypothetical Egyptian noble) into the originating story of the Israelites. At first, it may seem like an overly ambitious social-historical analysis of the convergence of two historical narratives of the two actual Moses with the same name, this work illustrates Freud's eagerness to apply his key concepts and ideas to the emergence and socio-political relations of certain groups in history.

---

[67] When I speak of norms, I implicitly make a theoretical distinction between norms and the processes of normalization in order to challenge the 'naturalized' status-quo of the hegemonic norms in any symbolic system. Following Spade and Willse (2015), I pay attention not only to ways in which certain figures, symbols, ideas, or categories are violently enforced onto the discourses in every institutional dimension of our social lives, but also to the way these norms, in time, become internalized as self-regulatory and self- monitory systems of "soft" violence and continue to be upheld and enlivened even by the anti-norm presenting individuals and minds (554).

Therefore, as he examines the traumatic histories of the people of the Moses or Yahweh, he directly applies the theory of trauma post-railway crash to the mass, collective trauma in this instance. In this context, he states:

> "As an afterthought we observe that in spite of the fundamental difference in the two cases, the problem of the traumatic neurosis and that of Jewish Monotheism there is a correspondence in one point. It is the feature which one might term latency. There are the best grounds for thinking that in the history of the Jewish religion there is a long period after the breaking away from the Moses religion during which no trace is to be found of the monotheistic idea, the condemnation of ceremonial and the emphasis on the ethical side." (Freud 1939, 109-110)

It is easy to realize the similarities between the story concocted here and the story of the original sin of patricide in *Totem and Taboo*: they both narrate imagined, yet plausible (but impossible to generalize from), stories of being caught up in group-level mass violence and injury; they are both attempts to think through the psychoanalytical concepts of the clinic outside the parental dynamics or the duo of the therapist-client; they are both attempts to unravel the social in the personally psychological and vice versa (Freud's own Oedipal problems with his father and the later fatherly figures and colleagues and the historical story of his people, the traumatization of the Jewish people). It is in this juncture that Caruth rereads *Moses and Monotheism* and comes up with her denouncement that, based on the interconnectedness of cultural and historical traumas that link different societies, trauma may be a potential affective and psychological source that will facilitate mutual recognition (Caruth 1996). In this light, "History, like trauma", writes Caruth, "is never simply one's own that history is precisely the way we are implicated in each other's traumas" (1996, 24).

My close engagement with Freud's own writings and the original ideas of Cathy Caruth and Stephen Frosh are not haphazardly decided; rather, as creative rereadings of Freud's theories on the unconscious forgetting of the collective trauma and the next generations' inevitable postmemorial psychic work on witnessing and re-enacting the echoes of the 'scene' of the trauma, these figures' work inform my critical approach on queer* trauma. Frosh's holistic reflections on the transferential ways traumas are experienced by individuals and masses, and Caruth's critical insight on non-referentiality of the affective commonalities of psychological traumas allow me to experiment with the ideas that my interlocutors' experiences of queer* trauma, with the particularities of their realities, may relate to the uni-

versal psychosocial dynamics and patterns experienced by others. In this dissertation, Freud's early anthropological-psychological project on the collective/individual chasm, Caruth's reimagining of an almost transhistorical quality of 'unrepresentability' and 'unspeakability' of trauma, and Frosh's focus on the way the psychological is already constituent of and implicated in the social in a reciprocally- transforming manner. Channeling on the amalgamation of these theoretical reflections on psychological and social-historical traumas, I try to mimic a Sedgwickian approach on the problem of the universal. As Fawaz characterizes some of the key queer characteristics of Sedgwick's research, Sedgwickian queer research is adamant to the realization that "people are different from each other", troubling itself with the acceptance that "we can never know in advance just how widely certain commonalities, shared experiences, or frames of reference might extend across and between individuals, communities, or perhaps even the entirety of the human race" (Fawaz 2019, 13)

4.2 Enter Social Theory: The Construction of Cultural Trauma

Thanks to the critical works of key figures in literary trauma theory such as Cathy Caruth, Shoshana Felman, and Dori Laub, it was established that traumatic events left indelible marks in the psyches of individuals whose relations with their self and the social others go through sudden changes until its aftereffects have been worked through. However, as the last quarter of the 20th century drew close to its end, the world has already suffered from two World Wars, Vietnam war, the Holocaust, the Armenian and the Rwandan Genocides, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the Yugoslav wars, terrorists attacks in the West (9/11 and the Twin Towers), American invasion of Iraq, Syrian Civil war, Arab Spring, and so many more collective atrocities at macro level. Due to these collective experiences of specific groups and nations, there emerged a theoretical need to understand trauma in a way that is different than the popularized, psychoanalytic and literary perspective. Dissatisfied with the 'inadequacy' of the proto-model of trauma theory (that of the so-called Yale School), a large number of sociologists, historians, social psychologists, and political scientists came forth and started to apply the basic tenets of psychological trauma to the entity of the group, the community, and the nation. Although Freud and Caruth (her reading of Freud's later texts) did write about the ways trauma may affect large groups of people in a similar manner that it ails individuals, it was the emergence of a new research paradigm that shifted the previous intraindividual focus of the trauma theory.

While contemporary literary studies, art criticism, feminist theory, and queer studies have engaged with the Freudian heritage of the psychological trauma and the interconnections between the individual's capacities to symbolize and infer meanings, and the society's influence on the way these interpretations and construals are enabled and facilitated, some schools of thought and theorists have not received these legacies of thinking and studying about trauma with much positive attitude. Critical about the issue of the 'direct' translatability of psychoanalytic concepts and theories into the collective/social level, and Freud's 'extreme' transhistorical and speculative ways of theorizing about psychosocial realities, a group of sociologists felt the necessity to invent alternative, more 'empirical', ways of researching traumatized groups and societies. Not satisfied with the 'cunning' irrefutable nature of psychoanalytical theorization and its conventional modes of analysis that do not live up to the Popperian, positivist criteria of experimentation and falsifiability (Frosh, 39), the cultural theory paradigm came into existence around the names of Jeffrey Alexander, Neil Smelser, Bernhard Giesen, Ron Eyerman, and Piotr Sztompka – a group of cultural and political sociologists who took the task of experimenting with Freudian ideas and reframing them within a social constructivist perspective, questioning whether the question of collective suffering and the historical and between-group members transmission of trauma is applicable to the study of societal and cultural phenomena.

In spite of the popular criticism of the psychoanalytically-oriented trauma theorists and the other so-called 'empirical' psychological researchers for their excessive focus on the intrapsychic dynamics of traumatology, I would argue that, though there is still much space to reflected upon, most of the key psychoanalytic trauma theories are attentive to the socio-cultural and political dimensions of trauma and how it manifests in collectivities and groups. For instance, differentiating the psychological concept of 'stress' experienced by individuals from the cultural-level definition of trauma, deVries, writes that "trauma , in contrast to stress, profoundly alters the basic structure not just of the individual, but of the cultural system as a whole" (2007, 401). This line of thinking that aims to connect individual psychological trauma to the question of collective trauma crystallize in the concept of social trauma [68], which tend to take on different meanings and characteristics depending on the discipline or tradition the researcher is writing from. However, I would stress that this transitory

[68] One distinct literature on social trauma comes from the studies of trauma by Andreas Hamburger, who reconceptualizes what he calls 'social trauma' as a clinical and sociopsychological category that (i) "defines a group of posttraumatic disorders caused by organized societal violence or genocide where a social group is the target of planned persecution and therefore not only the individual but also its social environment is afflicted. It also refers to (ii) "the shadowing of the original trauma on long-term social processes, be it on the family, group, or inter-group level" (2021, 3). On the other hand, some theorists of the cultural trauma paradigm describe social trauma (Sciortino and Eyerman 2020) as "the main tenet of the CTP is that social trauma is the outcome of a process of signification and narration" (7). But, for Alexander, a social crisis is not enough for the event to "emerge at the level of the collectivity", in that "social crises must become cultural processes", meaning that he doesn't actually equate the two terms. (Alexander 2012, 10).

concept mainly emanates from the early works of psychoanalytically-oriented therapists and researchers whose studies on societal traumatic events (punctual events or continuous traumatic occurrences) such as the Holocaust and the intergenerational trauma that ensued (Caruth 1992; Felman and Laub 1991; Laub and Hamburger 2017), political trauma suffered by women in the hands of all- controlling, patriarchal governments and violent male family members (Herman 1992). Extending on the idea that there are similar dynamics through which traumatized groups and nations experience the temporality-twisting mechanisms of traumatic experiences, Schwab writes;

> "Traumatic experiences are often sealed off from communal communication and exchange; related conflicts thus remain hidden and unresolved. In such cases, the mourning, the working-through, and redress necessary for communal healing remain incomplete, if not blocked entirely. This psychopolitical dynamic enhances the danger of historical repetition." (32).

On that note, first I would like to underline the necessity of accounting for the legacies of the historical and cultural studies of the Holocaust, which is the "starting point for contemporary manifestation of collective trauma in the public arena" (Fassin and Rechtman 2009; 17), and then I would like to state the necessity of not disregarding the influence of the pioneering critical theory works on the representability of the Holocaust as a collective trauma (Adorno 1951) and the earlier studies by Halbwachs on collective memory (1925). As Luckhurst iterates, "There is a strong counter-tradition in sociology that objects to modelling societies on the individual psyche: starting with Maurice Halbwachs, and continued with work by Paul Connerton and Jeffrey Alexander, collective memory is regarded as a set of changing social practices rather than exteriorizations of psychic structures. (2008, 10). Usually, this counter- psychoanalytical paradigmatic change (cultural trauma theory) on the study of trauma is narrated as a reactionary collective research project that crystallized on the efforts of the group of sociologists listed before. But there were a number of earlier theorists and researchers, who had presented alternative models of studying the collective effects of psychological trauma before the cultural trauma school.

Ranging from the psychoanalytical works of Erik Erikson, who engaged with the psychosocial co-construction of particular national psychological tendencies, favored personality traits, and collective experiencing of mass violence and trauma (1950), to the more historical analyses of collective trauma by an earlier sociologist named

Kai Erikson, the cultural trauma theory paradigm is difficult to be situated within one school of thought or even a discipline. In the edited volume by Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (1995), Erikson, in his piece "Notes on Trauma and Community" (writing on the Buffalo Creek catastrophe, introduced the idea that just as an individual is affected by a traumatizing event, a community could also suffer from events that damage their collective hold and social harmony (185). Distinguishing between individual trauma and collective trauma, he stated that while individual trauma was "a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively..." whereas by collective trauma (also sometimes called 'communal trauma') he referred to "a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality (187).

Following in the steps of this earlier attempts, the sociologist Arthur G. Neal formulated what he calls 'national trauma', through which he examines the case of national trauma experienced by American within the scope of certain historical, national traumas such as Pearl Harbor, 9/11 terrorist attacks, etc. Arguing that national traumas are distinct from personal/individual traumas in a way that the first is shared with others and has politically-uniting or dividing consequences, Neal believes that a national trauma is different from the case of being traumatized after a sexual assault or living with AIDS:

> "A rape victim or a person diagnosed as having the AIDS virus experiences some degree of stigma and is thrown back on his or her own resources. The trauma of the victim is an individualized experience that occurs within a context of otherwise normal and happy people. The victim runs the risk of being rejected, developing a sense of estrangement from others, and losing the support of significant others. In contrast, a national trauma is shared collectively and frequently has a cohesive effect as individuals gather in small and intimate groups to reflect on the tragedy and its consequences." (2005, 16)

This argumentation fails to account the complex ways in which the social and cultural dynamics of stigmatization of HIV/AIDS is inherently embedded in the collective forces of abjection and political vilification of certain groups of citizens (queers, sex workers, and other marginalized and vulnerable populations) as Crimp (1996) and Cvetkovich clearly elucidates for us (more on this in the next chapter), or the fact that the way legal system may enable the probable occurrences of rape incidents and how they are treated or even naturalized in the public sphere. While this perspective does consider the psychological and social effects of being estranged from

the collective as a result of these violences, it does not go further into questioning what happens to the public and the collective when the presumably 'cohesiveness-promoting' traumas come to work as constant means of ostracizing and delegitimizing the human rights of selected groups and individuals [69] One strength of this concept is its recognition of how political factors are built upon the precipice of a traumatic betrayal in the liberal account of the state, in which "both state and subject pretend to a security, a wholeness and closure that is not possible. From this point of view, an event can be described as traumatic if it reveals this pretense. It is experienced as a betrayal." (Edkins 2013, 11)

As it must have become apparent by now, in this chapter I do not follow a historical trajectory of the different theoretical perspectives, instead I focus on the distinct ways in which alternative knowledge systems of trauma emerged almost simultaneously. Since the study of trauma rapidly burgeons into multiple research traditions, it becomes 'impossible' to form a temporally consistent narrative of the concept's study in separate disciplines and subfields. For this reason, here I track the theoretical and/or disciplinary tensions and reactions to the other existing and previous models of trauma research, and how different conceptualizations of trauma talk to each other, how they connect, build upon, or challenge one another. Doing so, I will refer back to the way these discussions inform my perspective on queer* trauma and how I take a critical stance both on the conventional psychoanalytical theories of trauma and the cultural trauma school's rigid focus on the 'social constructedness' of trauma, arguing that the embodied realities of cognitively and unconsciously processing psychologically-alerting, potentially traumatic stimuli need to be accounted for their biopsychosocial effects. I firmly hold the view that the majority of the traumatic symptomology are socially co-constructed within a specific historical context with the social meanings attributed to the intrapsychic and social modes of expressing distress and anxiety. Regardless, I also believe that our contemporary reconceptualizations and uses of the theories of trauma should complement and even adhere to some of the 'strong' cases of evidence that shows certain biological and neural correlates and mechanisms in which trauma is experienced by the brain and the mind (see the section of 'Conclusions and Future Directions' for a more detailed discussion on the matter, McFarlane and van der Kolk 1996/2007).

---

[69] From a queer negativity perspective exemplified by Edelman, these abjected groups and people, despite their seemingly order-disrupting appearance, may always be utilized to signify the ineradicable 'nature' of the Symbolic and the inevitability of the "traumatic violence of signification whose meaning-effacing energies, released by the cut that articulates meaning, the Symbolic order constantly must exert itself to bind" (2004, 106). Theorized from a Lacanian perspective, the concept of sinthomosexuals or any other name for the abjected source of alternative resignification, is, according to Edelman, is also capable of demonstrating the inefficacy of the Symbolic as "it can never master for meaning now or in the 'future" (106). This is one of the points of psychic condensation that the cishet majority cannot deal with effectively, causing a crisis of meaning and an "anxiety of regulation" (Corbett 2009).

In *Psycho-social Explorations of Trauma, Exclusion and Violence: Un-housed Minds and Inhospitable Environments* (2022), Scanlon and Adlom examines the psychosocial arrangements of our individual, interpersonal, and communal lives, coming to the conclusion that "there are essentially, no problems or challenges of health and social care or the wider social systems within which these problems are situated, that are not bound up, like a colossal Gordian knot, in these psycho-social dynamics associated with the withholding, the offering, the receiving or the rejection of a care or concern for both our near and more distant neighbors" (2022, 48). Even though the cultural trauma theory 'paradigm', if one may call it considering how widely and exorbitantly it is used in many intersectional research projects, is not a monolithic or a unitary project in its latest form, it is known to have emerged as a result of a collaborative research project of Alexander and Eyerman at Yale's the Center Sociology in a workshop held in 2008. Notwithstanding their criticisms on alternative approaches, the cultural trauma theorists make abundant use of key psychoanalytical processes (without calling them with their actual names) and literary trauma studies' focus on symbolization; however, unlike them, their retake is almost a protest against the 'unspeakability' of the trauma and the 'ambiguous' ways traumatic memories haunt our minds. Instead, they focus on more agency-oriented concepts of cultural and political reflection, interpretation, mediation, reconstruction, and instrumental discourse implementation. In the remaining of this subsection, I will be closely engaging with the some of these key concepts and premises of the 'cultural trauma theory' in relation to psychological trauma [70]

With the insight of not all traumatizing events are experienced as inherently traumatic injuries (an idea that is already a common understanding in contemporary psychoanalytic and psychological research on trauma), the above-mentioned groups of sociologists 'daringly' argued that no event in itself should be called traumatic, instead, they argued, an event became to be considered and experienced as trauma only if it has been constructed as such by the members of the group and the cultural narratives. In their seminal work, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (2004), which may be said to foment the basis of what has come to be known as cultural trauma theory, one of the commonly-agreed upon consensus was that without so-

[70] According to Demertzis (2020), psychological/clinical and cultural traumas share certain similarities and differences in terms of their epistemological pasts and working dynamics. In *The Political Sociology of Emotions: Essays on Trauma and Ressentiment* (2020), he writes that "(a) both [clinical and cultural trauma] are belated experiences as mnemonic reconstructions of negative encounters; (b) they give birth to, and are accompanied by, negative emotions and sentiments, (c) they activate similar defense mechanisms as far as the attribution of responsibility is concerned; (d) they strongly affect individual and collective identities" (39). As for the differences, he writes that (i) "for cultural trauma, one does not have to experience the event directly or in first person and not everyone in the group should experience the event for it to be construed as traumatic afterwards, the same of course cannot be said for psychological trauma." (40). Moreover, he states that, while the mechanisms of experiencing trauma are inner-psychic mechanics of repression and other defense mechanisms, for cultural trauma, the processes are of discursive-authoritative mechanisms. Finally, he notes that while psychic traumas may not necessarily be related to actual events, in that they can be formed and structured based solely on fantasy and imagination.

cial and cultural analyses of the conflictual processes over the way the potentially traumatic, collective events are to be constructed and imbued with the implications of symbolizing collectively-felt psychological and social violence and injustice, it is difficult to ascertain whether the event holds the 'actual' level of significance it is deferred to in the eyes of the real, exposed public. In this context, Alexander, defined cultural trauma as occurrences that are felt "when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (6).

Distinguishing between what he terms 'lay trauma theory' (which entails common sense understanding on trauma, socio-political theories of Erikson's and Neal's, and psychoanalytic and literary theories of trauma) and 'cultural trauma perspective', Alexander states that it is a fallacy, coming from the naturalistic fallacy of the enlightenment thinking and the psychoanalytical approaches, to assume that an event may be traumatic inherently (13), and he goes onto state that "traumatic status is attributed to real or imagined phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but because these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity (14). Here it can be seen that despite their claims to go beyond the psychoanalytic perspective, it seems that in this formulation, the sudden injury to the psyche and the cognitive functioning (conscious or unconscious) of the individual has been replaced by another core element, that of the shared identity of the collective. Though this approach pays the necessary attention to the agencies and conscious collective choices of the collectives in designating how to imagine, symbolize, and react to the events they experience, it also falls short of noticing how the traumatizing stimuli is limited to a singular event, failing to account for both (i) the lived experiences of neurocognitive and affective autonomous responses to the events (with the question of whether these effects are to be experienced regardless of one's reactions towards identity- threats) and (ii) the structural [71] and systematic exposure to seemingly mundane but, when temporally-considered, equally if not more destructive, traumatizing events.

An alternative definition of cultural trauma is presented by Smelser, who states that it is "a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant member-

[71] The use of the term 'structural' here, and also throughout the dissertation may refer to two distinct instances of alternative usage. First of all, and more often than the other, when I invoke the term 'structural', I do so in order to refer to the cultural, historical, and political previously-formed institutions in a social system that includes not just cultural and social norms, beliefs, expectations, biases, and practices, but also, I refer to the organizational institutions of family, religion, bureaucracy, education, economy, government, and sex/gender and sexuality systems. On the other hand, this term is often used in poststructural cultural studies with a Lacanian signification, referring to a psychologically-foundational, subject-formative moments of intrapsychic traumatization when the subject's inner world is threatened and shattered by the interplays between the demands of the imaginary-symbolic and the Real.

ship group and evoking an event or situation which is (a) laden with negative affect, (b) represented as indelible, and (c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions" (Smelser 2004, 44).[72] In this dissertation, my perspective on queer* trauma is more hospitable towards this latter definition as it allows me to account for the actualities of psychological phenomena of 'negative affects' and unconscious and conscious processes of individual and group-level attribution of 'self- and structure-shattering' qualities as well as the additional layers of collective mediation, symbolic representation, and macro-level conflicts between previous norms of the system and the newly-emerging demands and dynamics. Also, the fact that Alexander's conceptualization, is not capable of attending to the conundrum of 'insidious trauma' or 'complex trauma' is evident in these words that reads: "Traumatic status is attributed to real or imagined phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity" (2012, 14). While I agree with this emphasis on the socio-cultural collective processes of representing the trauma as a harmful blow to the collective, I do not see a valid point throughout their arguments that abruptness should be a fundamental criterion in the trauma process. Hence, in this account, it remains to be answered what happens when a collective, despite their collective consensus on the fact that they feel and act 'traumatized' in comparison to their prior ways and that they need to act in order to be recognized and reimbursed for their suffering, has not been exposed to one particular mass collective or cultural trauma (Alexander seems to prefer the use of the latter concept more) but due to their continuous exposure to seemingly 'little' but 'piercing' cuts of cultural damage, they have started to resemble the popular examples of societies and groups of cultural traumatization.

Introducing the elements of collective actors (carrier groups), social performance, audience, and situation, Alexander describes a symbolic, socially-mediated process through which a potentially traumatizing event is constructed into a 'new master narrative' on the ground that the injury claims of the carrier groups (intellectuals, elites, leaders, etc) have been collectively accepted to be considered as their shared trauma (2004, 16-17). Then, he identifies four questions which a claim to trauma should provide in order to be able to represented as a new master narrative; (i) the nature of the pain (what happens to the group), (ii) the nature of the victim (what is the social hierarchal position or characteristic of the members of the group), (iii) relation to the trauma victim to the wider audience (whether the victimized

[72] In Smelser's theorization, trauma seems to connote a sudden overwhelming experience whereas stress refers to a more prolonged aggravating condition. Both concepts suffer from multiple definitions and overlap: "acute stress", " traumatic stress" (van der Kolk et al. 1996) with the definition of PTSD employing the components of both terms (31).

group is capable of producing necessary amount of affinity and similarity with the larger group), and (iv) attribution of responsibility (who is the perpetrator). (17-19). This representational process also includes religious, aesthetic, legal, linguistic, scientific arenas of institutional mediation including mass media, state bureaucracy, and stratificational hierarchies (who benefits more from the uneven distribution of material resources and social networks).

In "Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity" (2001), Eyerman examines how the trauma of slavery and its collective memory has been formulated around the claim that the historical tragedies of slavery formed the basis of a collective, unifying identity only after the Civil War period, which following the trajectory of what is called 'the cultural trauma process'. Using the case of the formation of African American identity in the post-Civil war period, he argues that slavery, as a form of cultural and national trauma, was a "primal scene" which became experientially traumatic only after the remembrance of the event(s) and the collective processes of mediation and negotiation over the meanings and the representations of the trauma. Relying on sociological dramaturgical models, this process refers to a series of competing attempts to narrate the potentially traumatic event in a group's preferred ways over the other existing narratives (Sciortino and Eyerman 2020). The trauma process, also known as trauma drama, plays out in a 'brutal' arena of carrier groups, their truth claims to traumatic experiences, and a finical audience whose attention should be grasped in way that will allow them to identify with the victimized group and start discussing where the responsibility lies. Referring to this process, Eyerman comments that "there may be several or many possible responses to cultural trauma that emerge in a specific historical context, but all of them in some way or another involve identity and memory" (63). Yet, in this dissertation with its scientific and activist situatedness towards a realist goal of conducting feminist/queer science (van Anders et al. 2023), I would assert that, despite the reality that identities are one of the popularly-invoked signifiers of social locations, this insistence on social and group identities are not necessary, and even leads to miss out some of the complexities of the processes of affective experiencing and relational potentials of the traumatic scenes, to understand how groups may come together around a psychologically and affectively shared suffering.

"While trauma necessarily refers to something experienced in psychological accounts", Eyerman notes, "calling this traumatic requires interpretation. National or cultural trauma (the difference is minimal at the theoretical level) is also rooted in an event or a series of events, but not necessarily their direct experience (2001, 62). Based on the notion of 'collective memory', which attends to the theories of identity formation and socialization with a keen eye on social interactions and

their emotional components (62), Eyerman proffers that in the formational process of a new collectively-based identity, there is a "loss of self" in the moment of one's participation in a collective behavior or demand (65). My critical reflection here once again connects to the question of what happens to the above-mentioned actualities of affects and emotions[73] felt by the collective: Without analyzing how these affects are experienced, interpreted and collectively symbolized and sometimes worked through or unconsciously modified, how much reasonable is it to assume that those affective-psychological processes and immediate reactions are not carried onto the later processes of public mediation and struggle for a valid trauma claim? If we accept his argument that the traumatic memory is experienced within the axis of collective identity, and "mediated through narratives that are modified with passage of time and filtered through cultural artefacts and other materialization that represent the past in the present" (2001, 74), how are we to approach the psychological and affective tendencies [74] towards the production of these sentiments and attachments to the memories, which clearly need not stable identity stakeholders as they are 'naturally' mobilized around thinking patterns, schemas, habitual affective economies, and unconscious motivations and desires.

Now that I've committed the cardinal sin of evoking the natural, I may visit Alexander's critique on what he calls "lay trauma theory". Criticizing the popular perspectives on the 'nature' of trauma, which conceptualize trauma as "naturally occurring events that shatter an individual or collective actor's sense of well-being" (Alexander et al. 2004, 2), Alexanders articulates that "the scholarly approaches to trauma developed thus far have actually been distorted by the powerful, common-sense understandings of trauma that have emerged in everyday life" (2012, 7). But what if this naturalizing tendency is not due to the intellectual shortcomings of the masses in everyday life and their 'common' sense, but due to the lack of nuanced awareness towards the local, everyday experiences of individual and collective injuries by the then-existing systems of knowledges of trauma? Contrary to the direction of the influence in Alexander's thinking here, can it be that, this age has come to be de-

---

[73] In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004), Sara Ahmed, unlike other affect theorists examined here, seems to use the term "emotion" interchangeably with affect with a critique on the distinction; however, although much of my understanding of affect is owed to her theorization of their circulation across surfaces and boundaries, across individuals and collectives (10), I still find it theoretically meaningful to distinguish between the two when I wish to focus on the difference between the role of unconscious, embodied reactions vs cognized, conscious experientiality of the affective stimuli.

[74] In the next chapter, I will be engaging more closely with Sedgwick's edited volume, *Tendencies* (1993); however, beyond denoting the title one of her seminal works in queer affect theory, the concept of tendency, understood as a psychological state of desiring whose conceptualization extends into the sphere of the social and the political, functions an affective-intellectual tool of studying relationalities. As Fawaz underscores, Sedgwick "was a a theorist of tendencies, of the ways in which what we tend toward, invest in, feel affinity with, obsess over, attach ourselves to, and help nourish shapes and reshapes not only our sense of self but our ethical relationship to the world at large." (2019, 7). This is the affectively and psychologically informed positionality of mine in this research project that elucidates how I understand the drive-fueled, desiring potentialities and attachment-related directionalities of one's libidinal currents.

fined by this excessive focus on trauma and 'therapy babble' (Fassin and Rechtman 2009, 2) as a reaction against the increasing hostility and propagation of neoliberal capitalist systems of exploitation and subordination, only with the appropriation of the Western trauma research paradigm's terminologies? Therefore, one of the problems I engage with in this project is to question whether queer* trauma has come to manifest and be experienced as a result of this historical-ideological trajectories of Western trauma research on pathologized genders and sexualities or whether my interlocutors describe their traumatic experiences as 'naturally' occurring and felt effects without adhering to the langue of the clinic.

At first, it may seem that the two distinct approaches on trauma, psychoanalytical and cultural trauma theory paradigm, are 'antagonistic' in terms of understanding and studying trauma, I would argue that, despite some fundamentally important differences in the way they conceptualize and work with trauma, they both insist on the constructedness of trauma mediated by psychological processes and social-cultural processes of meaning-making and collective attribution [75] Perhaps one of the strengths of the cultural trauma school is their critical focus on the importance of not just the social and cultural context but also the larger power structures and the actual practices of some influential social agents, whose influence is explicitly more agentic and direct as opposed to the unconscious mechanism that psychoanalytical theories tend to 'focus on'. However, I would proffer that one of the misgivings of the cultural trauma theory is its claim that for a potentially traumatic events to become and collectively regarded as a trauma, it has to be tied to the individual's collective sense of identity and how trauma is represented in relation to this identity (as stated earlier). On this note, Alexander writes that "trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain", suggesting that the punctual affective and cognitive, conscious and unconscious consequences of trauma do not play a determining role in the way societies react to the collectively devastating events, instead, there is a 'excessive' focus on what they call "trauma process" (2004, 11). While my approach on trauma as in here resembles their take on the cultural construction of trauma, I argue that we differ from each other, with my focus on the psychological and affective components of trauma process that they seem to downplay and prioritize the agency [76] and the

[75] Although I treat the cultural trauma theory paradigm as mostly coherent and non- conflicting resources of theorization and research, there are within-paradigm differences regarding how the theorists relate to psychoanalysis and the alleged differences between psychological trauma and cultural trauma. For instance, on the more amicable end of the spectrum, Alexander states that "cultural sociology is a kind of social psychoanalysis" (2003, 4), fomenting the epistemological linkages between psychoanalytical project and the goals of their cultural sociological project on cultural/collective trauma. But, on the more rigid, separatist side of the equation, Sztompka writes that "At the individual level of biography we experience such events as marriage, childbirth, divorce, death in the family, purchase of a new house, losing a job, retirement, and so on. The traumas these events bring about are personal, most psychological. They fall beyond the purview of sociology." (2000, 277).

[76] My understanding of the concept "agency" is indebted to Lois McNay's definition which conceptualizes it as "a social set of properties and capacities, realized unevenly among individuals because of asymmetrical

agentic consequences of certain groups and people (carrier groups) in the process of creating "a narrative about a horribly destructive process, and a demand for emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation, and reconstitution" (Alexander, 2004, 11). and the agentic consequences of certain groups and people (carrier groups) in the process of creating "a narrative about a horribly destructive process, and a demand for emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation, and reconstitution" (Alexander, 2004, 11).

In this 'trauma process" they speak of, it is stated that "for the wider audience to become persuaded that they, too, have become traumatized by an experience or an event, the carrier group needs to engage in successful meaning work" (Alexander 2004, 12). Regardless of the persisting questions whether (i) the experience of being traumatized is not directly felt and known by group members or (ii) group members' individual perceptions need to be reconstructed and 'remade' by some charismatic, intellectual, and vocal figures, if we accept that, albeit hypothetically, the 'reality' is actually the triumph of certain groups' claims to trauma being accepted by the hegemonic, dominant groups, can we argue that groups do not have direct access to their collectively-experienced sentiments and ressentiments? If we are to accept this, how can we move on without problematizing the alleged passivity of the subjugated in waiting for 'trauma claims' by the carrier groups to emerge? In a viciously hierarchal, dominating system where certain feelings, desires, and attachments are seen inferior, aberrant, and dangerous for the welfare of the 'general' public, what happens to the residues of the rejected 'trauma claims' that are still in circulation in the collective psychological and affective economies of political dissent and counter-hegemonic resistance?

On the one hand, Alexander's theory is capable of elucidating how this trauma process is lived and managed through time and across different political actions, all of which dramatically crystalize in the scene of a theater play, where utterances and linguistic claims to a collective injury fight for their validity and 'truth' before the eyes of social members of the collectivity. On the other hand, since my focus in this dissertation is on not singular events but systematic, insidious and repeating multiple traumatic experiences, it begs the question whether this process of appealing to the discernment and clement of the wider audience will becomes harder, and if so, how are we to relate this idea of a process to the case of systemic, continuous traumatization, especially when the general consensus is that they are not as destructive as the event of a massive trauma. Moreover, just because something is not recognized and validated by the society formed on the mandates and the desires of

---

distributions of power" (2015, 56).

the ruling classes and groups, is it enough to pay no further attention to the suffering of the groups, and prioritize the perspective and the lenses of the dominant group? Even if, we, as a group, may have failed to interpret those events as traumas and convince the audience of the actuality of those injuries, does it mean that the damage that we have started to experience in our in-group relations, our trust towards each other, the heightened level of aggressivity, hostility, and vulnerability we experience is non-existent. Does this specific positionality have no ethical political implications for our epistemological assumptions and decision to approach the social reality from the side of the perpetrator groups?

In other words, in the face of all the intellectual inspiration I derive from the works of cultural trauma theory paradigm, I would like to underscore the fact that this approach on trauma tends to prioritize or may be exploited to support the idea that as long as it is not recognized legitimately on the public sphere, the 'real' damage is not a question of concern for social analysis, reducing the complex realities into a matter of cross-groups battle for acquiring narrative resources of symbolization and representation, while there are many interpersonal and intergroup dynamics that take place between different levels of social organization that includes visible deterioration in the way these group members feel less secure and less stable with the collective feelings of growing distrust towards in- group and out-group members, ambivalent collective desires and behaviors [77], internalized negativity towards their own selves, values, and pasts, and heightened vulnerability to experiencing group-wide instances of mental health problems and a general diminishment in total life satisfaction and hopes for tender futures. I am aware that much of the literature produced by the school of cultural trauma is not negligent of these issues raised here. In fact, most of their case studies are selected with a focus on the histories and struggles of marginalized populations whose claims for trauma and suffering are still up to debate in the public sphere. However, their analyses are generally content with the examination of 'surface-level' data pertinent to documentation of historical public events of mass violence without attending to the intimate modes of experiencing the cultural and collective traumatizing events, whose analysis may be revealed better with a close attention to personal stories, testimonies, and life stories. Just because the material we're set to study (such as affects like fear, shame, and anger, or feelings like belonging, resentment, betrayal, and vengeance) are a lot

[77] Among the prominent figures in cultural trauma theory paradigm, despite some of these names' appreciation of psychoanalytical theorizing and concepts (i.e., that of Alexander's), the exceptional figure, whose theorization is the most resonating one with my perspective on trauma is Smelser. Questioning how the ambivalent reactions towards trauma is experienced on the collective level – almost echoing Herman's concept of the 'dialectics of trauma', Smelser states that "When seeking an analogy at the sociocultural level, we discover such dual tendencies – mass forgetting and collective campaigns on the part of the groups to downplay or "put behind us", if not actually to deny a cultural trauma on the one hand, and a compulsive preoccupation with the event, as well as group efforts to keep it in the public consciousness as a reminder that "we must remember", or "lest we forget", on the other." (2004, 53).

harder to examine 'empirically' because of their intangible qualities, it should not allow us to stop our inquisitive projects dedicated to the larger questions of how collectivities experience these affects and emotions, how they are mobilized around them, and how they remember and re-present their memories, and how they choose to reframe their traumatized past before the watching-eye of the perpetrators. [78]

In the light of these discussions, in this dissertation, I choose to focus more on the ways in which competing group-based attempts to establish desired narratives about the groups' alleged exposure to traumatizing events may be hindered and not allowed take place in the form of a collective deliberation by the force of institutional and political constraints and interference that preemptively obscure the ground for claim-making and representational projects. Like a white noise that silences all the sounds in an environment, it is possible for governments, bureaucratic agencies, and high-level leaders and decision-makers in undemocratic, authoritarian, and 'high-risk' societies to ensure that counter-hegemonic and anti-normative ideas not to appear in the public sphere. Similarly, the members of the group may be stunned, feeling the 'pressure' of the negative affects associated with the events, not being able to reflect on the event without being assured that they are going to be provided with the same amount of citizenship rights of security, protection, and respect. That's why, in this project, realizing "because of these failures, the perpetrators of these collective sufferings have not been compelled to accept moral responsibility, and the lessons of these social traumas have been neither memorialized nor ritualized" (Alexander 2004, 27), I attend to not just to the moments my interlocutors mention the collective failures to represent their shared traumas, but also to the moments marked by lack and silence that surround possibilities of representability that never came true. Thinking within the context of Turkey where the state-enforced acts of coercive, authoritarian violence does not allow the emergence of the carrier groups in the first place by incarcerating them or creating an paranoid (also very real) atmosphere of an always-imminent state-violence, I aim to show how even the so-called individual traumas of queer people in Turkey are also continuously and multi-dimensionally (socially, culturally, and politically) mediated by external actors, systems, structures, and discourses (Butler 2009). As a result, this leads to my re-thinking of Berlant's approach on trauma as "moments of crisis"

[78] As Michael Roper highlighted in his piece, "Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History" (2005), there seems to be two consequences that prioritize the historical "external" over the make-up of the psychic. The first consequence is the "the tendency to reduce subjectivity to an after-effect of political discourse", through which "the psychic is elided into the cultural" (58) whereas the second follows from subsuming subjectivity into "a version of collective consciousness or mentalité" enforced by the thinking that "the domains of the social and the psychic" work as autonomous fields as if separated between "external/collective and more internal/individual directions of study" (59). The cultural theories of trauma are noteworthy, despite a few shortcomings, for the recognition that they needed to pay attention to the reciprocal ways culture and subjectivity interacted with and affected each other, rather than simply reducing subjectivity into a matter of representation.

(2011), which I argue do not apply to idiosyncratic case of Turkey where the potentialities embedded in a crisis ordinariness do not present the necessary conditions of mundane, everyday practices of feminist and queer becoming. In the next subsection, I deal with the intellectual heritage of memory studies and the contemporary works of 'postmemory' and they are connected to my theoretical approach on queer* trauma.

4.3 Post/Memory Studies and What Comes/Haunts After

Almost around the same time coinciding with the emergence of the school of cultural trauma, there emerged another critical school of 'trauma studies' carrying forward the psychoanalytical focus on transference. These early figures examined how the interpersonal reverberations of the dual dynamics of transference in the clinic manifest themselves into a temporally-stretching zone of 'being-together-with' where the traumatic strain is shared and experienced via transgenerational effects. They also tackled with the earlier problem of 'malingering' and whether vicarious traumatization may indeed be considered a valid form of traumatization not only for individuals whose exposure to traumatogenic material is not solely intra-familial but also through multifaceted, complex means of exposure to cultural and symbolic products that pervade the popular culture and the historical and political memory. One prominent researcher in this field of work is Marienne Hirsch and her foundational essay "Family Pictures: Maus, mourning, and post-memory" (1992) where she introduces the concept of 'postmemory' with autoethnograpical engagement with her childhood memories in Rhode Island, writing about the way her family photos and other postmemorial remnants, haunting from the scene of the Holocaust, thrust into the 'now and here' of the survivors. In a later article called "Past Lives: Postmemories in Exile" (1996), it becomes clear that the simpler conception of postmemory from the 'standard' perspectives on memory research. Focusing on the lives of children of the Holocaust survivors, who report belated experiences of the traumatic memories of an traumatizing event that they did not experience in firsthand, Hirsch presents 'postmemory' as a lived concept that is akin to secondary or transgenerational trauma. However, her formulation underlines an extra dimension to the earlier work on traumatic memory, pointing to the postmemory concept's connection to the mediational process, via which memories and narratives are recollected and reconstructed "through an imaginative investment and creativity" (1996, 659).

Producing a vast literature populated with equally intellectually-stimulating works

on postmemory, photography, and different genres of the product of the culture industry, specifically *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Post- memory* (1997), Hirsch's seminal piece, I would argue, remains *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (2012) in which she examines the visual and literary legacy of eminent artists on the transgenerational print of the Holocaust trauma. Theoretically building upon the early works on what later came to be known as 'memory studies' – Eva Hoffman, Jan and Alieda Assmann, and Maurice Halbwachs among many others , Hirsch defines postmemory as "a memory, that communicated through bodily symptoms", which "becomes a form of repetition and reenactment, and [on the other hand], one that works through indirection and multiple mediation" (2012, 83). In this dissertation, this reflection on the psychoanalytical 'reflexes' of embodied repetition and reenactment plays a vital role in my analysis of how my interlocutors may intrapsychically experience with the internalized forms of social and cultural anti-queer sentiments and find themselves reenacting some of the basic self-destructive and self-sabotaging forms of violence. Asserting that the body keeps the score of the traumas beyond the psychosomatic symptomatology, which is a popular way of thinking about the relationship between the body-mind and trauma in a somewhat reductionist manner, I would like to explore how my interlocutors narrate and talk about their embodied experiences of trauma also works to forget and 'burn the documents' of trauma. For this reason, I will attend to the ways my interlocutors talk about their carnal, kinesthetic, and bodily experiences of trauma interacting with their psychological states with ambiguous, unforeseen possibilities.

It is abundantly clear that Hirsch's approach is one that is intimately resonant of psychoanalytical understanding of Freudian concepts of repetition compulsion, forgetting, mourning/melancholia, and transformative unconscious works of indirect sublimation, symbolization, and (attempts) at psychic coping and metabolization. Engaging so daringly with the later works of psychoanalytical works on transgenerational transference of trauma, she goes onto experiment with the Winnicottian concept of 'withholding', and she questions the role of 'historical withholding' in the transmission of trauma (2012, 82), which I consider as an example of a clinical concept being transferred to the matrix of psychosocial relations. As she looks into the case of embodied remembrance that takes places in Morisson's *The Beloved* (1987), Hirsch examines not only how the intergenerational trauma belatedly refigures within the psyches of the posttraumatic generation, but she also points at the way the trauma writes itself onto the skin, piercing into the bodily rhythms and automatic/unconscious kinesthetics of the body/soma that I dare say keeps on reenacting the traumatic movement and the affect. Even though I concur with Caruth

on the 'unspeakability' of many aspects of traumatic memories (1995, 153), I also believe that, following Hirsch here, even if the mind may fail to generate a 'narrative memory' that aims to integrate the multidimensional components of trauma, I argue that the 'truth's of the traumatic event(s) remain very much alive in the anatomically and cognitively sensate 'mindbody' (Poteat 1985).

Of course, this novel take has multiple implications for the previous and the current studies on trauma and the phenomenon of transference, refocusing our attention to the hesitance of the cultural trauma theorists towards 'borrowing' the psychoanalytical concepts and engaging with these concepts in our social/cultural and politico-historical analyses. Perhaps because of this particular theoretical stance of the 'cultural trauma' school, Hirsch mostly relies on the works of Assmann and Hartmann, whose psychoanalytical work are closely entangled with the concepts of 'cultural/collective memory' and public forms of witnessing. In "Chapter 1: The Generation of Postmemory", Hirsch defines what she calls 'postmemorial work' as a critical mode of trauma research that "strives to reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression" (2012, 33). This 'return to Freud' within the studies of psychoanalytically-informed trauma research, I claim, has resulted in a proliferation of 'close reading' studies that examines works of literature and other cultural production with the conviction that these cultural products carry the social/cultural and historical traumatic residues of the events that shape the very structure and the identity of a collectivity's or nation's sense of 'self'. Taking the question of 'witnessing' beyond the scope of Felman's famous pedagogical case or Laub's psychotherapeutic engagement with the Holocaust memory, Hirsch introduces the possibility that, while the case of "an event without a witness" remains still relevant to the difficulties of remembering, narrating, and symbolizing the traumatic scenes and the events, how future social others find themselves affectively attached to the 'mark' of the trauma and struggle with the 'crisis' of bearing witness to events that are discovered and experienced through exposure to mass media representations and cultural artefacts. [79]

In her introduction to their edited volume, *Women Mobilizing Memory* (2019), which she characterizes as a collaborative product of academic and activist work based on

[79] There is a continuing discussion in (post)memory studies centered around the questions of the extent of which secondary or vicarious traumatization is possible and what does it mean to translate the implications of personally-experienced psychological and cultural traumas to the incidences of experiencing traumatization in the imaginary scenarios and narratives of violence, which is "enabled by mass technologies of the nineteenth century" (Crenshaw 2010, 5). Crenshaw examines the implications of this in the context of Alison Landsberg's concept of "prosthetic memory" (2004) and how the contemporary forms of thinking about 'imaginary' transmission of collective traumas might risk, with the act of over-identification, the actual tragedies and scars of the real, historical traumatizing events. Although they present a 'middle voice' in this discussion, they warn against "confusing structural trauma for historical trauma" (12).

practice-based feminist memory studies, Hirsch states that each piece in the collection mobilizes alternative historical imaginaries that cultivate on the intersections of personal, public, and political narratives on memory and related concepts like "slow violence", "ethics of transculturality" and "little resistances". Generating connections between the limits and prospects of translatability of postmemorial work across different contexts and 'transnational circuits of trauma' (13), Hirsch believes that trauma research that is oriented towards postmemory and vulnerability "can provide a way to expand and redirect discourses of trauma, circumventing the unforgiving temporality of catastrophe, the sense of inexorable repetition of the past in the present and future in which injury cannot be healed or repaired but lives on, shattering worlds in its wake" (14). Here it is evident that Hirsch's later works continue to build upon the legacy of the psychoanalytic theory with the growing popularity of the concepts of "shattering" (Laplanche 1976) or the idea of a past repeating itself in the context of trauma; however, she also ventures into the critical mode that is assumed by many critical trauma thinkers like Young or Kansteiner where it becomes possible to free oneself from the unilateral linearity of trauma, opening it to an alternative reality/fantasy where the traumatic past can mobilize the present and the future for more progressive and liberating political projects (Der-Meguerditchian and Hirsch 2019, 313). This position enriches my thinking in a way that trauma responsivity is not understood just limited to the shackles of a past, allowing me to account for the ways the traumatized subjects continuously monitor and reposition themselves in relation to future threats and the promises of futures where trauma may be queered with realistic (neither paranoid nor reparative) [80] anti-futurity projects of world-making.

Although there are many engaging chapters in this seminal book considered important for the theoretical approach employed in this dissertation, there are two particular chapters that I would like to examine in detail because of their theoretical contribution to the ways I re-conceptualize psychological trauma in relation to memory and trauma research in general. First, I would like to examine Ahıska's chapter titled "Memory as Encounter: The Saturday Mothers in Turkey" (2019) and then Sibel Irzık's chapter named "Remembering 'Possibility': Postmemory Apocalyptic Hope in Recent Turkish Coup Narratives" (2019). This piece of Ahıska's, where she examines the political performance of what is known as the "Saturday

[80] I will be engaging with Sedgwick's discussion of reparative and paranoid positions in more detail in the next chapter. Yet, referring to these two affective positions towards navigating the uncertainties and the anxieties of living in the present and figuring out the future, I think of two specific positions in queer theory: (i) that of the perspectives of queer negativity which thrive on their critical, 'paranoid' positions on analyzing the normative society and its cultural artefacts (texts of Berlant, Edelman, and Bersani), whereas (i) the so-called reparative positionality of some queer theorists and texts (mostly those of Sedgwick and Halberstam). In response, I would like to challenge thinking within the confines of this binary, and ask whether it may be possible to entertain the teachings and advantages of both sides in our projects about studying trauma and its trans-temporal qualities.

Mothers" in İstanbul and how this group's protests are considered as memorial political performances that invoke past political injuries and traumas, may easily be considered one of the essential 'cultural studies' pieces on trauma in Turkey. There, she not only engages with the apparent damages and blows to a feminist mode of counter-hegemonic mode of resistance against political violent trauma, but she also pays attention to the affectively decapacitating, silencing, and other forms of affective post-traumatic traumata left behind by the disappearances of the victims. Strolling around the concepts of Mahlke's "chronotrope of terror" and Bakhtin's "chronotope", which "show how power infuses everyday life and interferes with subjectivities, which does not only limit what can possibly happen but also what can be perceived and imagined under those constraints" (138), Ahıska highlights the way trauma bends the previously-habituated, illusionary linear temporality of the everyday life and sprouts into a multiversal chaos where the question of whether the subject has any agency over their 'situation' can ever be known for certain.

As it remains unknown whether the traumatized subject(s) are haunted and stunted by the 'ghosts' of the traumas past or by the terrorizing glimpses of the futures sensed, in this research, I see value in questioning whether the seeming lack of a 'resistance' or a pro-active position towards 'resolving' the trauma is indicative of personal or inner-group hesitance or psychic paralysis in the face of the burden of trauma, or whether the now- traumatized relational capacities of the queer* people in the 'aftermath' are taken as a 'clear' sign of collective inability to mobilize against hegemonic forces of political violence. Recognizing the interpersonal dynamics of being implicated in each other's traumas, Ahıska argues that through these encounters, a "borderspace of transsubjectivity" comes into being which allows one to "imagine encounters with unknown others that transcend the borders of identity and connect through shared traces and intensities" (146). "Trauma", she concurs, "is no longer entirely personal" (146), implying how the tentacles of 'trauma' not only travelling across the spatio-temporal fragments of one's dispersed memories that keep haunting the future in the forms of flickering pastiches of the past, but how they also travel across personal, familial, social, and political spheres of our lives. Ahıska calls this the "shared condition" of trauma and violence (certainly shared not just among people but also among different levels of social reality), for which there seems to be no unified language or a way of re-enacting that memory. It is this critical approach on trauma and memory that this dissertation seeks to employ when it examines the lived traumatic experiences of the interlocutors, arguing that the researcher and the interlocutors will keep on re-experiencing multiple moments of re-encounters (and many moments possibly re/ misrecognition) characterized with cases of different registers of social analyses and social reality running

over each other, getting lost in their knots of temporal entanglement, and conversations between actual speaking persons and mundane instances of traumatic silences – one that cannot tolerate anything but the hush gesture of the trauma.

Sibel Irzık, on the other hand, approaches the issue of "shared condition" of trauma from another perspective, one that is informed by feminist and queer political potentials of one's imaginary capacities to symbolize the affective and cognitive components of trauma, and how these imaginary potentials may result in counter- hegemonic ways of dealing with trauma, revealing alternative 'possibilities' of political imagination and collective psychological resources to mourn – capacitated by individual nervous systems, and facilitated and enlivened by literature and other forms of art. In the two works she examines, Uyurkulak's *Tol* (2002) and Oğuz's *Hah* (2012), Irzık examines the case of intergenerational transmission of trauma and its effects of political possibilities of collective feminist agency and resistance. The familial stories of intergenerational political violence analyzed in the article are abundant of psychoanalytical motifs and symbols (i.e. 'intergenerational repetition compulsion', 'scattered fragments', 'traces in form and language', etc.), and they demonstrate clearly how certain traumatic events experienced by a relative or a loved one in the past are capable of inducing similar post- traumatic, psychological and relational 'symptoms' for the next generation(s). Situating these meso-level stories of political violence at a sociohistorical and affective context (intersecting individual family stories with the political history of Turkey), Irzık reveals the power of personal narratives (whether in literary sources as herein or as in the interview material of this dissertation) in showing the multileveled connections between individual's narratives of trauma and the slippages across the personal, the social, and the political.

As Irzık studies the "haunting of the political" in the two literary works, she relies on the Derridean theory of "Hauntology" (Derrida 1993) and Avery Gordon's work on the ghosts of the violent pasts. In Gordon's phenomenal piece, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (1992), ghosts act as incorporeal forms of transtextual, transhistorical, and transtemporal symbols and agents of belated resignification – amorphous signs whose ghastly wailings echo into the past and seep into the future. These ghosts not only are reminiscent of the psychoanalytical concept and experiences of "the return of the repressed", but they are also enigmatic just as post-traumatic symptomatology in terms of their goals or the way they express their 'actual' goals: They speak in riddles, in resignification, in displacements... On the meanings and the 'functions' of these ghost, she quotes Gordon:

"The ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice

> not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes a path not taken. From a certain vantage point the ghost also simultaneously represents a future possibility, a hope... The ghost is alive, so to speak. We are in relation to it and it has designs on us such that we must reckon with it graciously, attempting to offer it a hospitable memory out of a concern for justice" (63-64 as cited in Irzık, 429)

The idea of ghosts resurrecting from their 'peaceful', or rather afflicted, graves and long-deserted cranial reservoirs of memories past, and haunting the already- distressed and precarious subject of the present is a key concept for this research as it informs the research about the necessity of establishing a working common language with the interlocutors in terms of giving shape to the intangible, hard-to-talk-about 'nature' of psychological experiences of post-traumatic space and the ongoing temporality of being still exposed to trauma. In *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and Ghostly Transmissions* (2013), Frosh inquiries about the ways in which the dominating, hegemonic group's projections of anxiety and guilt onto the psyches of the marginalized others start to be written into the system's organizing principle, branching deep into the relational dynamics of the psychosocial life. In this light, I would like to question whether it is possible to live 'peacefully' with all these projected negative affects of the oppressing groups when there is no possible means of mourning this "lost object [the queer childhood] and the voiced of oppressed people who previously did not have a place, who couldn't be mourned because their existence was [and is] denied" (57).

Ghosts, and the idea of being haunted by the images and the memories of the past are not recent ideas or approaches to studying the everyday experiences of the people of the world as the vernacular, folklore, and literature are abundant with similar terms and stories. However, the image of the ghost, also allows me to recognize how, in certain contexts, marginalized individuals and groups may not ever be accorded to the 'luxury' of being haunted, troubled, and visited by the ghosts of their injurious pasts. The hegemonic power in force, be it an authoritarian government or an excessively- controlling parent, is sometimes so controlling that the paranoid denial (at work) related to the violence inflect works to exorcise the ghosts and any possible moment of their unexpected apparition as each moment of a ghostly conjuring is an invitation for "the genesis of postmemory through trauma" (Irzık 2019, 431) for the both sides, the victim and the perpetrators. Following Irzık's insights over the ways in which "comes into play in articulating and reconfiguring political legacies, of how recognizing and opening oneself to the undischarged futures in the past requires the birth of new modes of subjectivity" (438), in this dissertations, I utilize the

concepts of ghosts in response to the cases where the authoritarian, conservative government render it impossible for queer* people to travel back to the past or into the future with their accompanying ghosts, instead they implement structures, cultural institutions, and policies ensuring that one never talks about how their gendered and sexualized socialization and on-going existence on the political sphere have been shaped around multiple violent traumas.

In this research project, I try to show the instances of which the Turkish state refrains from accepting any sort of political responsibility for causing state-led, institutional and socio-cultural violence to the groups of LGBTQIA+ individuals through cunning means of make-pretend – acting as if they do not see the real-time, injurious effects of their hate-mongering speeches and policies or not feeling the ghastly stand that stand over their shoulder, weighing down as the moral pressure of not acknowledging their part in causing the trauma. Finally, I also pay attention to the cases where the interlocutors talk about their childhood and teendom they were never allowed to live according to their wishes and their authentic desires, arguing that the 'death' of the queer* child that was never allowed to live by the cisheteronormative society continue to live and breathe right next to some queer* adults who have not got the chance to realize this misrecognized loss – misrecognized in the sense that the melancholic relationality is due to a psychic uniqueness of the LGBTQIA+ subject, rather than being a result of not having been offered as children the possibility of exploring the meadows of uncertainty and exploration. Here I argue that trauma is not just the 'positive' existence of traumatizing acts of violence, discrimination, and abjection, but it is also the lack of necessary psychosocial support systems and the psychological advantages of conforming to the normative expectations and norms of the cisheteronormative society; hence, the lack of systemic physical, psychological, and symbolic violence and discrimination.

In the next chapter, I will first introduce the current state of trauma studies with a focus on the contemporary studies that implement critical perspectives and interdisciplinary research methodologies, and then I will revisit Frosh's recent work on psychosocial psychoanalytic research and his use of the Gordonian notion of "Haunting". After situating this dissertation's 'ghostly' position in relation to its queer/feminist/affective positionalities, I will introduce the queer trauma studies and other foundational queer/affect theory studies on trauma. As for the remaining parts of the chapter, I will be engaging with the qualitative data that I gather from the interlocutors. Based on the trauma-mimicking tendencies of this dissertation in the ways that the analyses and examination of relevant literature keep changing, challenging the conventional formats or previously-engaged modes of reviewing the literature (seen in the epistemological and methodological switch from the historical

mode of reviewing the literature in Chapter 1 to the interdisciplinary modes of reviewing the relevant areas of research, resembling how the pre-traumatic personality is distinctly different from the posttraumatic personality), in the next chapter, the literature that I review will be interwoven with the accounts of the personal experiences of my queer* interlocutors in way that the traumatized subject's present is staggered by intrusive thoughts and images. By experimenting with different methodological and epistemologies approaches on the way I conceptualize queer* trauma and how I apply to the cases of the lived experiences of my interlocutors, I will be able to demonstrate how a study on trauma can be queered not just in terms of its transdisciplinary, non-normative, ambitious goals, but also in terms of meta-organizational level of writing about trauma, challenging both the conventional literatures on event-centered frameworks of trauma as well as temporally-linear and stylistically and organizationally consistent modes of doing and writing research.

5. QUEER THEORIES OF PUBLIC/PRIVATE TRAUMA VIS-À-VIS TESTIMONIES OF QUEER* TRAUMA IN TURKEY

> "Homosexuality is a sin. Homosexuals are doomed to spend eternity in hell. If they wanted to change, they could be healed of their evil ways. If they would turn away from temptation, they could be normal again if only they would try and try harder if it doesn't work. These are all the things I said to my son Bobby when I found out he was gay. When he told me he was homosexual my world fell apart. I did everything I could to cure him of his sickness. Eight months ago my son jumped off a bridge and killed himself ... If I had investigated beyond what I was told, if I had just listened to my son when he poured his heart out to me, I would not be standing here today with you filled with regret ... There are children, like Bobby, sitting in your congregations. Unknown to you they will be listening as you echo "amen" and that will soon silence their prayers. Their prayers to God for understanding and acceptance and for your love but your hatred and fear and ignorance of the word gay, will silence those prayers. So, before you echo 'amen' in your home and place of worship. Think. Think and remember a child is listening."

It all started with a queer happening: A fortuitous encounter between a perplexed teenager in the 'closet' [81] and a freshly-pirated movie that randomly caught their attention with a single word of much public notoriety and secrecy: Gay. In 2010, when I first watched *Prayers for Bobby* [82] (Mulcahy 2009) in my minuscule bedroom

[81] I believe that the "closet" is a misleading spatial metaphor in general. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has shown so well, it is a name for a set of assumptions in everyday life as well as in expert knowledge: "Assumptions about what goes without saying; what can be said without a breach of decorum; who shares the onus of disclosure; what can be known about a person's real nature through telltale signs, without his or her own awareness; and who will bear the consequences of speech and silence...[Closet] is experienced by lesbians and gay men as a private, individual problem of shame and deception. But it is produced by the heteronormative assumptions of everyday talk. It feels private. But in an important sense it is publicly constructed." (1993, 52)

[82] *Prayers for Bobby* is a semi-fictional, biographical movie based on the true story of Bobby Griffith and his then-homophobic, religious mother, Mary Griffith, and the mother's gradual transformation into a

– secretly fearing that I may get caught, these words of Mary Griffith (played by Sigourney Weaver) pierced into my soul, shook my volatile adolescent psyche, and seismically resurfaced some of the most unspoken traumas in the days of my growing up queer in this country. Back then, not only was I the only, soon-to-be-outed kid in the entire high school, but I also survived my coming- of-age in a time when, with not-yet-developed social media (except Facebook), online streaming services or a more accessible world wide web; the only available queer cultural products were a few movies that centered on the HIV/AIDS epidemic or the tragic stories of lone gay men whose sobbing stories of loneliness, death, and social inadaptability solely echoed bleak futures of our awaiting doom, in that sense, *Prayers for Bobby* was not much different from *Philadelphia* (Demme 1993) or *Boys Don't Cry* (Peirce 1999). At the same time, it was pioneeringly distinct from its counterparts with the positive, somewhat didactic, activist take on a depressive topic such as youth suicide.

It was a day after I watched *Prayers for Bobby*, that I decided to disclose my then-homophobic mother that I was queer. The 'significance' of this story not only stems from its determining effects on my subsequent, other research interests on queer religiosity, sexuality, and mental health, but it also made me realize that even my own life story has been swarmed by traumatic events in relation to my queer subjectivity and my survival struggles of desiring and relating queerly in Turkey. While I have tried hard, so far, not to provide much autobiographical information and autoethnographic analysis thereof, this research project will not be 'complete' without contextualizing how the researcher arrived at the current locus of their researcher positionality and research questions, especially since the overarching focus of this project has been on the dynamic functionality of all- encapsulating contextualization of individuals' psychological discomforts and their everyday life experiences.

For these reasons, it has been deemed necessary to provide a bit more information as to how my viewing of this movie at the time paved the way for the earlier structuring of this research project (without me realizing these connections early on), and how it promulgated a torrent of questions based on the way social and cultural dynamics may impose on our psychological well-being [83]. It is in this emotional whirlpool of memories, some of which have already been repressed and reinvoked in an endless chain of reiterations, reenactments, and resymbolizations, that I have decided to

---

dedicated gay rights activist after her son, Bobby's suicide in 1983.

[83] Moreover, the way this movie instigated a flurry of events and inner realizations speaks to Sedgwick's insight on the value of how certain cultural objects become imbued with personal meanings and start to act as a mediating tool of ensuring queer survival. On this relation, she stated the following: "I think that for many of us in childhood the ability to attach intently to a few cultural objects, objects of high or popular culture or both, objects whose meaning seemed mysterious, excessive, or oblique in relation to the codes most readily available to us, became a prime resource for survival" (1993, 3)

start this chapter where I will be first engaging with the 'founding' texts of selected queer theorists notably, Ann Cvetkovich, Lauren Berlant, and Judith Butler as well as some other prominent names such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Michael Warner, and Douglas Crimp, among many others. As I present some of their key concepts and theoretical tools to examine queer* trauma across the private/public divide of social and psychological traumatization, I will be providing some of the testimonies and stories of my interlocutors and how their experiences relate to the queer theories on trauma, and what they may imply both for the reexamination of queer trauma theories, and for the current and future status of the queers in Turkey.

5.1 Queer* Traumatic Reverberations on Psychological Well-Being

Until this chapter, I have presented a theoretical overview of gender/sexual trauma that moves beyond the individual/collective and the private/public dichotomic conceptualizations of insidious, systemic traumatic events endured by LGBTQIA+ individuals whose everyday life experiences have been captured and confined by the internalizing and externalizing 'symptoms' of various traumatizing events that are structurally positioned to undermine their affective and psychological capacities to live a "good life" (Berlant 1997). Tracing the historical and transdisciplinary encounters between different theories of psychological and cultural traumas, I have provided brief re-analyses of the many existing psychoanalytic, cultural, and literary trauma theories within the context of queer* trauma, which has been postulated to be an organizing feature of the cisheteronormative cultures over the affective and relational potentialities of queer individuals and their psychological well-being.

Despite my general emphasis on the insidious, temporally-overarching 'nature' of queer* trauma – in the way that one's exposure to its zealous effects take place over a long duration and through both covert and/or indirect LGBTQIA+negativity and misogyny, including bias, prejudice, discrimination, and violence on multiple registers of social reality, it is equally necessary to note that many people who have experienced a trauma will not develop PTSD (at least according to the DSM criteria of PTSD diagnosis [84]). Only 6.8 and 8.3 of the general American population

[84] In DSM-V, some major changes were made in the diagnosis of PTSD: The first major change in DSM-V PTSD criteria was the narrowing of the definition of traumatic events which (before) involved indirect exposure to traumatic events such as witnessing or learning about them via other means, then became a directly-exposed event and the 'nature' of the event became less vague. Criterion A2 was removed for its limited diagnostic utility. There was added another cluster, which turned the previous three clusters (reexperiencing, avoidance/numbing, and arousal) to a four-cluster model, which included exaggerated negative expectations about oneself, others, or the world, cognitive distortions regarding trauma-related blame; and pervasive negative emotional state. And the five-hyperarousal symptoms of DSM-IV were retained as DSM-V Criterion E with self-destructive or reckless behavior being added to the list. Which

will demonstrate PTSD symptomatology (Kessler et al. 2005). Goldstein et al. (2016) similarly noted a 6.1% prevalence of PTSD in DSM-V affecting 14,411,005 US adults, whereas over 85% of the general American population has been observed to experience a criterion A traumatic event throughout their lives (Kilpatrick et al. 2013) [85]

Despite the high, prevalence of the rate of traumatic events entering our lives' trajectories, there are numerous social, cultural, and psychological factors that work to protect individuals at risk against the possible development of PTSD and related, more complex, trauma experiences. Unfortunately, not all groups in the society have the equal amount of access to the necessary protective resources that may yield them resilient to trauma exposure, with LGBTQIA+ populations being at the top percentile of the highest-risk minority groups amongst racial (Williams et al. 2021), ethnic (Estrada et al. 2021), and religious (Hollier et al. 2022), and refugees (Alessi et al. 2018). According to the estimates, the estimated prevalence of PTSD diagnosis among LGBTQIA+ individuals has been stated to be considerably higher than gender-typical and sexually-conforming individuals, with statistics of PTSD occurring 2.20 times more than cisheterosexual groups (Marchi et al. 2023). Among LGBTQIA+ subgroups, it has been found that lesbian and gay subgroups displayed increased risk of PTSD (Odds Ratio: 1.96 [95% CI: 1.13; with bisexual people (OR: 2.44 [95% CI: 1.05; 5.66]) and transgender people (OR: 2.52 [95% CI: 2.22; 2.87]) displaying higher increased risks, respectively. (Marchi et al. 2023). But what is the connection of these findings to queer* trauma and queer theories, specifically?

In "Queer and Now", Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, one of the founding figures in Queer theory wrote:

> "A motive I think everyone who does gay and lesbian studies is haunted by the suicides of adolescents. To us, the hard statistics come easily: that queer teenagers are two to three times likelier to attempt suicide, and to accomplish it, than others; that up to 30 percent of teen suicides are likely to be gay or lesbian; that a third of lesbian and gay teenagers say

---

in total reduce the lifetime PTSD prevalence estimate by 1.0 point.

[85] With the modification of the fourth edition of DSM, the national testing and comparison of DSM-V criteria for PTSD had become a necessary step in trauma research; hence, Kilpatrick and his colleagues (2013) tested around 3.000 general U.S. adults and compared their results across the diagnostic criteria both for DSM-IV and DSM-V. Their findings indicated that DSM-V implemented a more rigorous and rigid diagnostics compared to DSM-IV, with examples of indirect exposure to nonviolent deaths no longer counting as a Criterion A item. Despite the narrowing of the criteria, the findings indicated that the vast majority of the sample (%89.7) had experienced at least one DSM-V Criterion A event in their lifetime. The study also highlighted the cascading effect of the traumatic events, meaning that the possibility for exposure to multiple traumatizing events increases each time the individual experiences an additional traumatic event, also supported by other research (Breslau 2009; Pratchett and Yehuda 2011).

> they have attempted suicide; that minority queer adolescents are at even more extreme risk ... The knowledge is indelible, but not astonishing, to anyone with a reason to be attuned to the profligate way this culture has of denying and despoiling queer energies and lives. I look at my adult friends and colleagues doing lesbian and gay work, and I feel that the survival of each one is a miracle. Everyone who survived has stories about how it was done." (1993, 1)

Sedgwick's these words led me to think about the queer case of Turkey's LGBTQAI+ populations, and how this 'phenomenon' that identified and discussed in depth long ago may be relevant to the current political and cultural atmosphere in which moralist surveillance and regulation, and governmentally-eased and -aided proliferation of violence at everyday life has resulted in a mass diminishment of queer life satisfaction, queer rights of privacy, protection, health, and psychological well-being. Unfortunately, it is not coincidental that just in December, three of our close, queer and trans* friends have taken their lives [86]. Sedgwick's words are a testament to the fact that increasing rates of LGBTQIA+ youth suicides are an apparent indicator of escalating precariousness, insecurity, and economic precarity that delineate the current problems of survival experienced by queer and trans* people in Turkey, and at the other side of the medallion is the reality that not only are these suicides are group-specific anomic rebellious acts against a system that gradually diminished their psychological well-being, but they also contribute to a further diminishment of the existing queer/trans* scene where suicide seems to be an increasing pattern of a politically-forced option of relief from the cycle of perpetual traumatization.

In this light, a recent research project, conducted by the Istanbul Youth Studies Center with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, examined the news related to LGBTI+ youth who have committed suicide in recent times. According to their report; a total of 10 suicide cases were identified, with 1 in 2012, 1 in 2014, 4 in 2015, 1 in 2016, 1 in 2017, 1 in 2019, and 1 in 2020. The report highlighted the role played by widespread and systematic homophobia, transphobia, and patriarchy in the occurrence of most of the LGBTI+ suicides. They identified multiple societal and political issues ranging from family pressure, social exclusion from support systems, structural social inequalities, societal stigma and marginalization, strength-

[86] In January only, the queer/trans* scene in Turkey lost six queer and trans* people, two of which have been noted as incidences of suicide. While I do not wish to refashion any of their legacies to be related to a single act in their life time, it is important to notice that these events are not solely psychological occurrences, meaning that their causes are not to be identified only within the realm of personal struggles etc. To the contrary, Boğaç Uzun, whom I met in Bilgi University before, and Candle Gender were both great artists (Boğaç having established himself as a solid documentarist and film maker, and Candle Gender as a phenomenal, much loved drag performance artist) who had much potential for more future success, happiness, and queer joy. But, in a country that makes all the effort to ensure that queer and trans* people are surrounded by bias, prejudice, hatred, and violence, it is practically improbable for any minoritized individual to sustain a self- maintaining psychological stronghold especially when their circumstances are debilitated further with economic difficulties and structural lacks.

ening of authoritarian practices that restrict the right of LGBTQ+ individuals to assemble, demonstrate, and march, increasing police violence, deepening the sense of isolation, gradual weakening of LGBTI+ solidarity networks in recent years, to an absence of suicide prevention policies and mechanisms, preventive guidance, and counseling services that should be established under the responsibility of local and central governments (2023). As Sedgwick said, "...being a survivor on this [queer] scene is a matter of surviving into threat, stigma, the spiraling violence of gay- and lesbian-bashing and (in the AIDS emergency) the omnipresence of somatic fear and wrenching loss" (2-3). In this light, it is of utmost importance to rethink the case of Queer youth suicides in relation to the prevalent psychological problems in LGBTQIA+ population and how the system works to maintain these patterns. In the next subsection, I will look at the unique case of Turkey's queer sexualities and its historical and sociological characteristics to provide a contemporary snapshot of the current state of queer life and politics in Turkey.

5.2 Turkey x Queer: Turkey's Queer Times or an Improbable Convergence?

Turkey remains to be one of the few Muslim-majority countries where same-sex sexual activities and non-cisheteronormative gender and sexual identities are not criminalized in the penal and civil law; however, it is possible to argue that there has always been entrenched social and cultural norms and structural regulatory mechanisms that monitor and constrain any form of gender and sexual dissidence. Though the Republic has been founded on the prospects of secular statehood that has aimed at a Westernized, modernizing mission, "public authorities have repeatedly rejected, marginalized, and condemned queer bodies, visibilities, and actions via religious, nationalist, fundamentalist, and statist grounds" (Özbay 2022). Although it is outside the scope of this dissertation to chart a detailed historical analysis of the political trajectories of the Turkish Republic towards gender and sexual minorities, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the anti-LGBTQIA+ sentiments and state policies in the last two decades with a 'snapshot' of the current state of queer precariousness [87]in Turkey.

[87]I believe in the necessity of differentiating between the concepts of precariousness and precarity, as Butler does in their book *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (2009). Although admittedly closely intersecting, for Butler, lives are by definition precarious, meaning that there is no guarantee for their persistence and there is always a risk of mortality shared by all humans in the very act of living. On the other hand, precarity is "that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (25). Hence, precarity, for Butler and me in this thesis, is "characterized by "unequal distribution of wealth and the differential ways of exposing certain populations, racially and nationally conceptually, to

As Özbay and Öktem underscore (2021), the early 2000s may be seen as "the decade of increasing queer presence, recognition, organizations, and webs of empowerment that were facilitated by the brief period of swift but ultimately inconclusive democratization and legal reform initiated by the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP, translated as JDP) of the early 2000s to accede to the European Union" (118). Seemingly promising an alternative to then-existing political parties that were too stuck in their old ways, none of which ever vocalized political support for the rights of LGBTQIA+ citizens, AKP enjoyed a growing popularity even amongst the intellectual Left in its heyday. In 2002, prior to their victory of the general elections, the prime minister candidate, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan attended a popular TV show where he was asked a question regarding the rights of LGBTQIA+ citizens, to which he stated: "Homosexuals must be protected under the umbrella of judicial regulations. We observe that they are treated inappropriately and we don't find these practices humane". On a similar note, back then, AKP did not seem to mind the growing visibility and presence of queer people in the public sphere between the years 2003 and 2014. The last officially- permitted Pride march took place in 2014, having attracted more than 100.000 participants coupled with the Gezi Park Protestors.

It is possible to proffer that the critical point which marks the beginning of the anti-democratic, fascist governmentality [88], has been the Gezi Park protests, having culminated in a rapid proliferation of political paranoia towards any group or activity that did not fit into the ruling AKP's world systems. As multiple crises emerged, "neoliberalism, Islamism, populism, and the new right came together and produced a polarizing, toxic political milieu, resulting in unprecedented violations of citizenship and democratic rights in Turkey" (2021, 122). Here I would like to provide a brief sidenote in relation to the clever wording of "Turkey's Queer Times" as I do not quite agree with Özbay and Öktem's thinking that implies that these are 'queer'

---

greater violence" which assuredly encompasses populations targeted for their non-normative genders and sexualities.

[88] Here I would like to connect the escalating fascism of the current regime to Sedgwick's ideas on fascism in the context of gender and sexual governance, which is a defining feature of 20th century fascisms – an axiomatic ideological thrust, which is the "maintenance of an almost unbreached separation between the heightened surcharge of the homosocial/homosexual on the one hand, and on the other hand any availability across the society of values or language or worldviews that would explicitly allow these strong charges to be respected, felt through, legitimated, and inhabited, not to say loved. Fascism is distinctive in this century not for the intensity of its homoerotic charge, but rather for the virulence of the homophobic prohibition, by which that charge, once crystallized as an object of knowledge, is then denied to knowledge and hence most manipulably mobilized" (48-49). Some contemporary thinkers even argue that this Sedgwickian axiomatic (homo/hetero distinction) has become a corner stone of modern queer politics and research, and instead present alternative modes and literatures of reading and analyses that they situate under what is now called "post-queer politics" (Ruffolo 2009). Also, see James Penney's *After Queer Theory: The Limits of Sexual Politics* (2014). My understanding of a possible post-queer project would probably follow Carla Freccero's thinking when she wrote "[One should practice], rather than an 'after' of sex, is a return to questions of subjectivity and desire, and to a postqueer theoretical critical analysis of subjectivity that brings together, rather than once again solidifying the divide between, psychoanalysis and other analytics and objects of study" (2011, 23)

times compared to the previous years of LGBTQIA+s social life in Turkey. While I acknowledge the historical transition that they successfully frame in their paper in a way that depicts a backsliding trend in terms of human and citizenship rights enjoyed by queer people in Turkey, I do not think that it should be read simply in a linear temporal relationality of progress-or- decadence. Instead, I argue that it is rooted in a more complex matter of trans- geographical and cultural translational problem – one that echoes Joseph Massad's Foucauldian argument in *Desiring Arabs* (2007) that deals with the cultural (mis)translations of Western biopolitical discourse on queer sexualities and genders into the Middle Eastern social and sexual lexicon and everyday life. Simply, I refashion this debate not in a unique transformation of increasing vulnerability in Turkey's approach towards queers, but in the queer cultural (un)translatability of Middle Eastern gender and sexuality matrix that marks these recent hostile attitudes in the chasm between different intellectual pasts, affective histories, and international conflict over resources, including the World Wars and colonialism.

With that being said, it is indisputable that Turkey entered a totally new, unprecedented political milieu after the Gezi Protests and the coup attempt in 2016 in terms of its relation with minorities and the ruling party's strategies on mobilizing their political base and voters' moralist affects and anxieties in the way of silencing and criminalizing any dissident voice. It was in this climate when the AKP government and President Erdoğan started to attack LGBTQIA+ people with explicit anti-queer remarks. Not only did these anti-queer sentiments translate soon to populist public discourses on morality and the need to protect "Turkey's youth" from such insidious attacks of Western forces, but it also instigated the first instances of state homophobia, which Özbay describes as "a series of articulated hatred, fear, disgust, and dehumanization discourses regarding LGBTI+ and queer identities, communities, movements, and politics by various organs of the state and representatives of the government in an organized manner." (2022, 203). These state-sponsored attacks on the integrity and the human rights of LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey were soon implemented at institutional level with the Boğaziçi Resistance, and the ensuing clashes between the civil, students of the university and the police forces of the government.

Transformed into a manufactured battle between the nation-loving police force and the state-assigned, rogue officials of the new university administration, which they take to be the representatives of an imagined 'general morality' of Turkish public that is presumably against LGBTQIA+ rights and visibility in the social sphere. Welcomed by nationalist, extremists groups, these anti-gender and anti-LGBTQIA+ sentiments quickly escalated to a whole another level when the AKP won the pre-

sential elections of 2023. Upon the public declaration of their victory, the President Erdoğan addressed the opposing political parties, stating that they are LGBT supporters. He continued his words saying, "Well, can they [LGBT groups] infiltrate AKP, MHP, and other members of the Cumhur İttifakı? [89] Every election is a reborn for us. To us, family is sacred, no one can desacralize it!". In another address next day, he referred to LGBTQIA+ individuals once again, and claimed that "no LGBT person is a product of this nation", invoking the now- established political tropes of Western plans to immoralize Turkish youth with the promotion of 'non-conventional' lifestyles and their attempts to end the Turkish cultural values and social practices on the traditional family life.

As Özbay and I underscored in another paper (2024), this aggravated approach towards LGBTQIA+s on the part of the AKP government and the conservative supporters has solidified into a state homo/transphobia, which may be said to have escalated with the Boğaziçi Resistance, and how the complicit police force and media refashioned Boğaziçi students and other insurgent queer voices alike into "terrorist queers" (Özbay 2022) who were speculated to desire state's annihilation and usurpation of Turkish state's forces by Western grant funders – this paranoid narrative has become a defining characteristics of the AKP's political, anti-gender discourse, which aims to imagine a faux reality where gender non-conformity and sexual multiplicity is not an organic, psychic, indispensable part of human diversity, but a particular historico-political enforced agenda. While it may seem that this imaginary project may prove futile in the context of the pressing realities of the ubiquity of sexual diversity and gender-expansive expressions, the hegemonic discourses of anti-gender and anti-queer/trans policies became quite familiar to the Turkish media and the public sphere, which has long become attuned to newer forms of neoliberal, populist authoritarianism (Arat and Pamuk 2019).

As Özbay and Candan stated (2023, 672), following President Erdoğan's recalibration of AKP's political agendas for instituting a conservative, Islamist Turkish public life, new, transnationally-borrowed and -translated political tactics emerged around the cause' of anti-gender movement. Reframing this Western phenomenon, which first emerged in some transphobic, sex-essentialist ranks of English academia and spread to many Eastern European countries, Erdoğan called their goal "gender justice", albeit this view ironically relied on a naturalizing, sex-essentialist and religious accounts of understanding sexual difference. Based on this brief summary, it can be seen that there have occurred multiple, drastic social and political events in the

[89] "Cumhur İttifakı" is the name given to a political allegiance formed between the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). This alliance was formed in 2018 for the general elections in Turkey. They aim to relate to the conservative and nationalist sentiments of their supporters by relying on traditional, patriarchal and Islamist values.

recent past of Turkey that altered the lives of LGBTQIA+ citizens' lives drastically; however, I proffer that any historical summation or analysis of the socio-political events in a certain context can never be fully grasped without attending to the lived experiences, life stories, affective worlds, and psychological dynamics of the people that endured those events. Therefore, in this project, I am not just referring to an 'objective' narration of the recent anti- queer/trans events in Turkey, but I would like to examine and relate to them within the context of my interlocutors' everyday life experiences, spanning from their interpersonal relations and past traumatic experiences to their affective attempts towards queer world- making. Hence, my analysis expands into exploring what queer survival vs. queer suffering may mean in the face of these historical events.

So far, it may be inferred that I am trying to integrate different traditions and segments of existing, diverse literatures on psychological and cultural trauma; however, on a closer look, it will be apparent that these literatures have always sought to understand the connections between the individual and the collective trauma and the consequences of these dynamisms, albeit in a vacuum-like manner that did not travel much beyond monodisciplinary limits. In this research project, one of the overarching goals is to elucidate, almost to perform an archaeological analysis of the prior and present knowledge systems of trauma and how certain knowledges have been forgotten or repressed, and how these perpetual repressions and remembrance in the field of trauma studies and in general studies of history, politics, and individual and collective suffering. In this light, I will start with examining Ann Cvetkovich's work on queer trauma and how she investigates multiple genres, life stories, and historical/political events within the context of trauma studies.

5.3 (Non)Publicized Feelings: Queer* Trauma in Queer Affect Theories

One of the first figures in my theorizing about queer trauma is Ann Cvetkovich, whose anti-pathologizing analyses of lesbian public cultures and queer trauma cultures have revealed illuminating findings over the ways everyday experiences of traumatization are lived by queer individuals. Particularly focusing on the trauma discourses in what she calls "archives of feelings" that includes various genres of cultural production that permeate the sites of trauma in the examined gay and lesbian cultures. On the one hand, following a somewhat familiar trajectory of the analyses of the feminist psychologists like Herman, Brown, Root, and Rue, Cvetkovich examines how sexual trauma has been experienced and written about in lesbian public

cultures. For sexual trauma, she says: "Sometimes it seems invisible because it is confined to the domestic or private sphere. Sometimes it doesn't appear sufficiently catastrophic because it doesn't produce dead bodies, or even, necessarily damaged ones" (2003, 3). This ambiguous characteristic of sexual trauma that lingers on the limits of collective and individual trauma divide allows her to "expand the category of the therapeutic beyond the confines of the narrowly medicalized or privatized encounter between clinical professional and client" (2003, 10). On the other hand, Cvetkovich tackles with the legacies of the HIV/AIDS crisis, studying how trauma cultures reacted to the mass losses that queer public cultures with the recognition of feelings of shame, angst, and mourning/melancholia implicated in the crisis. Specifically building upon the literature on counterpublics and affective political lives by Lauren Berlant's "intimate public sphere", Michael Warner, and Douglas Crimp, Cvetkovich examines how counterpublics [90]of queer trauma reacted against the national abjection project at the time. This project leads to a detailed exploration of "the affective dimensions of activist cultures in a way that problematizes distinctions between therapy and politics, or between mourning and militancy" (13). [91]

Cvetkovich's approach towards her topic of inquiry is not an alien perspective towards the study of affective-psychological social phenomena, since affect theory [92] has long established itself as a formidable subdiscipline of cultural studies, critical

---

[90]Michael Warner (2002) described the dynamic relationship between publics and counterpublics in these words: "Some publics are defined by their tension with a larger public...The sexual cultures of gay men or of lesbians would be one kind of example. A counterpublic in this sense is usually related to a subculture, but there are important differences between these concepts. A counterpublic, against the background of the public sphere, enables a horizon of opinion and exchange; its exchanges remain distinct from authority and can have a critical relation to power; its extent is in principle indefinite, because it is not based on a precise demography, but mediated by print, theater, diffuse networks of talk, commerce, and the like." (56). Therefore, "a public, or counterpublic, can do more than represent the interests of gendered or sexualized persons in a public sphere. It can mediate the most private and intimate meanings of gender and sexuality. It can work to elaborate new worlds of culture and social relations in which gender and sexuality can be lived, including forms of intimate association, vocabularies of affect, styles of embodiment, erotic practices, and the relations of care and pedagogy. It can therefore make possible new forms of gendered or sexual citizenship – meaning active participation in collective world making through publics of sex and gender." (2002, 57)

[91]It needs to be mentioned that Cvetkovich is a contemporary of Lauren Berlant and other early queer affect theorists, but the beginnings of Cvetkovich's project here dates back to "A Public Feelings Project" which is a collective, intellectual and activist collaborative initiative that was based on group gatherings, reading groups, and academic conferences taking place in Austin, Chicago, New York and Toronto. Equally important, Cvetkovich mentions numerous academic colleagues and students at the University of Texas, Austin, which eventually led to her book, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (2003).

[92]As Rabate underscored, "Affect is the foundational condition of trauma theory. As it is never engaged for its mythopoetic function, affect allows no interruption, only infinite incompletion" (2020, 83). This is the line of commonality that I believe led Leys to connect Caruth's work to van der Kolk and other neuropsychological models of trauma as affect carries an inevitable dimension of materiality and, paradoxically, an elusive, phantasmic access to the unknowability of trauma. However, despite the popularity of psychoanalytic theories and concepts in the key texts of the affective turn, there seems to be an indifference to the ways the mind (with both its conscious and unconscious mechanisms) psychically, biochemically, and materially infuses our embodied experiences and behaviors, including those of our emotive and linguistic productions. Moreover, a similar indifference has been stated to be apparent in the way affect theories have evacuated the libidinal forces of the mindbody, and instead created an understanding of the body "crisscrossed by markers of gender, race, class, age, and ability, susceptible to a range of affective intensities, yet singularly devoid of sex" (Davis and Dean 2022, 81).

social theory, and queer theory. As the editors of The Affect Theory Reader, Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth state (2010), the spur of the affect studies, which may actually be argued to have started with Silvan Tomkins' foundational book on psychobiological tenets of affects (1962) and Deleuze's Spinozist work (1988), occurred with the publication of Sedgwick and Adam Frank's "Shame in the Cybernetic Fold" (1995) and Brian Massumi's "The Autonomy of Affect" (1995). While it is possible to present affect theory with the presentation of earlier and more 'popular' names such as Sara Ahmed, Sianne Ngai, Kathleen Stewart, Heather Love, or Raymond Williams, whose ideas have already informed and shaped the intellectual world of the researcher, it is Ann Cvetkovich who, for this dissertation, deserves to be introduced before all, since her analysis of queer trauma is the theoretical cement that connects my interlocutors' experiences and my retheorizing of a politicized yet psychological account of a trauma that extends beyond the binary of the private/public, the collective/individual, and the clinic/real world. By the examination of how lesbian communities have reacted to sexual and gender traumas, Cvetkovich showcases various cultural means of processing those traumas (via art, literature, activism, movies, etc.), problematizing the interconnections between trauma, sexuality, gender, publics, and politics.

According to Cvetkovich, in the archive of trauma, one finds not only the residues left by traumatic histories but also the nuances of everyday emotional life (2011, 280). "My investigation thus becomes an inquiry into how affective experiences that falls outside of institutionalized or stable forms of identity or politics can form the basis for public culture" writes Cvetkovich for her analysis of the lesbian sites of trauma. In her chapter "Everyday Life of Queer Trauma", Cvetkovich examines one performance piece, *2.5 Minute Ride* (Kron 2000), and the movie, *Little Women* (Le Roy 1949). Highlighting the persistent manner in which the everyday seeps into the clinical discourses of trauma and overflowing onto the collective and social modes of traumatic encounters, Cvetkovich develops an interdisciplinary concept of queer trauma that is "part of the affective language that describe life under capitalism" (19). Coalescing Feminist theory, Critical Race theory, Marxism, psychoanalysis, queer theory, and affect theory [93], she states that queer trauma, by which she refers to insidious, every day traumas experienced by queer individuals, can be more difficult to realize and locate as they do not necessarily take the form of visible

[93] The editors of *A Silvan Tomkins Handbook: Foundations for Affect Theory*, Adam J. Frank and Elizabeth A. Wilson (2020) argue that "Silvan's affect theory is notable for how it engages tenets of behaviorism, psychoanalysis, and (eventually) cognitivism to build a different (indeed, provocative) kind of psychological theory. By being interested in each of these schools, yet affixed to none, Tomkins was able to generate a brilliant, idiosyncratic, and complex understanding of the affect system informed as much by cybernetics and systems theory as by psychoanalysis, neuropsychology, learning theory, ethology, and studies of perception and cognition." (13) These words seem to confirm the transdisciplinary roots of affect theory from its incipience to its development in the house of queer studies.

or punctual events. Therefore, she provides her approach towards trauma as seeing it as "a site of exploring the convergence of affect and sexuality as categories of analysis for queer theory" (48).

According to Cvetkovich, "the distinction between everyday and catastrophic trauma [event-based] is also tied to the distinction between public and private, since often what counts as national or public trauma is that which is more visible and catastrophic, that which is newsworthy and sensational, as opposed to the small dramas ... because they draw attention to how structural forms of violence are so frequently lived, how their invisibility and normalization is another part of their oppressiveness" (2011, 175). Hence, the uneven distribution of institutionalized public responses to trauma unveils instances where the traces of socially induced trauma are discernible solely within the intimate realms of sexual and emotional lives (68). These meditations bring to mind Michael Warner's words of "some publics are more public than others" (45). In his seminal work, *Publics and Counterpublics* (2002), Warner describes the state of occupying a public space and the case of being in public "as a privilege that requires filtering or repression something that is seen as private. [...] the transgression [between public and private] is experienced not as merely theoretical, but as a violation of deep instincts about sex and gender. [...] Like those of gender, the orientations of public and private are rooted in what anthropologists call habitus; the conventions by which we experience, as though naturally, our own bodies and movement in the space of the world" (23). This elaborates the kind of thinking that is at work in Cvetkovich's use of the terms "public" and "queer public cultures" which incorporates Warner's emphasis on the hierarchical organization and regulation of the divide between the public and private spheres of people's intimacies, especially the intimate lives of queer people.

Similarly, Sedgwick [94] describes public (in the dynamics of queer vs. heterosexual antagonism) as "the space where cross-sex couples may, whenever they feel like it, display affection freely, while same-sex couples must always conceal it; while 'privacy', to the degree that it is a right codified in U:S. law, has historically been centered on the protection-from-scrutiny of the married, cross-sex couple, a scrutiny to which (since the 1986 decision in Bowers v. Hardwick) same-sex relations on the other hand are unbendingly subject... The making historically visible of heterosex-

[94] In this and the following subsections, it will be seen that Sedgwick's ideas on queer affect keeps reoccurring. This is due to the fact that Sedgwickian intellectual heritage on queer theory, according to Berlant, offers a model of how to use an object "to counter the aggressively bad lifeworld contexts infusing our own, to build alternative attachments within them, to resist the redefinition manias of hegemonic power that destabilize our emerging alliances, and to revitalize political and epistemological struggle" (2019, 4). In *Reading Sedgwick* (2019), Fawaz also underscore the eminence of the everyday life in Sedgwick's writings, which sees the quotidian as "the site from which affective attachments to particular ideas, theories, research questions, and modes of analysis come to be nourished and grow in intensity" (25). While Sedgwick couldn't live to see the developed project of psychosocial studies, I do not wish to proceed without acknowledging her primary work on these pertinent questions.

uality [95] is difficult because, under its institutional pseudonyms such as Inheritance, Marriage, Dynasty, Family, Domesticity, and Population, heterosexuality has been permitted to masquerade so fully as History itself. (9-10). While Sedgwick, Berlant, and Warner produced seminal works on the public/private distinction and the ways in which the political maneuvering of this divide maintains the social, hierarchal differentiation in the rights of heterosexual and queer people, Cvetkovich comes to the foreground as the first one to have essentially thought about these matters with the aid of the concept of trauma.

In her later book, *Depression: A Public Feeling* [96] (2012), Cvetkovich examines the interplay between individual experiences of depression within the larger contexts of social, cultural, and political forces. Instead of focusing on psychological dynamics embedded in the experiencing of depression, Cvetkovich turns to a social-cultural analysis, studying how cultural products demonstrate the cross-level (micro-meso-macro) transference between depressed individuals, the mental health care workers, and the society. She summarized her interest in this project as searching answers for the question of how "everyday life produces feelings of despair and anxiety, sometimes extreme, sometimes throbbing along at a low level, and hence barely discernible from just the way things are, feelings that get internalized and named, for better or worse, as depression." (14). In the context of these two prominent pieces of hers, it can be safely stated that it is this over-extending approach of Cvetkovich's, which provides a retheorized account of "political feelings" (Cvetkovich 2023), that saturates my theoretical position in this project. In dissertation, I have been looking for examples of mental illness narratives and "therapeutic practices that complicate

---

[95] As I do not conceptualize any non-normative sexual or gendered identity as an essentialized form of subjectivity, I also do not take heterosexuality as a natural identity category. In fact, following Stevi Jackson's ideas in *Heterosexuality in Question* (1999), I believe that queer studies should make it one of their main goals to critically examine and study how heterosexuality and its stories of "pure love", "romance", or "good life" are manufactured through institutional means of social construction and normalization that is sponsor by the state, its law, and social-cultural conventions. In fact, as Berlant and Warner states (1998), "heterosexuality is a not thing." They add that "it is neither a single Symbolic nor a single ideology nor a unified set of shared beliefs. The conflicts between these strands are seldom more than dimly perceived in practice, where the givenness of male-female sexual relations is part of the ordinary rightness of the world, its fragility masked in solemn rectitude" (192). Hence, heteronormativity is not simply an ideology or prejudice. "It is produced in almost every aspect of the forms and arrangements of social life: nationality, that state, and the law; commerce; medicine; education; plus the conventions and affects of narrativity, romance, and other protected spaces of culture, whose foundations are archaic that their "material conditions feel hardwired into personhood" (Berlant and Warner 1998, 194).

[96] As I remain heavily influenced by the anti-normative, anti-psychiatric, and psychosocial theorizing behind her analysis of depression in this work, I am wary of thinking depression solely as a historical, political way of understanding some affective arrangements and modes of feeling and relating (although, from certain points, it certainly is). Instead, I would add that there are certain biochemical and psychological and affective powers figured in the way "depression" reveals itself for each individual, and that these anatomical and psychoanalytical forces (with the cognitive elements of particular schematic thinking and 'maladaptive' thinking patterns) interact closely with the historical and political determinants of the individuals' environment. Therefore, my approach to depression or trauma, can perhaps best likened to the biopsychosocial view exemplified in *Gut Feminism* (Wilson 2015), where the destructive elements of depression or trauma are recognized for their potential harms for the individuals and the collective politics, once understood within a framework (1-17) that sees mindbody as an integral dynamic system that defies the dichotomic divide even within the organism, beyond the central system/periphery, psychic/social, or personal/political.

the psychodynamics of trauma and healing, as well as the connections, silent and spoken, between queerness and trauma". (92). However, I have experienced numerous problems in eliciting the previously-postulated affective and memory-triggering responses on the part of my interlocutors, since most have commented on the fact that they do not remember vividly most of their childhood or teenage years. But this was not a topic that I had not considered before. To the contrary, psychoanalytic work is replete with theoretical and clinical examples on similar cases of traumatization, which is said to be characterized by silences and forgettings.

As Cvetkovich also noted, "the obstacle to retrieving the memory of trauma is not necessarily that it has been repressed but that due to dissociation, for example, it was never experienced in the first place" (98). On this 'strange' phenomenon, one of my interlocutors, Derin, a senior psychology student, 22-year-old bisexual women with panic disorder and dysthymic depression diagnoses, stated:

> "Now that you've asked me to talk about my childhood and my memories of experiencing biphobia at the time, I understand what you are referringto, but that's the problem! I cannot remember much about my past. I do know that I experienced many upsetting homophobic events as a teen, but when I force myself to remember the exact event, nothing comes to my mind! It's as if someone else lived those events and all I have is the information that they happened. Funny how I remember how it felt then, but details evade me. I cannot even remember the faces of the people that hurt me. I am also aware that this is dissociation at best, but it is what it is. Perhaps it is better to forget, who knows?"

In Cvetkovich's theorization of queer trauma, what is unspeakable but keeps returning is not peculiar to the individual, psychological experiences of repression, dissociation, and experiential numbness towards the information of the trauma. Despite her warning on the hazards of confounding the individual traumas with the collective ones, there is an implicit acknowledgment, or an awareness, that these dynamics also work at the level of the collective, in that "If the nation is diasporic and transnational", Cvetkovich writes, "return can never be a simple reunification, and the histories, both collective and personal, that are conjured by return may remain 'unspeakable', as trauma so frequently is" (130)". In a similar manner that the mind of a traumatized individual haphazardly selects, censors, rescreens or represses the troubling memories of the events, the archives of queer trauma (counter)publics present a 'problem', which "raises questions about how its materials got there and what materials are left out" (133). This was best illustrated in Ömer's interview (39-year-old, gay man activist) where he commented on the lack of media coverage

and public education in relation to the HIV/AIDS epidemic at the time:

> "As long as I remember, we've always had to look to the West. I mean, in terms of reaching the news about LGBT people. When the panic around HIV started to sway around Turkey, I remember me and my two, only gay male friends feeling so scared and hopeless. We didn't know what to do. Well, actually we were much luckier compared to others because we knew English so it was possible to read books and journals if someone brought them from abroad. But still, it wasn't clear why it only spread amongst gay men. The foreign magazines we read were scientific to an extent. But, in Turkey, all they covered was biased, uninformed bullshit about HIV being the doom of gays, and how it spread just with being in the same room with gays. Last year, we wanted to collect old news about HIV coverage to document the history, but all we found was these kind of news, illicit stories of outing people deceased of HIV or fomenting more fear in the media and the public. Again, we learned about the developed treatment options quite some after the developments, since it was not easy to access English-material right away. And worse, the Turkish media waited for so long to cover the positive developments in that front."

In her project, Cvetkovich uses oral history, which she presents as a method that is necessitated by her emotional needs, using it as a means to "create a collective public sphere out of the individual stories of people who once worked collectively and are now more dispersed" (2003, 160). In the same light, I have been closely following this sentiment in my in-depth interviews where I ask my interlocutors to talk about their childhood and teenage years in relation to their queer subjectivities. Hence, in the context of Turkey's queer/trans* population, I am also trying to create a collective through the memories of individuals who, as a result of insidious traumas I refer to as queer* trauma, experience various psychological difficulties, have shaken affective worlds, and are constantly challenged.

"Trauma", writes Cvetkovich, "makes itself felt in everyday practices and nowhere more insidiously or insistently than in converting what was once pleasure into the specter of loss or in preventing the acknowledgment of such losses. It may be a necessity rather than luxury to consider trauma's impact on sexual life or how its effects are mediated through forms of oppression such as homophobia" (163). It can be seen that, in her book, she defines the concept of trauma more than eight times, and almost every time we see a different aspect, dimension, or function clarified. I think one of the main parts that makes queer* trauma queer is this multiplicity

[97] in the conceptual ambiguity and expansiveness in its theoretical and methodological studies. That's why, when I say queer* trauma with an asterisk, I define it within the framework of queer experiences (related to the lives of LGBTQIA+ individuals) and also want to emphasize the difficulty of defining it theoretically in a single disciplinary sense, instead I wish to foreground its interdisciplinary 'nature', its fluid, hypermorphotic structure, and its instability even in a single work. In the next section, I will present Lauren Berlant's perspective on queer communities and individuals exist and resist in the face of structures and systems that aim to destabilize and devitalize the means of queer survival, queer joy, and what she calls "a good life", and hypothesize that cisheteronormative society transfer and project their unwanted, undesirable 'desires' and feelings onto the already affectively- encumbered groups who are systematically exposed to those negative affects, forcing these minoritized groups to accept into their 'depiction' of which feelings are inherently inimical to which groups, in that cisheterosexuals are given to the realm of the normal and the status of the moral flag bearers whereas queer and trans people are forfeited from the experiences of feeling like a normal, proud, and a belonging member of the general society, only to be left to the affective limbo of awaiting feelings of internalized stigma, inferiority, immorality, and ostracization.

5.4 Projectile Abjections: Nation, Citizenship, and Sex Cultures

In *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (1997), Lauren Berlant proffers that intimate public sphere is the transformed version of previously political public sphere, now refashioned with the ideas of a notion that "the nation's survival depends on personal acts and identities performed in the intimate domains of the quotidian" (4). "Downsizing citizenship to a mode of voluntarism and privacy has radically changed the ways national identity is imagined, experienced, and governed in political and mass-media public spheres and in everyday life" (5). In the context of American nationalist sentimentality and the intertwined "questions of intimacy, sexuality, reproduction, and the family" (8), Berlant argues for a counterhegemonic politics that "advocates the subaltern appropriation of normative forms of the good life [that] makes a kind of (often tacit)

[97] In a way, this way of thinking/writing is reminiscent of Muriel Dimen's intellectual experimentation in *Sexuality, Intimacy, Power* (2003) where she asks us to hold, for once, contradictory ideas in our minds at the same time. She said: "Let us see gender as a container of multiplicity, both unitary and divided. Let us consider gender systems as simultaneously dual and multiple. I am asking to believe that, at the same time, we can know and not know who we are, that we can 'I' even as our identity is multiple, unstable, and emerging, as, ... is our sexuality. I am trying to find a way to be able to say, with safety and excitement, 'I am [woman], but what that means I have yet to find out" (80- 81).

peace with exploitation and normativity" (9).

Defining one of the goals of her project in this book as to identify and explain how the national and transnational politics of subjectivity in a present tense sliced from the temporality of the American dream machine, with the acknowledgment of the dream's banality and parochialism (1997, 14), Berlant ventures on an affective queer analysis of a few selected cultural productions of the American mass media and pop culture. The 'present tense' that she mentions is now a part of the past, which Berlant situates with the historical events of "sex-radical politics and feminism, multiculturalism and transnational capitalism and the widening social inequities that have called the national narrative into question" (1997, 18). Hence, "Suddenly no narrative seems to flow naturally from the identity people thought was their national birthright" (18). Of course, this critical analysis of the American national identity and its dilemmas in the context of queer/feminist identity politics is not directly related to the case of Turkey and the queer states of living queerly herein, however, the invention of "revitalized national heterosexuality" that came as a reaction to the above-provided changes in the economical, juridical, and everyday life of the American nation. According to Berlant and Warner, "national heterosexuality is the mechanism by which a core national culture can be imagined as a sanitized space of sentimental feeling and immaculate behavior, a space of pure citizenship" (Berlant and Warner 1998, 189).

Recontextualized in the transnational, globalized flow of the translational social movements and sentiments, the everyday practices of intimacy and the public spaces of everyday life, I argue, have culminated in a similar development as in the American case. Thus, rapidly escalating Turkish Islamist 'new' waves of heteropatriarchal nationalism have led to a mode of citizenship which is utilized by right-wing politicians and conservative figures to use it as "an index for appraising domestic national life, and for witnessing the processes of valorization that make different populations differently legitimate socially and under the law" (Berlant 1997, 20). This revitalized space, which encompasses both the public sphere and the mass-popular representations of intimacy and private life, has fortified into a "modal or model citizen" that indicates the fictionalized historical and future narratives of Turkish-Islamic national heterosexual identity, which marginalize, criticize, and penalize any public political aspiration aimed at reclaiming an unconventional gender identity or sexual orientation (Berlant 1997, 23).

Even though it hasn't been explicitly called out as such by the interviewees, the fact that the right-wing, Islamist and ultra-nationalist dyadic political entity, Cumhur İttifakı, has heavily relied on remobilizations of homophobic sentiments and gender

paranoia has been referred to multiple times during the interviews. For instance, Gülendam stated that the prevalent, almost everyday occurrence of state-sponsored and - initiated public hatred and vilification of lubunyas [98] has taken a great toll on their daily morale and psychological well-being. They detail these experiences as follows:

> "Look, we always knew what they thought us from the beginning! But, especially after the last two general elections, they have really taken it to the extremes. I mean the public condemnation of queer people by Erdoğan, and the other AKP political figures. It was already excruciatingly annoying to see on Twitter that everyday hashtags like 'LGBT' were trending with tons of condemning and demonizing messages. However, it started to frustrate and even worry me so much more when the President won the last general election and talked about only LGBTQ+ people in Turkey and how their party's main goals was to defend the morality of the general public. He talked about us as Western, immoral agents that wish to corrupt Turkish youth. That's nonsense! I think this is all but a tactic on their part, so that by focusing on these sensitive issues they attempt to divert attention from the real economic problems and the problems of freedom and equality in general. But the reality is that their supporters, which is ,as you know, the half of the population, believes in those statements, and we have to live with this. Being targeted by the President himself"

While Gülendam attempts to explain the unraveling of the above-provided events in the light of political strategies of relating to the public sentimentality to divert public political scrutiny on the shortcomings of the ruling party's economic performance, it is also implicitly provided that there is a high level of personal anxiety and fear over the possibility that they may be attacked on the basis of these state-led targeting accusations. Furthermore, they commented on the fact that they do not feel safe outside in the real life, as they now know that they are considered to

---

[98] Gülendam specifically used and defended their use of the term "lubunya" as they believed that it is more in tune with Turkey's anthropological unique characteristics instead of using the Western term of "queer". A similar idea was expressed recently in the literature by Zengin who wrote that "Lubunya now also embraces natrans [cis] lesbians, queer women, trans men, and nonbinary natrans/trans people alongside trans women, gay men with feminine gender, and those who occupy a liminal position between the two. The recent expansion of lubunya to include a wider group of LGBTI+ people, I argue, has something to do with the formation of new alliances among feminist, queer, and trans groups around transfeminism, alliances that emerged in reaction to the local forms and discourses of TERF (trans exclusionary radical feminism)." (2024, 32). While I concur with the views of both persons, I also believe that not every LGBTQIA+ person is content with the self-referential usage of lubunya as it has connotations of femmeness and some form of political awareness, which may not apply to all members of queer communities in Turkey. I see power in using a universalizing version of the concept as I acknowledge there are specific major points of cultural differentiation and specificity embedded in the usage of lubunya. With the term of 'universalizing' in this passage, I refer to Sedgwick's usage of the concept when they expressed it as a case of "seeing an issue of continuing, determinative importance in the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities [and genders]" (1990, 1).

be legitimate citizens that would be provided with the equal rights and protection that a cisheterosexual person will enjoy. This reframing of queer people in Turkey – as less than legitimate and "ordinary citizens", I argue, is a consequence of the anti-political politics of contemporary conservative culture that Berlant designates (1997, 10). On this aspect, Gülendam argued that this is another tactic, "a clever one", that "enables AKP to empty out the potentials for public political activities that will undermine their long-run goals", which I wish to evaluate in the context of AKP's attempts to forge an inherently moral, righteous and entitled figure of a cisheterosexual, Sunni, Turkish national subjectivity. As if it is not the queer people in Turkey that have to deal with multiple forms of institutional, cultural, and everyday discrimination, violence, and precariousness, the 'new' heteronormative culture, which is now conjured into existence by the conservative, nationalist political agents, imagines some form of a "citizen trauma" whose "rhetorics of a traumatized core national identity have come to describe, and thereby to make, something real" (Berlant 1997, 3).

In this populist scenario, it is the white, cisheterosexual men who are exposed to these Western trends of immoral sexual acts and seductions; it is these men who have to fight against these cultural 'plans' to sabotage and mar their unblemished, all-pure cisheterosexual core national identity. Hence, we do not talk, at least on the public political sphere in Turkey, about the traumatic experiences of queer citizens, but we focus on the 'imminent' dangers of being emasculated, being queerly seduced, or 'tricked into' being with a trans person etc. These are the potentially traumatizing events that they are called to fight against, resist, and even defend the 'innocence' of Turkish youth that is directly taken to be cisgender-heterosexual. This political shift from the previous state- based identification of Turkish-Islamic social membership to a state-based identification of cisheteronormatively reconstructed forms of national identity brings up the notion of 'infantile citizenship', in which "the revelation of the practical impossibility of utopian nationality produces gothic, uncanny, miraculating effects of the infantile persons whose minds are being transformed by 'true', not idealized, national knowledge" (Berlant 1997, 43). Here, the infantilized citizens are not just the literal infantile and younger generations whose surging worlds of desire is strictly limited to a doomed constriction of compulsory heterosexuality, but also the adult citizens are also reimagined and treated as infantile individuals that are incapable of "negotiating the semiotic, economic, and political conditions of his/her existence in civil society" (Berlant 1997, 37).

These negotiations extend to the questions of intimacy and sexuality, are lived not just in political modes of publicity but also in the everyday, ordinary flow of social life where the already-polymorphously desiring citizens, regardless of their political

stances or views, are ensured by the state and mass media that they have always been heterosexual, and that it was the Western, occupying forces and enemies of the nation's past that were the 'actual' queers. As if there is no actual histories of queer embodiment and ways of living documented even in the late Ottoman/the early Republican era (Sarıtaş 2020), AKP invokes a trauma claim for the future! This delicately fabulated account of being threatened with the possible menace of future emasculation, sissification, and being fucked [99](Bersani 1995) builds on the historical medical, juridical, and cultural normative technologies of organizing the biopower both in the bedroom and the public life. Therefore, juxtaposed with the haunting images (and repressed/erased memories) of queer ways of life in the past of the nation, these desperate wailings for the control of the terms of definition of their national, cisheteronormative identity echo with the imaginaries of sexual panic and gender paranoia that mark the impending dangers and the trauma that will ensue.

Projecting themselves into a future temporality that is treated as an already-experienced posttraumatic present tied to the valorized national victories of the past, the conservative cisheteronormative culture ensures the continuity of the national narratives on salvaged pasts of the ancestors, who are never to be dared to desire 'otherwise', and the maintenance of the affective attachments to the representativeness of the normative symbolic national subjects. I argue that this is the actual traumatic encounter that conservative cisheteronormative culture and its political agents, AKP, fail to experience with the fear [100] of social decimation and "self-shattering". Against the historical and literary documents of queer social and intimate life even in the nascent birth of the Turkish nation, the images of a sterilized, cisheteronormatively organized public and private life of people abound, culminating in various forms of traumatic reactivity marked with reenactments and

---

[99]In *Homos* (1995), Leo Bersani delves into the dreaded fear of being fucked and criticizes the societal and psychological power dynamics in cisheteronormative society, particularly those tied to traditional notions of masculinity and heteronormativity. This fear, according to Bersani, not only symbolizes deeper anxieties about vulnerability, dominance, and identity discontinuity, but it also reflects greater problems in the societal structures. As an anti-communitarian act, Bersani argues that embracing the erotic potential of being penetrated can subvert these power hierarchies and disrupt rigid norms of sex and intimacy.

[100]Throughout this text, I have not preferred to use the terms "fear" or "phobia" consciously as I am in the belief that most of the cases we think of when we speak of "homophobia" or its close relatives of prejudice or discriminative behavior, we actually refer to cases of being ignorant, disgusted, or conflicted at the idea of a queer phenomenon instead of inducing 'true' fear (although it may be possible for some people, of course). Therefore, I generally prefer the term of "homonegativity" or "anti-LGBTQIA sentiments, attitudes, or practices" rather than sticking to the phobia terminology. But, agreeing with Bersani's Lacanian account of gay sex symbolizing a "grave in the rectum", I would argue that there is an unconscious element of fear that emanates from the potential of queer sex acts and their "socially dysfunctional" arrangements, which presents and celebrates the repudiation of "the masculine ideal (an ideal shared – differently – by men and women) of proud subjectivity" (29). It is this celebratory pride of the bottoming gay men that signals a "intensely pleasurable self-shattering" (Bersani 2011, 106) mode of love and sex that "dangerously represents jouissance as a mode of ascesis". This unconscious signaling, I would argue, is one fearful confrontation that the cisheteronormative society needs to confront. In *Intimacies* (2008), Bersani and Adam Phillips take it even further with the image of the barebacking bottom and the self- destructive (or self-expansive) pleasure of fucking in one's grave (due to HIV). Similar ideas from different trajectories and theories have been presented by Tim Dean (2009) and the authors of the edited collection *Raw: PrEP, Pedagogy, and the Politics of Barebacking* (Varghese 2019).

repetitive images of the past repressed, and the affective failures to know for certain where their subjectivity lies in relation to an 'Other' that is deemed to be non-existent. In this psychic battle that is taken on both collective and individual level, there is a continuing pattern of "the politically invested over-organizing image" which is "a kind of public amnesia, a substitution for traumatic loss or unrepresentable contradiction that marks its own contingency or fictiveness while also radiating the authority of insider knowledge that all euphemisms possess" (48).

This "unrepresentable contradiction", I argue is the fact that there has never been a moment of traumatic encounter and misrecognition in the imagined pasts of the cisheteronormative cultures, hence, the double realities of (i) a trauma collectively shared in the psychic remnants of the nation past that actually never registered in the public and private spheres of queer sexuality, and (ii) a recalibrated attempt to reframe the trauma that has never been spoken so explicitly and in the eyes of the public up until now [101]in a way that will refashion it as a dreaded, future threat of losing the patriarchal power in the national image of the cisheterosexual male. However, despite these intricate processes of projection, displacement, and other 'basic' mechanisms of deflecting the negative affects associated with the past rejected and the present that keeps pressing with the force of its affective surges from the impenitent desiring of the here-and-now and the futures whose bases are on fragile ground, at the end of the way, because of the historical ways the current organization of state institutions, and military and security forces have been designated, it is the subaltern, the dispossessed, the minoritized individuals who are exposed to systemic, insidiously traumatic events in their public and private lives.

While one can argue that cisheterosexual citizens of the nation are also suffering from the traumatic sequalae based on what it means to be a gendered, sexually desiring individuals in a 'new' world order where their previously unmarked social locations and their legitimacy have started to be called into question, they are not the ones whose human rights of 'universal' safety, privacy, and health are constantly being undermined by the changing policies and structures that aim to shrink the chances of queer people at living prosperously and authentically. Despite the fervent publicity and popularity of the so- called 'cancel culture' and how hard it has become to embody a cisheterosexual masculine subjectivity, cisheterosexual population has never been targeted as immoral, unwanted, or mentally sick citizens of the nation (at

[101] Artist figures such as Bülent Ersoy and Zeki Müren have been exceptional cases of public media representations in the history of Turkish nation's treatment of queer and trans* people since they have been allotted to an exceptional realm of artistic excess, flamboyance, and media persona category whose gender non-conforming dresses were treated fairly better than the case of queer and trans people in the regular public sphere. Yet, it needs to be mentioned that Bülent Ersoy, after the coup d'etat of 1980, was imprisoned and forbidden to go on shows under the dictates of Kenan Evren regime. This points to the fact that there was never a time that queer and trans* individuals enjoyed a state-recognized form of equal citizenship and freedom.

least in Turkey) for their gender and sexual subjectivities, instead, it is apparent that one part of the society that has perpetually become under public attacks on multiple levels has been the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey. On this note, I would like to experiment with Butler's work on what she calls "heterosexual melancholy" (2009, 146) and what Berlant calls "infantile citizenship" (1997) to provide some insight towards the psychological-affective difficulties experienced by cishet population in Turkey (and possibly elsewhere) and how this negatively affects their attitudes on queer/trans* individuals.

5.5 Heterosexual Melancholia and National Museum of Repudiated Desires

In *Psychic Life of Power: Theories on Subjection* (1997), Judith Butler develops Freud's work on melancholia and melancholic identification [102], and reimagines its identitarian, psychological functions in the framework of gendered embodiment and formation of sexual desires and subjectivity. Instead of comprehending masculinity and femininity as biological dispositions, which Freud presumed to be, Butler argues that these gender expressive positions are instead accomplishments – the allegedly 'only two' possible products of the Oedipal conflict in whose triangular realm of attachment, desire and multiplication of prohibitions, only can heterosexuality rise triumphant (135). Restructuring the Freudian take on the Oedipal resolution/entrapment, which speculates an almost naturally following melancholic positionality of the homosexual who grieves the masculine ego subject position they couldn't invigorate, Butler juxtaposes the scenario by turning the critical lenses on the unexamined status of heterosexuality. According to her experimental theorization, it is actually the [cis]heterosexual identity that is solidified and reinstated through the implicit acknowledgment of the desire that was not avowed – a psychological 'foreclosure' that ends up like a "preemptive loss, a mourning for unlived possibilities" (139). It is like a burial ceremony for all the loves and desires ren-

[102] In connection with Butler's theorization of gender identification in the mourning/ melancholic experience of loss in the Freudian psychoanalytic thinking, I argue that the concept of trauma is, from the beginning, at the center of theorizing about gender, sexuality, and mental health. Building on Freud's work on "The Ego and the Super-Ego (Ego-Ideal)," where he described "the character of the ego" as "a precipitate of abandoned object-cathexes that contains the history of those object-choices" (as cited in Butler 1990, 58), Butler aimed to theorize about the impact of disavowed grief in relation to the incest taboo. This taboo establishes sexual positions and gender by instituting specific forms of disavowed losses. Butler explains that the process of internalizing lost loves becomes relevant to gender formation when considering that the incest taboo, among other functions, initiates the loss of a love-object for the ego. The ego recuperates from this loss by internalizing the tabooed object of desire. In a prohibited heterosexual union, the object is denied, but not the modality of desire, leading the desire to be redirected to other objects of the opposite sex. However, in the case of a prohibited homosexual union, both the desire and the object must be renounced, resulting in the internalizing strategies of melancholia (58).

dered impossible from the start, having been forced to fit into the mold of societally accepted forms of relating and desiring. Related to this, Butler writes,

> "If we accept the notion that heterosexuality naturalizes itself by insisting on the radical otherness of homosexuality, then heterosexual identity is purchased through a melancholic incorporation of the love that it disavows: the man who insists upon the coherence of his heterosexuality will claim that he never loved another man, and hence never lost another man. That love, that attachment becomes subject to a double disavowal, a never having loved, a never having lost... [T]hen the 'loss' of homosexual love is precipitated through a prohibition which is repeated and ritualized throughout the culture. What ensues is a culture of gender melancholy in which masculinity and femininity emerge as the traces of an ungrieved and ungrievable love" (1997, 140).

Even though Butler fundamentally devises this reimagination in the context of intrapsychic functioning and two-person relationality of identification between the 'I' and the Other, I would like to utilize the concept of heterosexual melancholy in a broader context, carrying it effects onto the larger interactions between the subject and their multiple constitutive others. Butler themself goes onto experimenting with the idea that the unspeakable grief, if publicly proscribed, soon transforms into a psychological pattern of self-bereavement for the vulnerable groups and individuals [103]. Similar to the case of queers who rage and mourning is foreclosed by the society, my question here pertains to the case of cisheterosexuals who are left to their own devices in a social reality where their developmental pasts of dealing with the other remain obscure and unresolved, resulting in a recurring scene of psychic conflict. "If the lost becomes a renewed scene of conflict", Butler writes, "and if the aggression that follows from that loss cannot be articulated or externalized, then it rebounds upon the ego itself, in the form of a super- ego" (141). This, I argue, is one of the central principles through which the cisheteronormative culture in Turkey resolves their identity/desire conflict described above by reflecting all the aggressive urges and negative affects onto the queer individuals.

The main reason why I've provided a brief summary of Butler's theorization of the Freudian concepts of mourning and melancholia within the realm of gender

[103] As Butler demonstrated effectively in *Undoing Gender* (2004), this self-bereavement may be solidified by institutionalization of any gender or sexual non-conformity as in the case of DSM-III's gender identity disorder (GID), now replaced with the term "gender dysphoria" in DSM-V. While, as Butler said, this pathological category may be used as a forced tactic to get insurance companies to support gender-affirming surgeries and medical care (78-83), it is also possible for some gender diverse and trans* people to believe in the medical dictate that there is something fundamentally 'wrong' in their minds and demand psychiatric 'treatment' when there is nothing more wrong or right in comparison to their cisgender counterparts except for the additional normative discrimination and violence they are exposed to.

and sexuality has been due to its expanding effects into the process through which cisheterosexual publics may come together around shared, similar affects and psychological states (like mourning or melancholia) and mobilize their unmetabolized negative affects onto the others of their normative society. In this framework, homosexuality and other queer possible configurations are actually necessitated by the system's own needs of psychically creating its disavowed others so that their existential anxieties of knowing who they are, who they desire, and how they are meant to live are reiterated in a self-sacrificial chain of renouncement and unrecognized loss. It is the affective whirlpool of these unavowed losses [of possible worlds of desiring and fucking differently as well as being and presenting one's gendered self queerly] are projected onto the lifeworld of queers and other non-respected citizens.

In a similar way to Butler's speculative work on heterosexual melancholic relationality and towards queer subjectivity, Berlant examines how "the political fantasy of the infantile citizen was over-organized around the American national image", the most recent "political fantasy" has been restructured around the well-calculated acts of instilling pervasive panic and paranoia about the "fragility of people's intimate lives". In the public speeches of the President, we come across an 'ambiguous' figure of "infantile" citizenship whose innocence, purity, and 'inherent' heterosexuality should be protected, policed, and promoted for the future of the state – one that needs more (male) soldiers and workforce. This also brings mind Butler's words on political paranoia (2004, 9), which they read as a symptomatic acting out of the nation's (here US) fantasies of omnipotence and the "enormous narcissistic wounds" of the high-level authorities and decision makers whose claims of supremacy are revealed to the public in the face of other possible narratives of organizing socially gendered and sexual lives. On this note, Berlant states:

> "By bringing more fully into relief the politics of securing the right to privacy in the construction of sexuality that bears the definitional burden of national culture, I am in part telling a story about preserving a boundary between what can be done and said in public, and what can, patriotically speaking, be neither done nor legitimately spoken of at all, in the United States." (60)

While Berlant is interested in "transformations of the body in mass national society" and the "political feelings that characterizes the history of national sentimentality" saturated with cisheterosexism, my focus in not necessarily on identifying and revealing the political feelings in the Turkish case, but how the minorities experience new repertoires of negative affects that are incited by the conservative, populist dis-

courses. Hence, the liminal boundaries of what can be said and what cannot be said are strategically exploited and corrupted in order to reestablish the nation's (here have already been interlaced with AKP government) new values and sentiments as an adamant battle against the "morally corrupting" plans of the Western forces.

With the becoming apparent of sexual and corporeal violence in everyday life imposed on the gendered and sexual others, the faction of the norm wielder, white cisheterosexual subjects experience a loss of 'meaning' and 'otherworldly calling' catapulted into the despair of not knowing who they are in the new 'systems' of the rapidly changing world, and why they have been and lived the way they've done so. And failing to cope with the 'anxiety-inducing' thoughts of encountering one's "otherness" to their own selves in the face of the Others, cisheterosexual culture employ various narrative techniques and technologies of reframing the scientific and intellectual accounts of gendered and sexual embodiment [104]. It is not a coincidence/haphazard event when Erdoğan refers to Turkish youth, calling to the mass publics in Turkey, and declares that:

> "This thing called LGBT is presented to us by the West, which does not comply with our values or with these lands. We are the children of this land. Are there things like LGBT in our past? Is there something like this that we do not know? Maybe there are individuals with such tendencies. But can we talk about the socialization of this? The socialization of this will destroy our moral values and family structure." and he continued his hate speech by saying "LGBT is perversion". (KaosGL, 2021).

This narrative, as I have already shown before, is not surprising in regards to the raising gay panic and anti-gender sentiments in the public sphere that have been strategically implemented and utilized by the ruling party and the mass media. The

[104] A similar version of a psychosocial analysis on these collective dynamics of introjections and projections was found in Saketopoulou's psychoanalytic analysis of the way the White people project their ontological negation onto blackness as a traumatizing violence. According to this analysis, the social order provides mechanisms that shield White people from confronting their inherently traumatic existential condition, allowing them to live as if their identity is unbroken. This obscures how social privileges of Whiteness cover up any flaws, making them feel deserving of their status. White dominance ensures that these compensations are always available, creating a mythology of Whiteness that appears natural to everyone, regardless of race. This mythology naturalizes the concealment of human trauma and projects it onto Blackness as ontological negation. Whiteness's ideology resists acknowledging the inherent opacity and unmasterable aspects of human existence. The anger some White people feel when social equality increases can be seen as a reaction to the erosion of these compensations, revealing the social constructs that uphold the fiction of Whiteness's unbrokenness. (2023, 135-136). However, I would argue that this line of thinking applies to my analysis here only within the context of trauma and its constitutive relation to sexual difference, which does not mean that all difference is sexual difference. As Toril Moi demonstrated astutely, the problem of sexual difference and finitude and the traumatic discovery of one's otherness (i), one's sexual otherness (ii), and one's morality (iii) are different facts of existence (Matthis 2004, 124) which I do not wish to equate to one another. Unfortunately, the masses of the heteropatriarchal capitalist societies seem to spend most of their time in the first and the second facts of our otherness to others and our selves instead of looking at the abysmal dread of death in the eye.

reference to the moral values and family structure of the Turkish public, as if it is a uniform and unified social entity, confirms Berlant's ideas on how the discursive instrumentalization of the "unity of public" along the cisheterosexual normativity establishes the circular logic of the system's oxymoronic yet publicly accepted and popularized forms of self-justification. According to Berlant, "the unity of public ... depends on institutionalized forms of power to realize the agency attributed to the public; and its depends on a hierarchy of faculties that allows some activities to count as public or general and other to be merely personal, private, or particular. Some publics, for these reasons, are more likely than others to stand in for the public, to frame their address as the universal discussion of the people" (117)[105]

Regardless of the geographies they are endemic to, Berlant writes that "[such national aspirations] reveal a desire for identity categories to be ontological, dead to history, not in any play or danger of representation, anxiety, improvisation, desire, or panic." (72). Therefore, the national characteristics of the generic Turkish citizen has always been cisgender, heterosexual, patriarchal, patriotic, conservative, and abled, infiltrating almost every level of social organization of everyday life via the institutionalization of compulsory "straight sex". Expressing how this presupposition troubles him, Cengiz states the following:

> "No, I really don't understand what this means? I mean, is such a thing even possible? We're talking about something very specific to humans here. They know very well, actually, they saw it very well during Gezi and in the years that followed whether we exist or not... They're afraid of the crowd. Since we supposedly don't exist, why don't you stop mentioning us all the time, right?! I think it's unnecessary to even discuss whether it existed in the Ottoman era. Of course, it did, but what's important is that we have hundreds of queer people living in this country right now. Moreover, while the country's rulers, with laws in their hands and all the power-bearing institutions, constantly target us on screens. I'm tired of constantly worrying about something happening to me in public transportation. You know, I live with OCD, since the last election, my social anxiety has become so bad that I never go out except for work. I stopped wearing earrings. I try not to wear colorful clothes in Turkey. If I have money, I take a taxi. I'm already constantly controlling myself, so I don't stand out, so I'm not misunderstood. Is it possible not to go crazy? (Laughs)"

[105] Reminiscent of Erdoğan's frequent appeals to the general public, Warner provides us with a stark example of the popular ways of utilizing the anti-queer, hateful discourse in the case of the public discursive construction of a 'general public' (Simon Watney 1987 as cited in Warner, 181). Referring to the fact that the White House did not utter the word 'AIDS' until late in 1985, Reagan stated that "It hadn't spread into the general population yet" (181), "interpellating their public as unitary and as heterosexual".

When I asked if he can explain what kinds of OCD symptoms he's been experiencing, Cengiz said:

> "I have this habit of swallowing. But constantly, you know. It started after the election, but I don't exactly know what triggered it. You know, one can't control it. Actually, I know, it's from stress, of course. It feels like there's something in my throat. Even though I know it's not there, I keep swallowing."

I think here Cengiz's inability to control his swallowing reflex turning into a compulsion is an unconscious somatization (when I later presented this idea to him, he also conveyed that he really liked this idea in his own context), but rather than reflecting on a helpless body, I think it could be a result of the cultural and political influences and shaming attacks we face in interpersonal and public sphere, forcing us to remain silent and swallow. My intention here is not to make a clinical interpretation, but rather to desire to interpret the attempt of the queer psyche/body to 'reenact' against the insidious trauma of perpetual discrimination as a form of queer psychic resistance. So, in this context, this 'compulsion' also monumentally echoes Berlant's interpretation of the protagonist's compulsion repetition in Raymond Carver's story "Fat":"

> "At its most intense moments, this story represents compulsion – not at first a compulsion to narrate but rather the experience of having been compelled to live as a hieroglyph or a stereotype, in a body that condenses a narrative whose form seems to assure the impossibility of choosing otherwise, of being something other than a fact, a social identity, a function in a system of conventions" (92).

Hence, instead of interpreting it as a 'simple', self-debilitating form of bodily compulsion that troubles Cengiz, I would like to think this bodily resignification as a queerly embodied form of resistance, where Cengiz's each swallowing movement and each gulping sound disrupts the 'seemingly natural' flow of the quotidian violence of the everyday life – the structure of whose integrity has been created in line with the norms of cisheterosexual life style. Not being offered a chance to express his anger against all the prohibitions, prejudice, discrimination, and violence imposed onto his queer life, Cengiz's psyche stages an embodied moment of an 'impasse', one that says to everyone watching: "Something is off. I am not well. Your government is doing everything to make it even worse for me and my kind".

Akin to Cengiz's experiences of struggling with intrusive thoughts about his safety, his frustration with being continuously targeted by the government, and hence being rendered physically and mentally vulnerable, Yağmur expressed similar experiences and ideas on the ways state's mental hospitals and mental health services reflect the government's and the cisheterosexual culture's prejudiced practices and biases as follows:

> "I mean, it's endless to explain... I constantly encounter this in every aspect of my life. Even in my adolescence, I used to get very angry, but over time, these incidents went beyond just irritating me; they started affecting my mental health and my entire mood of the day. For example, when I go to get a prescription from a psychiatrist, I expect a different approach because they are doctors, educated and trained. However, they still immediately treat me as if there is something wrong with me! And because they change irregularly, I almost always have to start over with a new doctor each time. I worry every time whether they might be old-school and homophobic."

In Yağmur's words, one hears not only the psychologically frustrating effects of the structural imbrication of institutionalized homophobia and the organizational non-structuredness in the working days of mental health workers, but it is also possible to hear the weight of the task of being forced to present yourself and your traumas anew each time the doctor of the clinic you've got an appointment from has changed. These 'little' nuances, as some may claim, eventually accumulate on each singular time's psychological burden of re-narrating and reexperiencing your traumatic memories before a new clinician, and end up with a patient's unwillingness to seek therapeutic support anymore as it, in this scenario, means only exposing oneself to further debilitating conditions of systemic exposure to homophobic treatment and self-aggravation.

Every life, representation, and story that the AKP does not recognize as its subjectivity are following a discourse beyond the boundaries of citizenship, equal rights, humane treatment, and security, where both the past and the future are claimed to be non- existent, and where the future can be seized and destroyed if it can be made. While implementing many essentialist and polarizing policies, one of the strongest currents underlying them is the cisheteropatriarchal order and its maintenance. As evidenced by the pro-life legislative decision of the American state, women and their bodies are seen not only as an important part of the national body politic but also as submissive to the man who created it and tasked with the coerced sexual duty, aiming to produce reproductive and deserving cis-heterosexual children and soldiers

for the nation. Berlant states this as:

> "There is the scenic route of natural extension, in which girls naturally reproduce, producing new generations of Americans; the civic, interstate route of national everyday life, in which a maternal ethic limits women to the realm of social power and denies the importance of a non-privacy-oriented politics for them, ... [In this] national space, women might experience their value as something other than an exorbitant to the infantile national public sphere, in which fetuses star as citizen celebrities and women appear as little more than stage mothers to the nation" (130).

Of course, unlike in America, the primary mechanism of normalization here is not nationalism, but a highly influential religiosity and conservatism, as evident in the example of Turkey. However, as an internalized form of orientalism, we are talking about a representation of Turkishness where heterosexuality and masculinity cannot be questioned, as seen in the historical distortions and rewriting promoted by AKP channels, which aim to reinforce victory and ultra-nationalist mythical series against white, effeminate, and 'queer' fractured Westerners. In this case, patriarchal heteronormativity force itself on the queer potential of desires as " a constellation of practices that everywhere disperses heterosexual privilege as a tacit but central organizing index of social membership" (Berlant and Warner 1998, 195)

While we could discuss homonationalism in the American context, the situation is somewhat more complex in Turkey. Although there are individuals in Turkey who find, study, and work on homonationalism, it is worth noting that it generally does not find a place in the discourse of the public sphere, without ignoring that it is experienced within Kurdish-Turkish queer subjects. So, while in America, the LGBT social movement, which began with Stonewall and HIV activism, has led to the emergence of 'acceptable queers' (which is not necessarily a good thing), I believe it is not possible to talk about such a situation in Turkey at the moment, because, for them there is nothing 'good' in the "good life" about "being fucked in the ass" (Bersani 1987). In a system that mobilizes the institutions of marriage and the compulsorily heterosexual married couple as the instrument of its foundation and insemination of the nationalist-conservative ideology of the state, queer people are treated as the originators of evil, the leading group of those in need of treatment and rehabilitation; they are the marked citizens, who have become something monstrous when the generic, normative Turkish citizen, who used to be the unmarked print of the national imagery, is 'fortified' as the aggressively heteropatriarchal man who not only safeguard their ass and 'other citizens in 'his' nation where he is somehow

been made into this 'protector' savior figure of not just the body of the nation, but also the intimate privacies of other citizens under the aegis of state-sponsored anti-democratic backsliding and 'surveillance' society that upholds cisheteronormativity.

It is also the symbolic violence [106] of this national, religious (everyday sense) symbolic order that marks the perpetual events of trauma in everyday life which is saturated with affective regimes of enforced desires, etc. When discussing their experiences of sexual activities within the politically charged environments of everyday life as individuals, their accounts remain personal, focusing on their own feelings, sensations, and subjectivity (244). Berlant explains that these individuals "take their individual losses as exemplary of larger ones, in particular the failure of the law and the nation to protect the sexual dignity of queer people from the hybrid body of white, patriarchal official and sexual privilege" (245). On this note, Ali states the following:

> "So, as I went to therapy, I started to realize this, of course, but it turns out I've been living in a state of mourning for a long time. Moreover, I haven't lost anyone I love. Or at least that's what I thought. As we talked about my childhood, adolescence, and university years over time, I realized that I had suppressed so much, I had put in so much extra effort not to do so many things that in the end, those experiences passed as lost time without living them. For example, not being able to hold hands with the first boy I liked in high school, having to act like it doesn't concern me when the subject is LGBT in university, standing aside because I didn't play with boys when I was a child... These are not just traumatic moments for me, they are, in fact, a lack and unfulfilled experiences for me... I don't know if other participants mention this too, but when I look back, I see a youth taken away from me. I only realized this mourning through therapy, and I am experiencing it now."

One of the most important outcomes from Ali's words is his realization that trauma extends beyond the mere definition of traumatic violent acts, as defined in the literature, to include the absence of essential, pleasant, and foundational moments and experiences. What is essential here is the question of whether the society will allow Ali, without ridiculing him or accusing him of behaving regressively, if they wish to try to reconcile some portions of their unlived, queer childhood and adolescence in the present: if he decides to wear the trendy clothing of his teenage years that

[106] By symbolic violence, I refer to Bourdieu's definition of the concept, by which he described as mental adoption of "the status quo as obvious and appropriate, even when it is hurtful to them, individuals position themselves within the structure of society, further legitimizing and solidifying it (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992 as cited in Wiegman 2017, 98.)

his parents didn't let him to wear because it looks feminine or if he decides to go clubbing with eyewear, will others make fun of him? Will his behaviors be considered pathological? Or even worse, will we be accused of preying on the young kids? Although the parts of Ali's narrative concerning the past should not be considered solely within the context of state and AKP-influenced dynamics, it is entirely logical that the dominance of a party for over twenty years would have significantly influenced the country's cultural infrastructure, norms, beliefs, and practices in a certain direction. Here, all queers like Ali, in line with Berlant's concept of "the privatizing or shaming effects of domination" (103) find themselves transformed into abstract narratives and tools of othering rather than being seen as living, breathing, healthy citizens with families, friends, and parents. These violent processes continue to manifest their consequences in our everyday lives, in every sphere [107] of our waking lives, as we endure the repercussions. Bombarded with all sorts of traumatizing events, feelings, and representation, some of us feel that they can no longer take it whereas some of us feel embitteredly attached to the prospect of a future that may turn out some other way.

In this chapter, I have explored the intersections of public and private trauma experienced by LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey under the label of what I call queer* trauma. Providing theoretical points of view from renowned queer affect and political theorists like Ann Cvetkovich, Lauren Berlant, and Judith Butler, I have examined the multifaceted nature of queer* trauma. I also addressed the unique sociopolitical climate in Turkey marked by increasing state-sponsored homophobia and violence, which I argue has culminated in the pervasive impact of anti-LGBTQIA+ sentiments and policies that negatively affects the mental health status of queer and trans* people in Turkey. In the next chapter, I continue to discuss the ramifications of the systemic and insidious nature of queer* trauma within cisheteronormative structures by highlighting the psychological and societal challenges faced by my interlocutors in this study.

[107] "There is no room to make a distinction among political, economic, and affective forms of existence, because the institutions of intimacy that constitute the everyday environments of the social are only viscerally distinct but actually, as we know, intricately and dynamically related to all sorts of institutional, economic, historical, and symbolic dynamics" (Berlant 2011, 168).

6. QUEER* TRAUMA AND POLITICS OF AFFECT, LOSS, AND MEANING

How have I fared so far without recurring to the concept of the archive when I profess that the theoretical bedrock of this project was Ann Cvetkovich's daring ideas and exceptional insights in her phenomenal book of *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (2003)? It is not that I have been spared by "mal d'archive" (Derrida 1996); rather, I find a few theoretical problems in this discourse of the archive and its connection to trauma. In his famous short-piece with the same name, Derrida described what he calls the archive fever as a passion to burnt and consumed with: "It is never to rest, from searching for the archive, right where it slips. It is to run after the archive, even if there is too much of it, right where something in it anarchives itself. It is to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive" (91). He continues to think of this pursuit as "an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement" (91). Despite that fact that the studies of the archive have tended to promulgate a dislike for the psychological, and instead chose the discourse of the affect (as if these two can ever be separated), I would argue that Derrida's ideas on the archive were always psychological [108], not only in terms of his recognition of the belated work of remembering and recording (witnessing) of the arkhe (2), but also in the way he accounts for the way the archiver gets caught up in a cycle of re-membrance and reenactment [109] of the traumatic past, and its

[108] The pivotal influence of psychological thought, psychoanalysis in particular, is not a hidden effect since the subtitle of the work reads "A Freudian Impression". However, I would argue that it is one of the earlier works in what we now call "psychosocial studies" in which Derrida applies key Freudian ideas on transgenerational trauma and collective remembering/forgetting to the cultural work of witnessing historical/social trauma and how the act of writing counts as a meta-literary practice of traumatic reenactment.

[109] By enactment, I remain faithful to Kogan's usage of the concept, and how he points out the differences between 'acting out', 'acting in', and 'enactment' as different psychoanalytic concepts. According to Kogan (2002), the difference between 'acting in' and 'acting out' concerns whether the physical actualization of conflicting emotions or troubling ideas occurs inside or outside the therapy ('in' refers to the act taking place 'in'side the therapy) whereas the difference between 'acting out' (the classical Freudian concept of unconscious resistance to the therapeutic process) and 'enactment' lies in the latter concept's formulation in more interactive terms, meaning that both the unconscious transference and countertransference of the patient and the analyst are included in the definition. Along these lines, Kogan defines enactment as a "general term that includes the attributes of both acting out and acting in... serv[ing] the purpose of avoiding painful knowledge and memory" (254). Katz, on the other hand, defined enactment as "actually

inscription into words, moments, and certain affective positionalities.

Before anything, I would acknowledge that I have been another collector of stories in the archive (if not one of the first in Turkey) that reads, catalogues, and dissects every aspect of the narratives I have been presented with. In the same way, I have been consumed by the same feverish dream of authorizing my own, personalized curation of these stories and how they talk to our collective pasts of injuries. However, I am, at the same time, discontent with the notion that archiving applies to past events only or that it somehow situates events in the past to be rewritten and retold. As in the case of the everyday discrimination, victimization, and violence of the LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey, there is nothing past in their oppression: If anything, it seems that there is a growing perpetual density to their suffering that keeps getting harsher and more direct in terms of its inflicting blows. Also, I do not like the authoritarian position that my diligent curation of these stories and the similar themes and topics that emerged from them is capable of reflecting the myriad ways in which LGBTQIA+ people's realities are socially constructed and experienced in Turkey.

By contrast, I heed to Derrida's words on the institutionalization of "a science of the archive" (4). Hence, my interpretation of the stories, sentences, and words of the interviewees in this project shall not be understood as a hegemonic, singular account of how to understand their "lifeworlds" (Habermas 1984) and sense-making. In principle, I focused on the points of convergence in all the narratives I have collected, and how certain concepts and words, particular experiences, and specific modes of remembering, forgetting, and reconstructing came to the foreground as the ultimate sources of creating a sustainable, survivable queer life. Recognizing how psychological concepts on desire, emotion, and attachment influenced a large group of theorists and scholars within queer theory, namely the proponents of affect theory such as E. K. Sedgwick, Sara Ahmed, A. Cvetkovich, Brian Massumi, and Heather Love amongst many significant others, I pay attention to both the ways structural and institutionalized discrimination negatively affects and constricts queer lives in Turkey, and the ways these individuals still attach and strive to belong and seek legitimacy and affirmation in the eyes and hands of their hateful oppressors. Therefore, in this chapter, I continue my earlier engagement with the testimonies of my queer interlocutors, reading these narratives in close proximity to prominent queer affect theories on trauma.

---

transference and countertransference using an alternate channel to gain expression. Rather than being expressed via the verbally symbolic channel – through thoughts, feelings, and fantasies – they are expressed via the action channel, which includes not only motor behavior, but also silence, and even speech itself" (2014, xx). For a more detailed discussion on the concept, see Katz's *The Play within the Play: The Enacted Dimension of Psychoanalytic Process* (2014), which seems to follow Cassorla's metaphorical thinking of a theatrical mode of relationality within the analytical dyad and the clinical scene (2005).

6.1 Cruel Attachments, Affects, and Trauma in Crisis

One of the possible answers to the question of what sustains the life force of queers in all the tragedy, Berlant believes, is to be found within the ambivalent potentials of our affective and relational attachments not just to individuals or groups but also to one's hopes and imaginaries for better futures – an intellectual attachment towards a temporally-organized commitment that is apparently hurting you now, but also promising that it may stop somehow in the future. In *Cruel Optimism* (2011), Berlant tackles with the questions of how the emerging crises in the quotidian rhythms of everyday life impose themselves upon the psyches, affective [110] worlds, and relationalities and affinities of LGBTQIA+ people in a social reality where the issue is not whether the case of being traumatized or not, but instead should be reframed as the condition of our affective capacities being surrounded by normative cycles of victimization.

Throughout their interviews, many interlocutors spoke of an inexplicable force that they quite understand themselves – one that they report questioning how they manage to find a reason to wake up the next day or why they still have hopes for whatever crumps of tolerance and conditional acceptance they will receive from their families and friends. Following Berlant, I would call this ambivalent relation as one of "cruel optimism", which occurs "when an individual desire something that is hampering one's flourishing" (1). "The affective structure of an optimistic attachment", writes Berlant, "involves a sustaining inclination to return to the scene of fantasy that enables you to expect that this time, nearness to this thing will help you or a world to become different in just the right way" (2). In these words, it becomes apparent that these cruel attachments, also mentioned by my interviewees, are not just experienced at the tough-loving embrace of the ones that continue to damage and hurt them with the not-so-subtle ultimatum of "loving you only on my own terms" soaring in the background, but they are also positioned at the optimistic visions of future for the systems that may not ever accept us truly for who we are and grant us equal rights of citizenship, but learn, in time, how to come to term with their hatred and learn how to tolerate us.

---

[110] In this dissertation, I have not devoted a separate, literature review part on affect theory, believing that the literatures of queer theory I engage with are not to be disentangled from the theoretical investment and presumptions of affect theory in general. Here Berlant's own words resonate greatly how I see affect theory central to my understanding of queer theory in this project: "Affect theory can provide a way to assess the disciplines of normativity in relation to the disorganized and disorganizing processes of labor, longing, memory, fantasy, grief, acting out, and sheer psychic creativity through which people constantly (consciously, unconsciously, dynamically) renegotiate the terms of reciprocity that counter their historical situation. The ordinary is, after all, a porous zone that absorbs lots of incoherence and contradiction, and people make their ways through it at once tipped over awkwardly, half-conscious, and confident about common sense". (53).

In Berlant's oeuvre, *Cruel Optimism* (2011) may be easily considered Berlant's the classical piece on the question of trauma and how people react to catastrophes, albeit through the non-conventional literatures on trauma that do not follow Caruth up to Agamben's work on the subject matter. Positioning intersubjectivity, affect, and attachment at the center of her theorization, Berlant acknowledges the constitutive trauma [111] that takes place in "the indeterminate relation between a feeling of recognition and misrecognition"; however, she insists on thinking about how we move beyond these impossibilities of (mis)recognition of one's self and the Other, and manage to generate new moments and situations of traumatization, mostly in our everyday life. On the classical trauma theories' insistence on the exceptional, Berlant writes:

> "... [T]rauma theory has become the primary genre of the last eighty years for describing the historical present as the scene of an exception that has just shattered some ongoing, uneventful ordinary life that was supposed just to keep going on and with respect to which people felt solid and confident... Trauma theory conventionally focuses on exceptional shock and data loss in the memory and experience of catastrophe, implicitly suggesting that subjects ordinarily archive the intensities neatly and efficiently with an eye toward easy access" (10)

Against the backdrop of psychologizing and universalizing accounts of trauma, which theorizes inherently and/or potentially self-shattering events to induce trauma, Berlant prefers to use the terms of "systemic crisis" or "crisis ordinariness". For Berlant, "crisis is not exceptional to history or consciousness but a process embedded in the ordinary that unfolds in stories about navigating what's overwhelming" (10). Rather than considering trauma as an always negative or self-destructive phenomenon, Berlant attributes to the potential powers of certain crises to unearth the all-covering gray sheath over the truth, to reveal the illusion of the so-called "good

[111] Though this concept can be theorized through different literatures and traditions in psychoanalytic and queer theories of subjectification, my understanding of "constitutive" or "foundational" trauma is close to a Laplanchean traumatic implantation of the meaning. On this, Saketopoulou wrote that, " Because we become subjectivized through implantative trauma, there is no intactness in our being to begin with to which we may ever be restored, which is another way of saying that we can never be cured of our unconscious. If we start out always already compromised by the intervention of the other's sexual unconscious into us, trauma i constitutive of our very ontology, not a piece of shrapnel to be removed." (2023, 134). In *Desire/Love* (2012), Berlant refers to this with the name of "primal trauma" by situating the oppressive, regulatory 'function' of the Oedipal drama in its orientation to alter the 'reality' of the 'perverse' desires of the traumatized infant towards a fantasy of heterosexual romance, love, and sovereignty of their will and subjectivity. "Desire's restless drive toward spaces and shapes [that challenge the normative regulatory arrangements]", Berlant wrote," will always be met if not overmatched by coercive and seductive forms of propriety, virtue, and discipline that organize societies, and individual will cannot dissolve these by force or by theory" (66), showing once again how the individual psyches and their need for attachment become co-opted in this neoliberal capitalist game of individuation and belonging to a legitimate social system even if it comes at great affective, psychological costs. From a different theoretical perspective shared by Lacanian, one can also call this "originary trauma" (195) as Butler examined it in the theories of Zizek in *Bodies that Matter* (1993).

life".

Regarding the ability to see what lies behind the dark green algorithmic lines of ones and zeros within the "Matrix", Berlant states that "the story of how attachment to reproducing the intelligibility of the world nudges affective forces into line with normative realism is also the story of liberal subjectivity's fantasies of individual and collective sovereignty, the public and the private, the past's relation to the future, and the distribution of sensibilities that discipline the imaginary about what the good life is and how proper people act" (52-53) [112]. Berlant galvanizes the power of the everyday life and the strength of the ordinary in relation to the way trauma disrupts the personal history of the individual. Arguing that placing the traumatic event back into the ordinary intensity and the everyday flow of our mundane lives enables her to imagine a different way of theorizing about trauma, Berlant states that this restructuring allows to "repersonalize the subject" (86) in the way post-traumatic memories seem to disattach from the individual as if they now embody their own 'minds', coming into and out of the individual's consciousness. Similar to Leys' subsumption of Caruth's perspective on trauma with the biopsychological perspectives on trauma, Berlant is critical of both approaches' assumptions regarding how the trauma comes to impose upon the subject and how the expert, may it be a clinical psychologist, psychiatrist, or critical theorist, may know the intricacies of trauma's constituent components. In Caruth's framework, she suggests that trauma becomes unmistakable in both its recognition (we understand it when we do) and its resistance to control (we realize we cannot control trauma, but it controls us), and governed by a belief that trauma disconnects individuals from the current moment in history [113] by condemning them to a distressing blending of the past with a present that appears detached from the usual flow of time (80). No matter how one perceives the physical and neurophysiological aspects that a medical professional might classify as 'trauma,' when confronted, the phenomenon labeled as traumatic primarily represents a singular type of explanation for the state of lacking a defined category (80).

---

[112] Berlant states that "There is an orientation towards interiority in much queer theory that brings me up short and makes me wonder: must the project of queerness start 'inside' of the subject and spread out from there?" (125). By refocusing the lenses of queer theory on its destabilization on the personal and the impersonal divide, she argues that "To the degree that the conventional forms of the social direct us to recognize only some of our attachments as the core of who we are and what we belong to one's relation to attachment is impersonal. To belong to the normal world is misrecognize only certain modes of intelligibility as expressing one's true self" (125).

[113] According to Berlant, although it may seem that the traumatized individual is foreclosed from their historicity, and hence been doomed to a sort of pain of non-knowing their self, she also writes that "History is what hurts because that which repeats in consciousness, that which gives the pleasure at least of self-continuity, is what the subject deems her history. She is what she continues to have been. Traumatically identified people in this sense can take a technical pleasure in their histories, insofar as their histories are what they have, their personal property. But to say this is not to say that the history that hurts is destiny, a gothic repetition" (137).

According to Berlant, "trauma forces its subjects not into mere stuckness but into crisis mode, where they develop some broad, enduring intuitions about the way we live in a now that's emerging without unfolding, and imaging a historicism from within a discontinuous present and ways of being that were never sovereign" (93). This is most meaningful within the context of my transdisciplinary approach on queer* trauma, which builds upon a retheorization of both (i) systemic, structural traumatization in the sociological sense of the term and (ii) psychological structural traumatization in the Lacanian use of the concept, which developmentally emerges from the already-organized layers of reality 'inherent' in the system. Although I consider this to be the first, primary trauma, experienced by the developing child at the liminal point of the individual- collective divide, my focus in this thesis has been mostly on how this psychoanalytic relational impossibility (i.e. how to know one's self in the face of (O)thers, and how to survive this unbridgeable gap that always separates us from within, the mindbody, at least according to the embodiment theories of the Western philosophy) affects the lives, health, relationships, and emotional worlds of certain individuals and groups on a politico-ethical dimension, how it damages certain others while it presents some members of particular groups the ethical higher ground of occupying the already-given but tricky enough not marked space of the sovereign.

As I maintain my theoretical ties with the psychoanalytical insights on relational dynamics of the formation of self and self-objects [114], I particularly question how the systemic, insidious traumatizing events, structures, and institutions re-structure our (un)doing, monitor us, and most importantly, reveal how we become accustomed to these dynamics, when we keep fantasizing about attaching to them even when they destruct us with a stroke of "ordinariness of suffering" and its normalizing violence. In my pursuit of certain affect and psychological states and processes, I remain highly influenced by Berlant's approach on affect and its connection to trauma. On this, Berlant wrote:

> "I prefer tracking the work of affect as it shapes new ordinaries to the logic of exception that necessarily accompanies the work of trauma ... My aim is to construct a mode of analysis of the historical present that moves us away from the dialectic of structure (what is systemic in the

[114] In order to understand the daily life experiences of systemically psychically bruising and damaging subtle-to-greater attacks within the context of cisheteronormative, androcentric Turkish society, one may benefit from visiting Bromberg's work on "relational trauma" and how "the prolonged experience of nonrecognition" (2006, 139) traumatizes the child; however, this would constitute another project in itself. But, my approach to the normative parents' disavowal of the parts of the child they find intolerable extends to gender non-conformity and sexual dissidence, and hence is not limited to the micro-focused child-parent matrix as in Bromberg's relational matrix, and rather it traverses into higher levels in which the issue of "non-recognition" can be a topic of discussion for larger groups of people.

> reproduction of the world), agency (what people do in everyday life), and the traumatic event of their disruption, and toward explaining crisis-shaped subjectivity amidst the ongoingness of adjucation, adaptation, and improvisation" (54).

In her words, it is clear that Berlant does not treat trauma as an inherently destructive psychological burden on the capacities of the unconscious mind as in Freud, or as a self-shattering psychological phenomenon as in Bersani; instead, Berlant proffers that even when the individual at the deepest level of helplessness and despair, there are implicit ways in which their agency grapples with the pressing demands of the traumatizing condition.[115] The crisis is a word chosen specifically to denote the felicitous moments of raising oneself from the ruins of trauma, and once possible and actualized, in that to witness that one has literally met their demise, confronted death at a minutely encounter or a continuous manner, may open up newer before imagined prospects of coming to know your 'self'. It is in these improvisations that I seek the dimming lights of queer agency and resistance amidst the insidious traumatization of queer people in Turkey.

These dynamics outlined above resonate mostly within the context of my interlocutors' experiences of struggling with the negative affects that they've borrowed from the structures that they have been attached to all their lives, namely, the feelings of shame, guilt, loneliness, disgust, contempt, hostility, alienation, revenge, among many others. For instance, Eren (36-year-old, gay man) talked extensively on the ways in which he struggled to come to terms with his gay identity and "how to stop hating himself" (verbatim). Not only did he talk about similar feelings of a symbolic foreclosure of an authentic queer childhood that my interlocutors talked about, Eren also commented on how he felt the bodily effects of his feelings of guilt and shame for many years:

> "Actually I didn't go to a therapist, at least not at first. I was having these terrible headaches and cramps in my belly for many months [He

[115] On this note, I would like to highlight how Berlant does not understand "sex" as a traumatic "thing". At best, it could be described as a dedramatized moments and situations of crisis. However, under the shadow of normativity, which one can read an almost perfect traumatic response to the "impasse" that saturates any relation replete with threat of non- recognition, which is marked by noncoherence and ambivalence. According to Berlant, "normativity is a vote for disavowing, drowning out, delegitimating, or distracting from all that's ill-fitting in humans: it can never drown out, though, the threat posed by sex's weird tastes and tonalities to the desire for the everyday to be simpler and to live through" (2011, 81). In this light, it can be deduced that, though not inherently traumatic, sex is a relation that is inviting of any moment or event that threatens to undo the subject and its anxious affects – "a gesture cluster that can be organized in an identity for the purpose of passing through normative sociality" (81). So one welcomes the soothing embrace of the cisheteronormative dictum of "Thy shall not love anyone or anyhow different from what is ordained" with the 'small' price of a momentary relief of sexual ambiguity, existential dread, and the dread of getting lost in the "black hole" (Laub and Auerhahn 1989).

> pointed at his head somehow]. Then, at some point, my older sister convinced me to go to a internal diseases specialist, and after conducting the tests, he referred me to a psychiatrist, telling me that it is possible all due to stress. Then, the psychiatrist gave me some medicine, but my problems didn't go anywhere. I don't know if it had anything to do with my problems with my mother at the time. You know, she was seriously starting to suspect that I may be gay. She used to call me three, four times a day, telling me how she found this eligible girl that wanted to get married, and all. To all of her demands and pressures, I used to simply say no and pretend as if nothing was happening. But what was truly unbearable was not lying to her about myself or sometimes talking to her more aggressively on the phone, but it was the feelings that followed right after our phone calls. All the shame. So deep and black like tar. It was like I was going down a quicksand."

As it can be seen in Eren's narration of the times he had to divert her excessively-eager mother's incessant attempts to match him up with a willing candidate for marriage, which may be considered an almost typical social scenario in the Turkish context, he felt anxious about being cornered into a forced lifestyle that his mother and the society expected of him, and when he got his freedom by lying and evading social contact with his mother, he felt even more ashamed and self-conscious about the fact that he is "living a lie" in his words. Commenting on the self-debilitating effects of social stigmatization and the concurrent internalization of the feelings of shame instilled in the society's contagious vessels of envy, hatred, contempt, disgust, and humiliation, Eren demonstrates only a slice of the great picture that almost every LGBTQ+ individual has lived or seen growing up or living queer in Turkey – the fact that being obliged to socialize with others in a cisheteronormative matrix that bolsters juxtapositions of "us. vs. them" based on the social processes of unmoralization and vilification causes the marginalized people to start internalizing the othering processes of the hegemonic social system. In the face of the life-threatening and worth-demeaning attacks on the legitimacy and social values of embodying non-normative sexualities or genders, it remains to be explored what makes many queers remain attached, with the exception of the lives we've lost, to these normalizing systems of structural violence.

When I asked him what made him stop hating himself or deciding to do something about this issue, he said that he actually found much power even in the acts of hating himself [116]. Asked to clarify further, Eren stated the following:

---

[116] Even in these micro-level interpersonal dynamics between the parents and the queer child, there is are larger factors of the socio-cultural norms at work. As Lampe et al. (2012) state that throughout a gay boy's development, there are "socioculturally bound phenomena that may be traumatizing" (171) which if met with negative, shaming reactions may lead to maladaptive or 'poor' maintenance of healthy self-selfobject ties. In Eren's case, I am reminded of Stolorow's (2007) emphasis on trauma being "always the result of

> "I know it doesn't make much sense. Hahaha. It doesn't make that much sense to me, either, I guess. But I think I thought it was better to be feeling something rather than not feeling anything, right? (He remains silent for a couple of seconds). I knew that I was hating the way all these other people were hating me. I was just their messenger? (He said this as if he was asking me). It is so hard to talk about this, man! I realize how much I made their job easy, I mean, to hate me. I always believed, I guess, that at some point, they would have to accept me for who I am. Some did, some didn't but I never recovered from some of this abandonment. But, at least, now I know that I have to think of myself before anything or anyone. It is taking time..."

During our interview, these words of Eren's made me think of Berlant's these poignant words on what she calls "cruel attachments". After returning home, I returned to Berlant's and Edelman's *Sex, or the Unbearable* (2013) and found these words of hers:

> "What's cruel about these attachments, and not merely inconvenient or tragic, is that the subjects who have x in their lives might not well endure the loss of their object/scene of desire, even though its presence threatens their well-being, because whatever the content of the attachment is, the continuity of its form provides something of the continuity of the subject's sense of what it means to keep on living on and to look forward to being in the world" (24).

This exceptional insight into psychoanalytical, relational dynamics of remaining in attachment is a testament to her theoretical approach on trauma/crisis, especially when one needs to account for all the times one manages to justify various 'reasons' for their mistreatment and abuse or how one gets themself to keep putting up with the reigning chaos from the side of the oppressors. While questioning how one finds themselves in the lock of self-adjudication as the cause of one's own suffering or in the hopeful stream of magical thinking that "this will stop somehow someday", Berlant also asks "what happens when the loss of what's not working is more unbearable than the having of it, and vice versa" (27) with the implication that some queer individuals decide that it is high time they raised their voice against the unbearable at the risk of losing all meaningful attachment, which she considers as an everyday,

---

confluence between internal and external factors" and Benjamin's (1988) findings that people with trauma histories present more rigid self-structures that epitomize strict binary roles and delineations between "doer and done to". According to this argument, some individuals in the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey end up reproducing binary self-structures as in the case of binary gender roles (masculine/feminine) or sexual roles (active/passive), and this psychological tendency, I believe, is what is weaponized by the dominating cishet society like a "false consciousness" or how Bourdieu talked about the working of symbolic violence.

mundane moment of eruption of agency.

As one can easily realize, my understanding of agency, following Berlant, is quite non- traditional, meaning that its conceptualization moves beyond the political dichotomic pictorial of an action-taker and a passive subject. Instead, I argue that the glimpses of agentic resistance should be sought in the ordinary intensity of our everyday lives. Under the regime of crisis ordinariness as depicted by Berlant, I still believe that queer individuals defy the cisheteronormative commands on their ways of life, adjusting and creatively reinventing new ways of affectively being, becoming, and unbecoming in and beyond relationships. For me, queer affect [117] is a force that 'invisibly' can suture the veil between the private and the public when it can conjure up new possibilities of relating, attaching, and becoming.

If we should return to the question of how and why one would choose to remain in the cisheteronormative matrix, which promises a predesigned modality of a "good life" for the desiring individuals – desiring not just to desire but also to know what it means to desire: the inexplicable 'will' to know or the 'knowing' of what it means to will and desire. Charging at the stronghold of today's patriarchal-capitalist cisheteronormative market of dominating/dominated desires, fetishized body parts, globalized narratives of love- making, and affective trade agreements between governmentally recognized agents of social institutionalization (i.e. heterosexual or homosexual marriages), Berlant finds one of the possible secret pathways into the fortress in resisting the bourgeoise ways of being, relating, and fucking, in that she writes;

> "I suggest that to counter the moral science of biopolitics, which links the political administration of life to a melodrama of the care of the monadic self, we need to think about agency and personhood not only in inflated terms but also as an activity exercised within spaces of ordinariness that does not always or even usually follow the literalizing logic of visible effectuality, bourgeois dramatics, and lifelong accumulation or self- fashioning" (2007, 99).

At the part where she mentioned the bourgeois drama, it is necessary to remember some key information from the earlier chapters: The development of the trauma

[117] Here I do not want to say 'love' specifically for believing that it can easily turn into another vehicle of co-optation and capitalist colonization of our affective economies and terminologies. However, Berlant had a rather radical approach on love when she stated the following: "From a certain political perspective, a feminist one, it has long been argued that love is a bargaining tool for convincing others to join in making a life that also provides a loophole through which people can view themselves nonetheless as fundamentally noninstrumental – selfless, sacrificial, magnanimous – in their intimacies. The code phrase for this loophole is the distinction between the public and the private" (181).

concept actually relies heavily on the lived experiences of the bourgeoise women in the late- nineteenth century. While it had actually started with the woes of some white, middle-class men who experienced some sort of a psychological shock on their train travels, the study of the phenomenon soon shifted to the 'hysterias' of women who were confined at home and not allowed to think of or do anything beyond the prospect of going deeper into their boredom. It was at this junction when we moved from thinking about trauma as a psychological reaction to an exceptional event towards thinking about it as a pathological pattern of being and behaving in the rhythm of one's everyday life. That is how we actually begun to think of an ahistorical and apolitical notion of trauma, disregarding the actual conditions behind Frau K.'s acting out such as her father's drastic death and the ensuing structural precarity that she finds herself in. By remaining critical of these epistemologies and the ideological and historical ways in which they are being written, we can address one of the fundamental axes upon which the cisheteronormative system establishes itself: the post-Renaissance resurgence of the sovereign, singular self-identity concept, and of course the notion that it must be stable, consistent, and unitary. Therefore, before one begins to understand what is ailing them on the hands of their oppressor with their own vocabulary, one may sometimes give into the world already-provided by one's aggressor. As Berlant states, "cruel optimism or not, people feel attached to the soft hierarchies of inequality to provide a sense of their place in the world" (194).

6.2 Deeper than Skin: Shame and Memories of Our Psychic Affliction

Indisputably, Berlant is one of the key figures in the project of bringing affect and attachment to the study of how neoliberal cisheteropatriarchal capitalism lures any subject in formation into its traps of finding one's 'self' and their purpose in ossifying in an arguably always-free and always self-determining position of a citizen – an incessantly purchasing machine with established rights to certain properties, affiliations, and even societally-approved people, as in one's 'right' to the perfect cisheterosexual family! However, of course, Berlant is not the only 'master' of queer affect studies, nor is Cvetkovich [118]. As the editors of *Affect Theory Reader* (2010),

[118]The editors of *After Sex: On Writing since Queer Theory* (2007), Halley & Parker establishes two contemporary forms of queer studies, one exemplified by the theorists of the "anti-social thesis" (Edelman and Bersani mainly) and the other exemplified by Sedgwick, Berlant, and Cvetkovich (9). However, I would argue that as it will be clearer via my analysis, Berlant is situated at the cusp of these two different yet related approaches on how to understand desire, sociality, and negative affect. However, it should be stated that "the anti-social is never, of course, distinct from the social itself. The ideological delimitation of an antisocial agency, one that refuses the normalizing protocols that legislate social viability, conditions the social order that variously reifies and disavows it, condemning that localized agency as the cause of

Gregg and Seigworth underscore, traditionally the start of the scholarly interest in the theories of affect within the field of queer studies came in 1995 with Sedgwick and Adam Frank's phenomenal piece of "Shame in the Cybernetic Fold" and Brian Massumi's piece "The Autonomy of Affect". Evident in those early works was the authors' interest in the psychological works of Melanie Klein as well as the works of Silvan Tomkins. However, soon the interest shifted towards the more embodiment-focused philosophical works of Spinoza, Deleuze, with eight different orientations having been shaped in their approaches to affect (see Gregg and Seigworth 2010, 6-8).

Notwithstanding the current mosaic of existing approaches to the study of affect, I would like to express my close affinity to the definition of the concept provided by the editors, which describes affect as "an impingement or extrusion of a momentary or sometimes more sustained state of relation as well as the passage (and the duration of passage) of forces or intensities" (2010, 1). Seen from this angle, my methodological focus on relationalities has always been tied to the flow of these "forces", which my interviewees talked about without explicitly naming them as such. For instance, when they talked about their feelings of being hurt or humiliated, they invoked categories of words like "weirdo" or "homo", however they also frequently referred to other negative terms closely associated with being called such names. Of great importance, one recurring theme apropos of these affects and emotions has been that of shame [119] But, echoing the theoretical heritage of earlier psychoanalytical thinking in affect theory, these feelings made themselves known to us, both the researcher and the interlocutors, as free-floating, unconscious forces that we did not quite know what to do with it.

It becomes more comprehensible to see how trauma connects to all of this when we start to situate the interest in affect studies and queer studies, in that the "affective turn" (Clough and Halley 2007) emerged with the queer works on queer temporality (Halberstam 2005; Freccero 2005; Freeman 2005) and queer negativity (Bersani 1987; Edelman 2004; Berlant and Edelman 2014). Even if it was not always invoked as a psychologically determining force of reshaping the "structures of feeling" in a given

---

suffering for which the social order disclaims its responsibility [...] The governing logic of the anti-antisocial sentimentality fixes itself to the fixities of the future, the Child, and the identity, "permitting our conceptualization of the social only by means of compulsory submission to the temporality of community – alternatives that threaten the coherence, and so the identity, of the social itself and with it the utopian fantasy of a collectivity, a general will, whose norms need not themselves conduce to the enforcement of normativity." (Edelman 2011, 111-112).

[119] Specifically, in Sedgwick's canon, shame has been revealed as a primary affect that determines relationalities between queer people and heterosexuals. Sedgwick wrote that "Shame, like other affects in Tomkins' usage of the term, is not a discrete intrapsychic structure, but a kind of free radical that (in different people and also in different cultures) attaches to and permanently intensifies or alters the meaning of – of almost anything: a zone of the body, a sensory system, a prohibited or indeed a permitted behavior, another affect such as anger or arousal, a named identity, a script for interpreting other people's behavior toward oneself." (2003, 62).

society or system (Williams 1954), these figures, with the inclusion of Sedgwick and Tomkins, were enthusiastically interested in understanding the ubiquity of negative affects in queer populations, particularly why and how shame seemed to permeate our everyday lives, our mundane stories about life and ourselves. Hence, within this framework, trauma was a powerhouse of unleashing all the negative affects associated with a deteriorating mental health and general quality of life ("the good life"). However, rather than being a case of an inherent psychological inclination to negative mental health outcomes, as Ahmed argues, it is heteronormativity and its traumatizing hegemony and domination that demands a certain "structure of affect that secures heterosexual feelings of public comfort by allowing selected bodies to come into spaces have already taken their shape"(Ahmed, 148 as cited in Liu 2020, 7).

In *Queer Attachments: The Cultural Politics of Shame* (2007), Munt states that shame is oddly an intrapsychic phenomenon, arguing that it "exceeds the bodily vessel of its containment – groups that are shamed contain individuals who internalize the stigma of shame into the tapestry of their lives, each reproduce discrete, shamed subjectivities, all with their own specific pathologies" (3, emphasis mine). I would argue that this time only this term does not trouble me much as I believe it denotes not the shamed, but the finger-pointers and morality chanters that I see as the less capable bunch of society that does not know how to face the ghost of their forlorn desires in their forgotten pasts. As insightfully suggested by many queer affect theories, shame [120] cannot exist on its own even when it is internalized from a previously-established and zealously-worshipped system of discrimination and violence: it comes from somewhere and it travels to some place. In this Mobius loop of relationality, we are confronted with the "figure of absolute abjection" that produces a hated subject that is both placed within the lexicon of the law that discursively produces it and yet do not enclose it within its legible signs (Nyong'o 2005, 30). In half of the interviewees, each uttered the word "monster" when they referred to the times they were struggling with their desires and identities. When I asked what they mean by it, no one seemed to second guess why they preferred to use this word. Followingly, I asked them what happened to this monster, and they all affirmed me that they tamed it and came to accept it as it is. While I could see all the physical lacerations carved on the body of the monster they were talking about (Freeman 2005, 61), I also found it tragic that we have gotten so used to being seen as the

[120] Although I embrace this interpersonal understanding of shame, here I also think of Bromberg's working (2003) on the concept of shame to explain "the affective flooding created by trauma – the horrifying unanticipated sense of exposure of oneself to oneself" (570). Proposing that anxiety cannot be the responsible element in the post-traumatic formation of self-annihilating, self-fragmentary, and affect dysregulatory consequences of trauma (as Sullivan speculated before), Bromberg was aware of the feelings of shame that followed from one's self-reflexive encounter in the post-traumatic temporality.

'deviant creature', it required too much of an intellectual undertaking to see the real monstrosity of the cisheterosexual hegemony.

In addition to many times when my interviewees recounted feeling like a 'freak', they all talked about, one way or another, how they tried to manage their past and/current feelings of shame. Rather than assuming what shame meant for all, I asked what they understood of this word whenever someone brought it up in our interviews. There arose three different but related understanding of shame in this group of LGBTQIA+ people, in that some described it as (i) a feeling of "not being good enough for your parents and yourself" (Ayşen), (ii) a "situation of feeling that there is something wrong with you and that you are responsible for this" (Cüneyt), and (iii) a feeling that "God will never accept you and you will always be wrong" (Özgür). Despite the differences in their focus on its relational aspect (i), its self-worth component (ii), and its religious-moral dimension (iii), I have established a common component of the internalization of the prevalent negative beliefs and attitudes of the majority groups' stigma. For instance, when I asked them if they would like to talk about a time they were discriminated against, these three different instances of being exposed to prejudice came forth with different tones of feeling shameful about themselves:

> "I didn't know what it meant to be gay. It was early 2000s. We did not have this much representation. So, all we got was the traditional media. I had known only Bülent Ersoy and Zeki Müren. And they were all artists. I was not a talented kid. [we are laughing together] I was ten. [We found this sentence even funnier so we laughed a bit more]. Aside from these two, I was the only weird one. I did not like cars or football. I did not like playing with guns. So everyone knew there was something off about it [original phrase in Turkish: "bir şeyler yolunda değildi"]. knew that I was weird. I didn't like it. I wanted to change it. Well, look where I am now [laughs]. It was like there was the real me, and the other me that I presented to others. It was like living with two people" [121]

[121] Even though I do not engage with the concept of dissociation in this project in great depth, these words of Cüneyt support Bromberg's ideas on the incompatible self-states and how they afford the traumatized subject adaptational protection from the overwhelming affective and cognitive distress (2003). Although he refers to dissociation as "a defense against the recurrence of trauma" (563), which might be read as a pathologizing account, he confers that even if a traumatized subject is observed to experience dissociative symptoms, there is still some sense of consistency and continuity between the dissociated self-states, enabling the mind to function at its most available capacities, which I would argue is still an adaptive, healthy response to the traumatizing event. However, it is still up to future research to determine how different cultural systems may alter the experiences of dissociative traumatic responses in the minds of people from "elsewheres" (Roy et al. 2023). Despite the popularity of dissociation research among biomedical and/or quantitatively-oriented scientists, as Krüger argued (2020), qualitative research projects may be more suitable when it comes to the study of trauma and dissociation from the perspective of cultural differences. I would also like to note that quantitative research may be connected to these qualitatively-oriented endeavours with the recognition that we are in need of more culturally congruent measures that will pay attention to how distinctly-marked social categories may be influential in understanding the interaction of

– Cüneyt (self-worth aspect)

> "First time I heard about gays was in Tarawih prayer in the mosque. We went there with my father during Ramadan, and the Imam talked about this people of Lot. They didn't like women, the Imam told us, and Allah punished them by burning them to the ground. For two months, I kept having nightmares of being burnt alive in Hell. Funny, I was so sure how Hell looked and I was definitely going to be there [they laugh]. I think this event is what made me an atheist. Even after renouncing my belief, I had problems about my fear that I deserve to be punished. Therapy helped, but also not so much."
>
> – Özgür (religious-moralistic aspect)

> "My father seemed not to care that much [about their masculine expression]. But my mom was obsessed with it. She kept getting me all these girly dresses, make-up stuff, and earrings. Ugh, I hate earrings! [I suggested that they can gift any to me]. She used to correct the way I was sitting, where I put my elbow, how I wore my hair, and everything. In my opinion, I didn't care about being different but I knew that she wanted to be someone different from who I was so I felt, for decades, that I didn't deserve her love. At the same time, I was certain that she didn't love me this way. When I turned 21, we talked about all of this, and I realized how mistaken I was. Yes, she was homophobic back then but she always loved me despite my shortcomings"
>
> – Ayşen (interpersonal/relational aspect)

When I questioned why she used the word "shortcoming", Ayşen told me that this was how her mother saw it at the time. When I asked what her mother thinks of her queer identity, she told me that she is still not content with the general picture. Like many of my interlocutors who talked about their parents, they stated that "they don't get it". Other people, as I have been told, also do not help in general since the parents of LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey are being expected to talk about their children's (whether young or adults) lives in general with their relatives, friends, colleagues, and neighbors, and apparently any one that does not fit into the cisheterosexual lifestyle's mandates are possibly at the risk of public humiliation and fervent gossip that will instill more shame inside the family. This, I

---

multiplicity of self-states and dissociative traumatic experiences.

believe, reflects effectively what Aslı Zengin talked extensively about in relation to what she calls "violent intimacies" (2024). It became apparent that our desperate yet hopeful (cruel?) attachments to these violent webs of relationalities and intimacies that promise us a secure, unconditional bond of love and acceptance turned out to be the primary affective mechanisms of which we have borrowed from our loved ones a lineage of shame – shame about our desires and who we are as well as the shame of bringing 'shame' to our families.

Another cluster of "bad feelings" (Moussawi 2021) that continued to manifest themselves were gathered around my interviewees' experiences of having been exposed to direct bullying, humiliation, and violence by others and sometimes even by state forces as in the case of Orhan. Although similar to the negative affects associated with shame, these memories and the stories around them reflected more of feelings of helplessness, sadness, and anxiousness (as if "something bad is always going to happen") or even feelings of betrayal and thought of revenge and the ensuing feelings of embitterment [122]. Again, most of these stories, as they were told, were structured around traumatizing events, which my interlocutors confirmed to be a continual and systemic process, noting that "they lasted for many years". Except for three of my interviewees, every one of them mentioned many instances of having been bullied in their younger years, starting as early as their time in kindergarten to their undergraduate years; however, only two of them were able to talk about these instances explicitly without changing the topic or me telling them that it was okay to move onto another question or topic. As one of these two people, Melis (a 22-year-old, genderqueer bisexual woman) stated that they still struggle with the memories of her middle school, which they described as a time when other children became adamant figures of gender policing. They recounted one time when she was publicly humiliated by the girls in her class as such:

> "I wasn't a girly girl [they referred to themselves as a she here], you know. I never liked playing ropes or playing volleyball with other girls. I wanted to be where the real action was: with boys! I loved football! I still do, but even now it is hard for me to never think of those times. Oh let me tell you this. One time we were just back from PE, and as usual I played football. The boys somehow were OK with me playing

[122] According to Linden and Arnold (2021), embitterment is described as the cluster of emotional responses to acts of injustice, humiliation, and breach of trust, which can, in return, lead to a desire for revenge and justice. These desires often result in self- destructive behaviors such as social withdrawal, aggression, and prolonged internal conflict. If it escalates to higher levels of anxiety-inducing stressors and other psychopathological outcomes, it is generally referred by Posttraumatic Embitterment Disorder (PTED), where a person's psychological state is said to shift from a 'healthy' standing to chronic stress and traumatization, characterized by dysphoric mood, intrusive thoughts, helplessness, and suicidal ideations, all in reaction to perceived injustices and wrongdoings.

> football. But there was this group of girls that always called me names during breaks. They called me "erkek fatma" [trans. "tomboy"] and "Penis Melis". We were getting dressed back into our uniforms, they pulled down my underwear, and kept yelling "Look, Melis has a dick!". I went to therapy, of course, but the scars, I think, are still with me to this day. Children can be really cruel as you can see"

Meriç, on the other hand, talked about a time she was seriously injured by the police force during the Pride march events of the 2017 in İstanbul. Narrating this event with her hand on her upper leg that had to be operated on due to the police officers' hard blow to it, Meriç recounted this event with trembling hands. Although I assured her that it was perfectly okay not do go through it again, she wanted it to be recorded in a written document. Due to the heavy police enforcements to the sites where the 'forbidden' pride march was set to take place, all the marchers and activists had to develop alternative strategies and create fake parade routes for the police force so that they could have proceeded with the march as usual. But, as the police forces realized where they were actually gathering, they started to attack the activists and detained more than hundred LGBTQIA+ people that day. Meriç talked about the event of her assault as follows:

> "They [the police officers] called us slurs, taunting us with provocative words and gestures. They kept pushing us in a single line and as we tried to stand our ground. As they became more crowded, we had to run away. So, as we were running from the street, they knocked down me and my girlfriend. As I helped my girlfriend stand up, out of nowhere, I saw a leg swaying in my left sight, and in a second, I felt this sudden burst of heat and pain in my upper leg. I saw people gathering around me, but then the police came and took me to the hospital. I had to go through a surgery for the bone to be fixed, and even before the surgery, they kept making fun of me and my girlfriend, telling us that "this is what we get". I saw joy in those eyes. Couple of months after the event, we started to apply for our application to Canada as LGBTQIA+ refugees. I got it, but they refused my girlfriend so I decided to stay put. But I never go to events or protests anymore. I have seen what they can do from firsthand"

Building on the ideas of D. A. Miller's ideas on the psychological and communal effects of the negative affects of shame within the minds of queer adults, Heather Love highlighted the continuing need to not to disregard the connection between queerness and shame, stating that "[R]egistering our protest against social exclusion should not keep us from thinking through its effects. Although there are crucial

differences between life before gay liberation and life, after feelings of shame, secrecy, and self-hated are still with us." (Love 2008, 20). the As Moussawi postulated, due to the fact that neither I nor my interviewees knew how to handle these "bad feelings" when we started to talk about all the times we were wronged, violated, and hurt by the hating others in our periphery, most of my data remained in the silences [123] between our utterances. So, rather than pressing further or asking them to think about it harder, I gave into these carefully crafted silences of our own doing. I can swear as Meriç was talking, I saw the exact same eyes and the hateful look in them as if I had been there with her. Not just with Meriç, but with other interviewees of mine, I sensed the anxiety, the fear, and the shame: They were not foreign to me. If anything, we embraced them like an old friend, but this time together. It was at these moments when I felt like, for the first time in a long time, we were going to be okay [124], and so we let the silence wash over us.

6.3 Collective Loss and Mourning: Political Intertwinements of Queer* Trauma

Now that I have provided various examples from our in-depth interviews with my interlocutors which theoretically and practically connect queer affect theories on trauma on the verge of the porous 'divide' between the personal and the social (read psychological and sociological), it is time to revisit Butler and reorient our informed position at this stage towards a reformed Butlerian reading of trauma, which I believe I have done so by bringing key readings and texts from other classical queer texts as well as those from affect theory into the center of queer theorizing about a psychosocial framework of trauma. Hence, in the remaining pages of this chapter, I would like to experiment with these insights from Berlant's theoretical dance with her psychosocial theorizing within the scope of the political sphere in

[123] In *Queer Politics in Contemporary Turkey* (2022), Paul Gordon Kramer noted on a similar idea, writing the following: "[When conversing with our interlocutors], we are necessarily accommodating of space, of people who know that fighting to speak, to deserve to exist without prodding and harassing and hating and suffocating in the public we walk through every single day is exhausting. I don't think the toll of living queerly in a heterosexual state can adequately be articulated in any language. But you learn to perceive it in others. Let's call it 'queerdar': the empathy of solidarity in the experience of compatible, but distinct, heteronormative trauma." (94).

[124] These moments made me wonder whether LGBTQIA+ activism (in the form of collective consciousness-raising, instilling psychologically protective, shared feelings of belonging, and finding safe support systems) may play a positive role in the struggle against internalization of these normativizing and shaming values of the current gender order. Of course, this also resonates widely with Cvetkovich's findings on queer public cultures and queer trauma cultures' support for the traumatized LGBTQIA+ individuals in their efforts to recreate and reinterpret their traumatic narratives in more self- empowering ways. It remains to be studied whether this may be achieved. Only a few interviewees made comments in relation to this positive potential of collective action- taking. Mostly, they sticked to memories of retraumatization and exposure to violence by the police force.

the way Judith Butler describes the ethical and political power dynamics between the gendered and sexually norm wielders vs non-normative sexualities and genders.

While Butler doesn't directly cite Berlant or other queer theorists like Sedgwick, Edelman or Warner who produced insurmountable works on the notion of nationalist thinking and its refashioning of queer sexual identity as a political other, in *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (2004), Butler, defines what she calls a "national melancholia", which she describes as "a disavowed mourning [which] follows upon the erasure from public representations of the names, images, and narratives of those the US has killed" (xv) with the implicit consequences of whose lives are accounted as grievable and whose loss of life is not a 'loss' in the sense that they are not seen to be occupying livable lives. In this book, Butler tackles how the US media and political institutions succeeded in publicly creating a psychological and political image of the 'foreign others' that pose direct dangers to the freedoms and well-being of Americans. One of the main theoretical tenets in this project is Butler's use of the Freudian theory on mourning and melancholia as to how the unfinished task of mourning one's unacknowledged losses and failures to confront one's 'foreignness' to themselves (more on that later). They explain one of the main reasons why mourning is central to their project in these words:

> "It is not that mourning is the goal of politics, but without the capacity to mourn, we lose that keener sense of life we need in order to oppose violence" which, physical or psychological, individual or cultural, punctual or continuous, is one of the central characteristics of the ways in which one starts experiencing what is known as trauma." (2004, xviii)

Within the context of the US' occupation of Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries in upheaval, Butler examines how the American media and its political co- optation by the American politics of warmongering have resulted in an almost universalizing framing of Iraqi and Middle-eastern lives as living beings who are counted as less than human, whose lives are ineffably less grievable than those of the American citizens or American soldiers. Theorizing via Freudian literature on mourning and melancholia, and Hegelian philosophy on the ethical politics of recognition, Butler remains adamantly optimist for remedying these moments of violent (mis)recognitions in one's potential and openness to feel the vulnerability in the encounter with the Other, Butler states:

> "Despite our differences in location and history, my guess is that it is

> possible to appeal to a 'we', for all of us have some notion of what it is to have lost somebody. And if we have lost, then it follows that we have had, that we have desired and loved, that we have struggled to find the conditions for our desire. We have all lost in recent decades from AIDS, but there are other losses that afflict us, from illness and from global conflict; and there is the fact as well that women and minorities, including sexual minorities, are, as a community subjected to violence [and I would add trauma], exposed to its possibility, if not its realization. This means that each of us is constituted politically in part by virtue of the social vulnerability of our bodies – as a site of desire and physical vulnerability, as a site of publicity at once assertive and exposed" (20).

It is in this framework that I would like to think with Butler's retheorization of the Freudian understanding of mourning, loss, and relational Otherness. Following Freud's change of heart in terms of his perspective on mourning, which suggests that 'successful' mourning means being able to exchange one object for another, "knowing what one has lost" (contrary to melancholia identified by not knowing what one lost), Butler seems to suggest that non-normative genders and sexualities signal to the sovereign subject that there may have already been some 'fundamental' losses to the subject, which they have never realized until the very first moments of encounters with others, which can also happen with a simple communication of some other possible relational mode of Q exists in addition to those traditional modes of living as an X or Y. This relational 'foundational' moment of encounter at the scene of the Other is reminiscent of our attachments to any affective relation that came to constitute our self [125] and subjectivity. Butler argues that when these constitutive ties are lost or challenged, the individual feels some sort of anxious or self-doubting feeling not knowing who they are and what they should do (22).

"As a mode of relation", Butler writes, "neither gender nor sexuality is precisely a possession, but, rather, is a mode of being disposed, a way of being for another or by virtue of another" (24). Butler calls this "primary vulnerability", by which they refer to the subjectivity's capacity to be structured outside of oneself following its bodily existence's exposure to the psychic mark of the other and the vulnerable presence of this mode of given-for-ness (25). As a crucible of violent relationalities, the body becomes the archeological site of the Other's mark (26), whose imprint

[125] One strength of the object relational models that I have at the back of my head when I refer to the concept of relationality and the constitutive impact of others on the structuring on one's self is Stephen Mitchell's ideas on the discontinuous, multiple modes of our selves. On that, he wrote, "Because we learn to become a person through interactions with different others and different kinds of interactions with the same other, our experience of self is discontinuous, composed of different configurations, different selves with different others...The result is many organizations of the self, patterned around different self and object images and representations, derived from different relational contexts" (1993, 104-107 as cited in St. Clair 2004, 177). This is a radically queer approach on the non- essential characteristics of self and its effects on the formation of subjectivity, which strengthens my theoretical reliance on object relational thinking especially in the context of understanding relationality in interpersonal and broader dimensions of interaction.

offers various agents of sociality with the first symbols of forceful intrusion and the external demand on the referentiality and the entrance into the scene of social living. Butler acknowledges that "in the Levinasian sense [126], there is already a non-ethical violence in the moment of one's encounter with an Other committed in the act of being addressed without one's control over the conditions of being addressed (139). However, similar to the way I did in previous chapters, Butler recognizes how certain social and political conditions revel in their vampiric sustenance on the potential exploitation of the primary vulnerability (29), causing individuals of certain vulnerable and marginalized, minoritized groups' way of life to deteriorate at the expense of the majority group's access to a 'self-assuring', or tricking, feeling of 'obviously natural' path of identification (!) and the 'righteous' way to overcome one's gendered and sexual difference. According to Sedgwick, in this re- reading of Freudian theory of mourning and melancholia, Butler is solely interested in the question of what happens to the psychic loss in the homo/hetero divide; however, Sedgwick argued that they wanted to supplement this perception by arguing that 'melancholy', homo or hetero, is not just about the disavowal and lack of grieving for 'the other' desire; there are 'many other' desires – the entire range of 'perversions' – which many people feel compelled to deny and to omit grieving for the loss of We want to conduct our mourning and grieving in the image of, and as an indispensable part of, this task of collectively and solitarily exploring 'perverse' or stigmatized desire" (1993, 252).

In this dissertation, as I have indicated before, my main interest is not in dealing with the psychological-existential kind of a 'foundational' trauma that Butler provides here in the Hegelian-Levinasian sense, in relation to the role of gendered and sexual subjectification; I attempted to do that in my master's thesis with the obvious acknowledgment that Butler does way better job at handling! In this project though, I have been drawn more to the curious task of exploring how particular social 'truth-like' predicaments emerge solely due to the fact that we can exist solely in a sociality that ensnare us with possible moments of conquering the other with violence as if one chess piece capturing another! In particular, I have tried to understand how these illusionary truths crystallize into lived wounds and are utilized in a collective public sphere. My theoretical usage of Butler's understanding of violence is the final theoretical pivot that I bring to my theorization of queer* trauma within the context

[126] Levinas is a recurring philosopher of ethics and relationality from the Western philosophical canon, that a great number of phenomenal psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically-influenced queer and social critical thinkers have engaged closely with within the framework of the subject's coming into their 'self' only through their reflection onto the constitutive other. For Levinas, understanding ethical reality is only possible through recognizing that ethical obligation is rooted in our vulnerability to others' claims. This vulnerability not only shapes our ethical obligations but also defines us as beings fundamentally characterized by this ethical relationship. (2015, 109). Also see Butler's close engagement with the work of Levinas in her manuscript, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (2003).

of systemic, continuous exposure to violence and risk of traumatization. In Butler's words, when violence is done against those that are deemed unreal or non-existing as Erdoğan has claimed many times before,

> "[Violence] fails to injure or negate those lives since those lives are already negated. But they have a strange way of remaining animated and so must be negated again (again). They cannot be mourned because they are always already lost or, rather, never 'were', and they must be killed, since they seem to be live on, stubbornly, in this state of deadness. Violence renews itself in the face of the apparent inexhaustibility of its object." (33)

I may not certainly argue that the goal, in the Turkey's context, is to literally kill LGBTQIA+ individuals , since even the idea of such a project is too 'absurd' and impossible to actualize considering the vast amount of people we're referring to; however, this does not mean that through systematically organized, harsh ways of monitoring, regulating, criminalizing, and pathologizing [127] these individuals from these minority groups may well lead to what is known as 'slow death' or 'slow violence', whose existence that has already been subjected to the violence of the derealization of loss and the injury, now has to sustain itself with whatever life 'power' and will is left there to linger.

Reminding of Creon's dictate of "Polyneices will have no burial mound, no funeral rites, and no lament" in Antigone (Zizek 2016, 5) and Antigone's unforgivable deed [128], Butler problematizes how particular political agents and institutions can install

---

[127] It can be argued, from a certain point of view, that my use of the psychoanalytic and specific psychodynamically-oriented literatures and theorists/practitioners, reflects on my approach here on the mental health experiences of my interviewees as another case of pathologizing discourse. However, I believe that the discomfort and unease is already evident in their psychological accounts and stories they revealed in their own words. When I understand these experiences as cases of "disorder" or a "dysfunction", I follow Oliner's account of a type of a strain between the traumatized person's psychic, inner reality and the external reality. In *Psychic Reality in Context: Perspectives on Psychoanalysis, Personal History, and Trauma* (2012), the psychoanalyst Oliner, following Loewald, distinguishes between different levels of organization in which the mind perceives and makes sense of the real, in that even though the individual may remember the traumatic event, it is highly possible that the emotions experienced at the time of the traumatic scene may emerge much later (and even stronger), and that sensory responses accompanying the affective elements may not always be in synch or at the same level of organization with that of the memory formation or retention (46-47). Because of this, she maintains that the emotions and the other pertinent sensory stimuli that were not organized and integrated properly at the time of the traumatic event may be the main driving forces of repetitions and enactments (49). This is the psychic damage that, I argue, that traumatizing events leave on the psyches of the LGBTQIA+ individuals in this study, albeit each having their own unique characteristics, pasts, and 'symptoms'. Although Oliner regards some of the object-relational ideas that I rely on as a "not-so- advanced strategy for an escape from solipsism" (53), I suspect the integrative process she explicates can well extend to the organization of not just the sensory and affective consequences of the traumatic events but also to their relational ties with the self and selfobjects, which ultimately necessitates collective psychosocial theorizing on the traumatized individuals and groups' sociopolitical needs to organize the 'real' state of relations with the objects in the external reality such as the state, institutions, cultural practices, social values and norms.

[128] What is interesting for my analysis, as Butler reveals (2000), not only Antigone's going against her father Creon's edict not to publicly mourn her brother (and the culturally approved ways of organizing kinship

affective blockages in the sociopolitical system's regulation of biopolitics and the sanctioned ways to grieve over what is considered a "living" being. "Violence against those who are already not quite living, that is living in a state of suspension between life and death, leaves a mark that is no mark." (36). This is the invisible yet scorching mark of a social stigma that agonizes much like a branding iron, but more insidious than a branding iron mark, the marginalized subject cannot come to witness the mark of their subordination and the violent transgression on a visible level. The mark is instilled instead into the psychological 'insides' of the individual, the so-called 'essence' which is deemed to be unnatural and unworldly from the beginning. Hence, the murdered or assaulted queers and trans* people are not to be mourned, not be cried over, or even buried properly (Zengin 2024). One of my interlocutors, a 34-year-old Oğuz who is a full-time barista at a local coffee shop, said the following in relation to his lack of knowledge concerning the lives lost to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Turkey and how his perspective changed after educating himself on this matter:

> "Growing up, I used to see these late-night news shows where they talked about the escalating threat of the AIDS epidemic. They never differentiated it from HIV at the time. I was very young but I remember thinking that this is your end, Oğuz. This is how you are going to end up if you do not change. I didn't know what being gay was but I knew that something in me was different, the way I looked at boys, men"

Then, when I asked Oğuz what he now knows about the HIV/AIDS epidemic, he acknowledged that he still doesn't have a deep level of understanding over the topic, but he stated that after watching a documentary about HIV on a popular streaming platform, he thought about it, questioning why he never saw the coverage of the issue in relation to the actual lives and problems of queer people. He continued saying,

> "The weird thing was that I never saw LGBT people in TV even when they were discussing this topic. It was as if they were talking about people that couldn't be seen with our eyes. It was when I started to go to LGBT associations like Lambda that I learned that LGBT people living with HIV or those that passed away were always here, they were

---

and the rituals of mourning and honoring the death), but it is also Antigone's affirmation that she did the right thing by challenging her father's law (or the Lacanian Law of the Father). Trauma, as I see it, creates this effect on the minds of its survivors, prompting them to start questioning the naturalized status of the Law and the Symbolic that has been disrupted by the meaning-wrecking blow of the traumatic events. As destructive as trauma is or may be, it is also capable of opening novel ways of reconfiguring the meanings of the world previously attributed by the person or their community.

> simply ignored by the governments and media at the time. They were left to their own demise. As if they deserved it. As if they were not citizens of this country. I think this is a legacy that is left to us from the 80s and 90s: the fact that we lost many queer people but never can get to talk about it in current Turkish politics or media."

Oğuz's words speak to a posttraumatic dynamic of remembrance and (post)memorial recollection and restructuring of a past, collective trauma. Based on his recollection of the events, he was too young to feel the dread of living with the possible contagion of HIV or AIDS as the young queers* did at the time; however, despite the lack of direct contact with the collective trauma of HIV/AIDS epidemic, the shaming negative discourses associated with it resonated closely with his young self. The way the cisheteronormative Turkish media and politics handled the epidemic reflected a deep bias towards the LGBTQ people who were clearly seen as "less", based on the newspapers and magazines at the time – lives whose losses were not to be mourned or grieved. When he was talking about it, it was visible on Oğuz's eyes and face that there was a continuing, disheartening weight on his soul when he mentioned the lives of all the queer people we lost and about whose lives we still do not know much about. This, I would argue, is a textbook example of postmemorial mourning, if not melancholia, since there is no available structural ground for the necessary collective psychological endearment of the feelings of loss and pain [129]. In this excerpt, there is an implicit expectation that Oğuz expects some kind of an archival work on the lives of the queer people that we lost during the 1980s and 1990s due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic – a line of scholarly and activist work that only a few queer people have lately attempted to take under despite the heavy censorship and political backlash and threat of criminalization of such endeavours.

While some may entertain the idea that the Turkish government at the time did not know specifically how to react toward epidemics, especially those that were said to be transmitted with sexual contact, it became more apparent during the COVID-19 and the post-epidemic period that it was never an issue of lack of institutional competence or lack of medical knowledge; instead, it was a pervasive socio-political

[129] Similar to Laub and other relational therapists, Boulanger also highlights the persecutory roles of selfobjects and the unconscious processes of reintrojection and reenactments in regards to traumatic reexperience. Instead of hastily affirming the therapeutic goal of reestablishing the symbolization capacities of the traumatized subject (as Laub has suggested), Boulanger underscores the fact that, following Ogden, if there is no functioning self remaining after the trauma to be "reestablished" or "called to work" to reinterpret the traumatic experience, the idea of reestablishing subjectivity through narrative may not be as viable as it is suggested (71). Alternately, Boulanger's clinical focus is on the safe, empathic reestablishment of the intersubjective field where a 'rehabilitated' self can reemerge without shame, fear, or the anticipation of annihilation. This article's main contribution to my thesis has been the confirmation of my argument that political acts of uncovering and rewriting the unknown pasts of Queer* communities and individuals will not be enough without providing Queer* individuals with collectively 'holding' Queer* public trauma cultures (in the Winnicottian sense of the word) and ensuring safe, empathic political outlets to promote dialogic engagement with the normative cisheteronormative institutions and the general public.

employment of the logic Butler described above in terms of delineating certain lives as "less than humans" and their deaths as "non-grievable". This Butlerian understanding of the socio-political blockage in the collective mourning channels of the affective potentialities of the society helps us to understand the villainizing attitudes exhibited by the AKP towards the LGBTI movement and LGBTQ+ individuals in Turkey, especially considered within Berlant's analysis of national abjection of queers on a collective affective-psychological level.

Although Butler warns against equating the psychological processes and mechanisms of individuals' psychic structuring and functioning with those of the psychic structuration and processes on the broader, social level, as does Frosh many times in his works, Butler acknowledges that while "nations are not the same as individual psyches", "... both can be described as 'subjects', albeit of different orders" (41). She goes on to add that;

> "I realize that it is not possible to set up easy analogies between the formation of the individual and the formation, say, of state-centered political cultures, and I caution against the use of individual psychopathology to diagnose or even simply to read the kinds of violent formations in which state- and non-state-centered forms of power engage" (2004, 45).

This is the essential psychosocial strand of queer theorizing logic that I find and cherish in Butler's work that recognizes that intermodal transferences between the processes of individual subjectification and the social structuration of the political cultures, both of which rely on and cultivate on the psychological and affective tendencies of particular individuals and certain groups that have come together through various historical and political struggles over power and control. These porous zones of contact, which are empirically almost impossible to study on a classical microscopic methodology, are the liminal areas from which I argue psychosocial theorizing can illuminate our understanding of queer* trauma. As Butler stated, "... [W]hen we are speaking about the 'subject', we are not always speaking about an individual: we are speaking about a model for agency and intelligibility, one that is very often based on notions of sovereign power." (45).

Finally, in one of their relatively later works, namely Frames of War: When is Life Grievable? (2009), Butler undertakes an examination into the infamous events of the inhumane ways the Iraqi soldiers and civilians were treated by the American soldiers at the Abu Ghraib camp, continuing their work on *Precarious Life* (2004) about the ways in which certain lives are not epistemologically considered to be violated

against, traumatized, killed, or hence not to be grieved or sought justice after. By meditating on the questions of grievability, violence, and ethics, Butler provides a sociopolitical framework for understanding how trauma is both produced and responded to within American society in relation to the regulation of psychological traumatic responses to gross violent events, which are constantly reframed under the normalizing banner of violence 'deserved' or 'returned'.

Functioning in a similar fashion that is described above, the processes of recognition within the relational matrices and the frames of intelligibility – the historical established guidelines and modes of apprehending and recognizing what is life, make up the epistemological and ethico-political conditions of exerting violence and forcing obedience, which are made intelligible only due to the fact that all thought and language, by nature, are public (2009, 25). For instance, Butler states that "In fact, a living figure outside the norms of life not only becomes the problem to be managed by normativity, but seems to be that which normativity is bound to reproduce: it is living, but not a life" (8). As a result of this, Butler writes that "the frames that, in effect, decide which lives will be recognizable as lives and which will not, must circulate in order to establish their hegemony. This circulation brings out or, rather, is the iterable structure of the frame" (12).

Closely following Butler's question of how affect is produced by the established political structures of the established epistemological frames, I urge us to question which psychological states and affective tendencies are allowed to be evoked and experienced on the part of the minoritized groups as well as problematizing what affective responses are made possible and allowed according to the systemic relations of power in society. In this context, one final challenge I bring to this discussion concerns the possibility for collective queer joy and prosperity at the scene of such preemptive foreclosure of affective possibilities and modalities, the answer to which comes from Ayşen, a 32-year- old neurodivergent, bi+ woman working as a research assistant. Still struggling with generalized anxiety disorder and panic disorder and on medication for more than 10 years now, Ayşen brought up the topic of survival after the trauma with more positive undertones, in that she said:

> "Look, I am not going to say that I am glad that all that bad shit happened to me. Of course, I would have loved not to have lived any of it. But what I am left with is not all doom and gloom, either. Trying to heal myself, learn how to deal with my anxiety attacks, understand why everyone hates my being, how I can fight these, all of this developed me for the better. Before the trauma [she is talking about the rape and sexual abuse she experienced when she was 15], I was a regular

> girl, minding only my grades, clothing, friends, and of course other girls [laughs]. Ya again, I do not want to sound like I am saying that I am glad that trauma happened, but on the bright side if there is any, it taught me to cherish every moment I am alive, to live in this moment, to enjoy the life for what is. It is not easy, therapy helped a lot, but we owe it to ourselves to find the happiness again and live a great life. If not, they win"

I believe who Ayşen is referring to here is ambiguous. While I did not ask her what she meant by "they" here, I would like to understand it as referring both to her abuser/aggressor and the cisheteronormative agents that work to undermine her happiness and right to live her authentic life. In the rest of our interview, Ayşen expressed how she dislikes the narrative of the 'victim' and how some queer people choose to pity themselves for traumatic events that happened to them, stating that it sounds like one will always be "damaged". I do not agree with Ayşen's approach here on the topic of 'victim' discourses since I believe that self-pity that she talks of here may still be a part of self-therapeutic self- care and self-compassion that the traumatized queer individuals are in much need of, but it is also understandable where Ayşen's criticism is coming from, especially considered within the plethora of contemporary trauma talk in social media and everyday language which makes it look like as if everyone is so deeply traumatized now that the levels and nuances of how one is traumatized has lost its defining qualities and molded into trauma contest that does not allow us to imagine different temporal trajectories out of the spiral of trauma's hold. With that being said, my interlocutors' stories of battling with the 'aftermath' of trauma was marked by astonishing examples of demonstrating high levels of self-efficacy and strong sense of agency even when they talked about times that made them feel helpless or "without a choice" (Özgür).

Although no other interviewee of mine has uttered or talked about the concept of time and the now other than Ayşen and Özgür, their words on the difficulty of being in the now without feeling underwhelmed (Özgür's predicament) or the prospect of feeling happy in the now speak closely to how traumatizing events aim at the disruption or at least restructuring of the previously-established linearity of pre-trauma and the belated time paths of post-trauma time. Butler was rightfully aware of the ways in which trauma and temporality were caught up in a web of political maneuvers over the sovereignty of the 'course' of time and temporality when she said:

> "... [T]here can be no consideration of sexual politics without a critical

> consideration of the time of the now. My claim will be that thinking through the problem of temporality and politics in this way may open up a different approach to cultural difference, one that eludes the claims of pluralism and intersectionality [130] alike" (103).

Although I see what Butler is trying to achieve with these words, my primary focus is not on the bind of temporality and politics of the now with cultural difference or pluralism, but I rather would like to use these ideas to underscore how AKP government and their political discourses of anti-gender and anti-queer sentiments rely on the mobilizations of political anxieties of the masses over their temporal hold on their reproductive continuity and their generational continuation of their ascend into the sovereignty. When AKP officials claim that LGBTQ+ movements are posing threats to the future of Turkish people, their life style and freedoms, they are not just attacking queer* people in the here and now based on various allegations, but they are also waging a war across an infinite thread of time spanning into future with the cisheteronormative paranoia of reproductive descent and immoral decadence. In relation to this, Özgür (a 19- year-old non-binary student living with generalized anxiety disorder, depression, and OCD) stated that, in addition to their personal problems in being unable to exist in the moment without feeling too anxious or thinking too much about possibility of anything bad happening any moment, they commented on what they hold for themself in the future:

> "Ay, as if we cannot have children of our own! I think they are also afraid of this, too. They keep screeching on TVs that LGBT is a great menace for the future of Turkish people. Well, surprise, surprise! But I am also a Turkish citizen that love my nation a lot! [They later clarified they do not mean country but the idea of themself being a descendant of the national heritage Atatürk founded]. As I've said, I am always thinking about the future, planning my movements, words, and all. But I also plan for a family if I can have any. If they allowed me, I would have love to have a child with my partner but this will never come true. I know this. Still, I won't sit behind and accept what they are telling me to do. In the future [of what awaits this country], I will be there, too. We will be there, and they know that they can't change this. This is what they are afraid of, I am telling you!"

---

[130] Even though intersectionality was necessitated as a new form of thinking and doing research and politics with the goals of understanding "the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured by wholly looking at the race of gender dimensions of those experiences separately" (Crenshaw 1991, 1244), as underscored by Kathy Davis (2008), it could not escape the unfortunate fate of becoming a "buzzword" in the neoliberal academia's ever-marketable and profit- seeking cogs of seeking more inclusivity simply for the sake of it. Collins recognized the possibility of causing more harm when the name of intersectionality uttered as a mandatory prerequisite rather than actually aiming to reveal and fight how political domination and violence works. (2017, 1465).

In this excerpt, it is abundantly clear that Özgür is not content with the ways AKP government and cisheteronormative society reframes the question of what the future holds and what is considered a danger in the present. What strikes my attention and curiosity is not only how Özgür's psychological issues with feeling anxious at the sidewalk of a timeline spanning from their past to their future, but also how their resistance against the allonormative demand on living in the moment defies the sociopolitical argumentation against queers on the grounds that they do not have an existential ground on futurity due to their 'lack' of reproductive compatibility. Inspired by Özgür's discussion here, I would argue that it is not the traumatized individuals or minoritized groups whose experience of time and temporality are messed up post- traumatic exposure [131], but it is instead the cisheteronormative society that is caught in the act of reaction formation against the traumatizing encounter with the incommensurable reality of the relationality's other-dependent 'nature' and the individual's infantile dependency.

This comes as a result of Berlant's reading of Butler's work on sovereignty and infantile dependency. Berlant, while acknowledging that they are not clinicians (Butler and her), argues that their concepts and theories may enable us to understand how irrational attachments to normative world and authority emerge and continue (182). Following Butler's theorizing on the development of the developing child's feeling of independence and authority, Berlant underscores the way Butler connects various forms of normative negativities and phobias such as ethnocentrism, homophobia, misogyny, or transphobia to the infant's psychoanalytical compensation of their early feelings on helplessness at the scene of interdependency and vulnerability (183). According to this trajectory, infantile dependency

> "... would not really be an experience of attaching to domination but a scene where the subject negotiates an overdetermined set of promises and potentials for recognition and even thriving. It might be more like an environment where the subject is trained to cathect with optimism, a relational affect whose practices and objects are themselves normatively mediated" (184).

---

[131] Relying on the theoretical work of Freeman's (2005) and Munoz's (2009) on queer anti-futurity, Morrigan described this as "trauma time" and its queer temporalities, by which they referred to a queer, mad mode of time travelling identified by dissociation, amnesia, and disorientation in time. Although the author studies them under a symptomatic eye, their perspective is one of maddening and cripping the traditional accounts of the "queer temporalities of the traumatized mind" (3). However, it is possible to locate the role of temporality and the element of emotional management of loss across time in Freud's earlier works, for instance, in the 'fort-da' game (Freud 1920). In her retelling of the 'fort-da' story, Birksteed-Breen concludes that the absence of the object and the delay of gratification compel the child's ego to develop strategies to cope with the situation. This process of gaining symbolic control over the uncertain duration results in the emergence of symbolization and language (144). The disruption of this symbolizing capacity is one prominent consequences of trauma as it affects both individuals and the collection of individuals in masses.

Hence, in the light of Berlant's re-reading of Butler's work on infantile dependency, I would argue that it is the cisheteronormative society, its structures, institutions, and subjects that are tragically repudiating a 'foundational' traumatic experience in their cultural subjectification, the confrontation of which is so excessive that its surging negative affects flow to the relational field of interdependency in which the Other is marked with the affective residues of the negative feelings of helplessness, uncertainty, uncontrollability, and vulnerability are projected onto the mindbodies of the gender and sexual minorities. Therefore, we find ourselves in an enigmatic field of desires, wishes, and violent urges that play out to the detriment of certain non-normatively desiring and living people. [132]

In this chapter, I have continued to engage with the nuanced and complex experiences of queer* trauma as narrated by my interviewees. Exploring the everyday politics of affect, loss, and meaning, I have critiqued the traditional views of archives as repositories of past events, arguing that the trauma experienced by LGBTQIA+ individual is Turkey is still ongoing and intensifying. Through in-depth interviews with selected queer individuals, I have applied Lauren Berlant's concept of "cruel optimism" to demonstrate how queer people maintain hope and attachment to glimpses of future that may never fully accept them. I have also addressed the impact of systemic and structural discrimination and internalized shame and stigma as examples of how certain affective positionalities are cultivated and maintained within the psychic fields of certain groups. As I have demonstrated, the personal narratives of my interviewees underscore the enduring nature of queer* trauma while revealing moments of agency and resilience at the same time. In closing, I have tried to reimagine these personal experiences within a broader sociopolitical context, using Judith Butler's work on grievability and the politics of mourning to explore how queer lives in Turkey are often rendered ungrievable and invisible in the public sphere – if not invisible, then stigmatized as the "evil forces" of the Western 'crusade' on Turkey's national values and morals that are construed to be inherently patriarchal and heteronormative.

---

[132] At this point, I should clarify whether these transdimensional attempts at thinking about sex, our constitutive otherness, and negative affect across the intimate spheres of the personal and the political succumb to the theoretical mistake of conflating the way psychological mechanisms in the intrapersonal level apply smoothly to the way they may work at the macro, group level, as Frosh once warned us against (2012). The solution for such slippages, I argue, lies in my understanding of sex and sexuality, which follows Davis's and Dean's theorization about it. According to these authors and my thinking, sex is neither merely political nor completely separate from politics. It often disappoints, not just because desires exceed satisfaction, but because it highlights social inequalities related to gender, race, class, and nation. We seek to find our true selves through sex, expecting this truth to affirm our ideal self-images. Therefore, sex has become a proving ground for modern political ideals of autonomy, liberation, and equality. Conversely, sexuality has been historically theorized as a distinct aspect of individual psychology, confined within the limits of identity.

6.4 CONCLUSION: QUEER FUTURES AFTER TRAUMA

Probably some will call it an impetuous, an "unserious" decision to end this solemn story, emblazoned with 'serious' psychological data, 'rigorous' statistics, and a sentient archive of somber stories of collective suffering, pain, and anguish, with a throwback at the troubles of aesthetic representation. However, I do not see a better time and place to conclude this personal curation of various kinds of data and my interpretation thereof with a recourse to a cinematic case of representative and authorial failure. Of course, I am not only referring to the under-the-skin yet itchy presence of looming anxieties of academic and activist failure within the veins of this research project, but I am also referring to generalized fear and worries interwoven into the very fabric of academic research and writing; the dictate of the authorial sovereignty, impeccable analytic power, and professional pursuit of much-cherished seriousness and perfection. In this case, though, my interest in the queer prospect of failure and how it might bring together all the extant elements resurfaced by this analysis of trauma, has been renewed by a mediocre film at its best: I am talking about the horror-mystery-fantasy movie of Ishana Night Shyamalan, the daughter of the renowned director M. N. Shyamalan, who debuted her directorial careers with *the Watchers* (2024) – an eerie story filled with sometimes too apparent symbolism of mourning, getting lost, and refiguring how to move on with the aftermath of trauma.

On the surface, the movie's plot follows the protagonist, Mina, a 28-year-old woman working in a petshop who, as she was on a task to deliver a caged parrot to a collector on a remote part of Galway, becomes 'accidentally' trapped in an eldritch forest in the Irish wilderness. As the stygian woods start to taunt her, Mina runs to a seemingly safe shelter where she joins a group of three unfortunate souls who, as it turns out, have been stuck there for some time. This is when the audience is introduced to the movie's main supernatural element, which becomes the nexus of the advertised promise of horror and thriller: Once the sun is set, anyone in the shelter has to stand in front of the large one-way-through window so that the admiringly watching and growling monsters in the woods, hence the name of the movie, watch them until dawn (Figure 6.1 above).

As the story unfolds, the audience watches Mina try to find her way out of the tenebrous spiral of the forest, which we soon learn to be harboring a dark, forgotten secret of a shared history where the ignorance and the hatred of mankind resulted in a casting away of the 'fae' kind in the forest – this unraveling of the non-expected mixture of the Irish gothic folklore with the symbolic narrativization of the historical-

Figure 6.1 The Watchers (2024)

political struggles over one nation's sovereignty becomes the meta-level narrative tool that allegorically connects the Irish, and their societal-cultural efforts to have their historical traumas and suffering be seen and acknowledged by the forces responsible (I am talking about the Irish civil war and the ensuing collective trauma) to Mina's personal struggle with her own 'monsters'. Similar to the failure of our modern governments to witness and testify to their wrongdoings 'in the past', the movie finally reveals that Mina has been struggling with a grave loss and a burden of shame that we learn much later: For years, she was having difficulties in mourning her mother's loss, and whatever accidental role her younger self may have played in that outcome. In the final scenes, as we see the daylight after spending almost an hour of being watched, terrorized, and chased by the fiendish fae, we come to realize that it has been a trauma story all along, though a mediocre one; according to many critics online, another cinematic "failure".

So, why have I bothered to introduce the plot and tie it to the conclusion of this text? Well, the answer lies, once again, in a triangular scheme of things: (i) in my accidental encounter with the movie, not knowing beforehand that trauma was going to appear as a central plot device, (ii) my concurrence with Sedgwick's ideas on queer people's collective needs for affective attachments to cultural objects as sometimes one's only solace to turn to for recognition, albeit aesthetic only, and Cvetkovich's ideas on queer publics and their connection to cultural products [133] that establish their psychological and political commonalities, and (iii) in my autoethnographic

[133] Of great importance here, I would like to reference Teresa de Lauretis's utilization of Gramscian approach on the intimate relationship between popular culture (and its expressive forms) and politics. Regarding popular culture forms and their various expressive products, she suggested that "they form, at the societal level and in the public sphere, a function similar to that of the private fantasies, daydreams, and reveries by which individual subjects imagine or give images to their erotic, ambitious, or destructive aspirations" (1999, 304). The close relationship between the pop cultural products and the political power they are imbued with as establishing the dominant cultural narratives on understanding particular social institutions, practices, and meaning is evident in the way Turkish cisheteronormative society has been reacting all too aggressively to the rising representation of LGBTQIA+ people in social media and streaming platforms like Netflix.

sensibilities over my years-long traditional ways of being a perfectionist, and in my affective dedication to doing justice to the stories of the people I listened to and shared our most vulnerable moments with. And, at the center of these anxieties rose a singular pillar: Failure. An hour before impulsively deciding to see a horror movie on my own in the pitch-dark theatre (something I never did before, but I guess anxiety of writing does that to one), which was entirely empty much to my dismay, I was wondering how I might avail to 'successfully' [134] wrap up all the theories, concepts, testimonies, and my interpretation of them in couple of pages. I was dreading how to weave the words appropriately, how to tie what has been said, what has been felt, and what has been left out or neglected. I was aware, that no matter what I may decide on, it would have been possible to argue, for some other LGBTQIA+ individuals living with mental health issues, that this group of people or this story I curated here do not reflect their reality.

Perhaps the contemporary anthropological reimagination of the ethnographer's authorial power as the high arbiter of "reality" could console my ambitious anxieties, or the fact that I was combining quantitative data, however limited and preliminary, with qualitative data would have ushered in helping me fortify my case against such 'slanders'. But what was troubling me, I soon realized, was an unwillingness that I have been carrying until these pages in response to the 'true nature' of trauma or at least its more certain consequences: the traumatic 'truth' with a lowercase t. Whichever theoretical approach one assumes, whether be it a psychoanalytic one that professes the prophetic reveal of a traumatic discovery, a cognitive one that follows a series of mismatched responses, ideas, and schemas, or a neurological one that assumes a chemical and neural change in the way one's brain starts to 'malfunction', trauma seems to always signal a failure on the part of the individual or the social group (be it a subculture or a nation) to adapt to the newly-emerging conditions of the post-traumatic temporality, and I realized I was troubled by this revelation more than by anything: the hegemonic view was that we had all failed in this or that way, like Edelman highlighted, we were failures from the beginning for the cisheteronormative majority as we signified for them the end of procreation and the desire to produce offspring. At the back of my mind, there was this dark cloud of prowling accusations of failure.

---

[134] As I struggled with these "anxieties of authorship" (Gilbert and Gubar 1979, 49), I was reminded of Jack Halberstam's wise words on the importance of failure and how it is exploited in academia as an untenable goal of maintaining certain status-quos and ways of being, living, and I would say, doing research. In this context, he wrote that "Indeed terms like serious and rigorous tend to be code words, in academia as well as other contexts, for disciplinary correctness; they signal a form of training and learning that confirms what is already known according to approved methods of knowing, but they do not allow for visionary insights or flights of fancy. Training of any kind, in fact, is a way of refusing a kind of Benjaminian relation to knowing, a stroll down uncharted streets in the "wrong" direction (Benjamin 1996); it is precisely about staying in well- lit territories and about knowing exactly which way to go before you set out" (6).

As I was dreading how to conclude this chapter [of my life], I have found even the idea of failure enough to unleash hordes of anxieties of insufficiency, incompleteness, and unworthiness to my heart; however, I dare say, I was saved by a fortunate re-encounter with a key queer text that I read years ago: Halberstam's *Queer Art of Failure* (2011). Although trauma, as a concept, is found nowhere in this text – at least written as such, it was Halberstam's deconstructive maneuvering on the concept of failure and her theorizing on Stuart Hall's low theory (1986) that I was able to apply to my perspective on trauma and the stories of the interviewees in this study. "Under certain circumstances", Halberstam wrote, "failing, losing, unmaking, undoing, unbecoming, not knowing may in fact offer more creative, more cooperative, more surprising ways of being in the world. Failing is something queers do and have always done exceptionally well" (2011, 2-3). For any study of trauma, these insights turned out to be more verifiable than anything: trauma, its phenomenological actualities and many studies around it, disrupted the conventional distinctions between the social and the psychological, the personal and the collective, the private and the public, the normal and the deviant, the subjective and the objective, the heterosexual and the queer, and finally the cis and the trans. Similarly, I was reminded of Lauren Berlant's "counterpolitics of the silly object" which she used as an anti-normative, counter-hegemonic way of poking a stick at the rickety rationality and the anxiously-guarded coherence and unity of the cisheteronormative nationalist desires. With their pioneering ideas on the dare to fail, to write non-rationally, to look weak or silly in front of the judging masses, I have rediscovered the very potent powers of this feminist queer project I had envisioned before.

It is in this failing modality of thought and experientiality that I have striven to manage the diverse literatures and methods of studying trauma in this dissertation. As it became clearer and clearer in every pathologizing account of traumatic experience and post-traumatic symptomatology, the over-arching meaning of a 'symptom', I realized, was ascribed to be a failing pattern of not mentally functioning 'properly'. This "mythology of suffering", according to Davies (2011) posits the realities of mental suffering (psychological, affective, and relational) as a condition of our "separation from well-being" (117) as if all psychological states and processes marked by emotional turmoil, grievances, or despair are not natural, 'normal' parts of our everyday lives. The notion of 'disorder' [135], in most of the accounts of the biomedi-

[135] In *Hatred of Sex* (2022), Oliver Davis and Tim Dean takes an alternative route to the term "disorder" and use it to refer to the "disruption of psychic coherence occasioned by sexual intensity" (20) instead of understanding it as a concept of psychopathology or a dysfunction of some sort. Instead, taking this reading of the term from Ranciere's political philosophical works, they seem to uphold the disrupting potential of sexuality against the ego's futile defenses against Laplanchean "perturbation" or one's uneasy relationship with the paradoxical dynamics of pleasure: Bringing self-satisfying pleasure on different levels of psychic and tactile sensation vs. the impending dangers of dissolution, disturbance, and disorder in one's fantasized unity and omnipotence. In their conception of selfhood, they see it as "a kind of psychic armor or prophylaxis against sexuality" (22). But I do not share the exact level of willingness for a Laplanchean or

cal approaches I have reviewed, not only assumed a previously smooth-functioning and neatly-ordered mental configuration that is now in need of repair and reordering (hence the clinical dictate to start visiting the therapy room and work on our 'subjective' or interpersonal problems), but it also presumed a failure on the part of the traumatized individual(s) whose psychic 'shields' or psychic defenses did not amount to the protection of their 'at risk' minds. The very problem with this pathologizing view of mental disorder within the context of groups of people whose lived experiences of non-normative genders and sexualities is what has brought me into the doorstep of the concept of 'failure', and its connection to trauma.

One of the specific contributions of this project has been to reveal the artificially-structured discursive delineations between these registers of social reality as well as showing where the failure lies actually: In the phantasmic defenses of the cisheteronormative society that is traumatically paralyzed yet violent in the face of their renouncement of their libidinal excess and the return of the unconsciously repudiated desire that keeps coming back: the haunting of gender, sexuality, and trauma. This traumatic foreclosure, and the ensuing forgetting based on the psychic rejection of one's stakes in the libidinal excess of infantile (and adult) sexual expansiveness and perversity does not happen consciously, though. As Vasterling puts skillfully, starting from the developmental onset of our psychological and cultural emergence into our social membership of society, we form affective attachments to norms, values, and practices that promise us social recognition or the psychic pleasure of being seen. Anchored in our need to survive (socially or psychologically), these attachments transform into the keystone of "the psychic life of power" (Butler 1997), which are homologized to work as the "unconscious conduits by which the social regime of heterosexual binary gender recycles itself, conferring social recognition at the price of a thorough disciplining of most aspects of human life" (Vasterling 2010, 176). This unconscious [136], societally-enforced traumatic bargaining at the early stages of infantile libidinal exuberance translates to a psychosocial denial of this repudiation, which then crystallizes in the pervasive prejudice, hate, and violence against the others who have come to desire 'otherwise'. Troubled by many

---

Bersanian focus on sex's "self-shattering" qualities and selfhood's characteristic role of psychic protection as the main function, in that I see it as an example of moments or incidences of "unbinding" where these psychic vulnerabilities for our "constitutive dividedness" become more pronounced for psychosocial struggles over mastery.

[136] I knowingly refrained from invoking the concept of the "collective unconscious" due to its much-problematized and extremely speculative origin and functions, I owe much to Jan Campbell's understanding of the concept by reading it from a Fanonian conceptualization that meets both Lacan's and Christopher Bollas' understanding of the unconscious, which Campbell understands as "ethnographic experiential and embodied stories... instituted through a radical creative and experiential imaginary" (2000, 229). As Campell wrote, "For Fanon, the collective unconscious, is not made up, as Jung would have it, of inherited genes or cerebral matter [though there is a rapid increase in the number of studies from cultural neurogenetics and the evolutionary genetic projects of mass migration and historical trauma], but 'is purely and simply the sum of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a given group" (Fanon 1986, 188 as cited in Campbell 2000, 214).

consequences of such bashing attitudes and behavior, I have found a dispersed group of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey that I have referred as "psychodiverse" in this text, I to be multiply marked and stigmatized, resulting in a myriad number of distressing mental health problems. As described by their own accounts, in the eyes of the cisheteronormative majority, they were seen as sexual 'perverts' and gender 'freaks' that signaled moral decay and the ushering of the 'end times' (socially and religiously). On the other hand, even in the eyes of the members of their in-group (their fellow queer and trans 'comrades'), they were the 'crazy' ones; the 'odd one out's, and the 'difficult' ones.

In this dissertation, I have traced diverse literatures on queer sexualities and gender diverse experiences within the axis of trauma, connecting the scholarly discussions and theoretical contentions to the mental health experiences of the LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey. With this goal in mind, in Chapter I, I initially introduced the central themes and research questions in this dissertation by engaging with Lauren Berlant's concept of "crisis ordinariness" (2011), which I juxtaposed with the classical theories of trauma. Then I presented the way I have set to examine how LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey experience the conflation of their psychic and social traumas. By outlining the theoretical framework across transdisciplinary trajectories of psychoanalytic trauma studies, queer studies, psychosocial studies, social trauma studies, and specific theories of relational psychoanalysis, I have situated my research questions at the center of queer theorizing that aim at understanding trauma beyond the discourse and practices of the clinic. In this respect, I have critiqued the limitations of the traditional psychoanalytical approaches that focus mostly on micro-level intersubjective interactions (most within the familial systems), and emphasized the need to account for the broader psychosocial systems and socio-historical contexts that underwrite these experiences. By aiming to bridge the theoretical and political gap between queer theory and psychoanalysis, I have explored how these fields and their expert knowledges of desire, sex, and sexuality can inform each other and the practitioners in the field to better understand and address the mental health struggles of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. My approach in this project perhaps can be best captured by Avgi Saketopoulou calls the "traumatophilic" approach, which they describe as the act of becoming less preoccupied with the question of what can be done about the causes and consequences of trauma, but becoming more interested in the way traumatized "subjects do with their trauma" (2023, 92).

In Chapter II, I have outlined my methodological approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative methods within a feminist and queer theoretical framework. By situating my lived experiences of trauma that initiated this research project, I set the stage for a critical inquiry of traditional research methods that are limited

in terms of capturing the lived experiences of marginalized groups whose 'data' is lost amongst numbers or erased on the claims of being 'outliers'. In this chapter, I have critiqued the historical and political biases inherent in conventional empirical sciences, and advocated for a mixed-methods approach that value both large-scale data and the richness and power of individual stories. As I have combined quantitative surveys and in-depth interviews, I have sought to disrupt traditional research paradigms and highlight the importance of conducting transdisciplinary, inclusive methodologies in the task of understanding minoritized experiences. Following Michael Warner's apt words on queer as method, which challenge any regime of normality with a particular focus on identitarian imagination (1993, xx), I have situated my research questions on gender and sexuality not as obsolete categories of identity, but as a larger project on destabilizing individuals' and groups' wishes to solidify and tame the unruly potentials of desire itself. In this way,I have sought to utilize queer theory and the queer characteristics of my interlocutors and participants "less [as] an object of study (a who we might study)", but more of an "analytic (a how to think sexual/gendered norms and power) (Weiss 2024, 5).

In Chapter III, I have provided an in-depth exploration of the historical journey of trauma as a key concept in the history of psychoanalysis and its broader, theoretical and clinical, implications within contemporary trauma studies. As an object identified by an ironic rhythm of perpetual forgetting and resurrection, trauma was initially perceived as a physical injury to one's brain or spinal cord before it moved into the psychologizing accounts of early figures in psychoanalytical history. I first presented the early works of key figures such as Charcot, Janet, and Freud, whose pioneering work on hysteria and traumatic neurosis laid the foundational framework for understanding trauma's psychological dimensions. Then, I examined the shifting powers in the historico-political scene in the West, and the social changes and technological advancements posed challenges against the traditional diagnostic categories of trauma. By focusing on the works of Cathy Caruth, Dori Laub, Judith Herman, and other socially-informed theorists or psychotherapists, I have showcased how this line of research has shaped our contemporary understanding of trauma as both an individual and a collective experience. As I have critically examined the commercialization and medicalization of trauma, I have highlighted the ethical and political challenges of diagnosing and treating trauma within the cisheteronormative patriarchal frameworks of modern psychiatry. Furthermore, as I have focused on the unique contributions of feminist and queer psychotherapists whose works were much neglected even in the recent literature, I have demonstrated how trauma has been reconceptualized as a psychological and social reality through

interdisciplinary, critical lenses [137]

In Chapter IV, I have explored the influence of sociological and anthropological theories on collective trauma, and how it is said to differentiate itself from the account of personal psychological trauma. I started the chapter with a critique of clinical terminology on everyday life [138] and cultural discourse that surrounds trauma today. Pointing at the commercialization and individualization of trauma within neoliberal capitalism as a self- care responsibility, I have aimed to demonstrate how this contemporary discourse on "trauma talk" reduces complex social and psychological issues to matters of personal maintenance divorced from their involvement with larger social, historical and political problems of power and violence. Revisiting the latter works of Freud on transgenerational trauma and cultural forgetting/remembering, I provided a psychosocial framework present within the psychoanalytical project that was rejected or neglected by most despite the evident forces of the social and cultural in these works. As I drew from interdisciplinary insights from psychosocial studies, cultural studies, and sociology, I present a holistic view of trauma that incorporate both the individual and collective dimensions, challenging the dominant neoliberal narratives that often isolate trauma as a purely personal issue. Due to the fact that not all violent acts and events come to be understood and experienced as trauma, I have aimed to show how there are multiple actors, factors, and determinants in the cultural matrix, in which there are a number of complex processes of making trauma claims, cultural symbolization, and artistic and groupwide trends of repressing, remembering and rewriting.

In Chapter V, I opened with another personal story about my own coming-out, and how catalyzed my academic journey in terms of understanding the unique stressors and traumatizing events that abound in LGBTQIA+ people's lives in Turkey. In this chapter, I present the main theoretical muses in my reading and understanding of Queer Theory, namely, Ann Cvetkovich, Lauren Berlant, and Judith Butler. By drawing on their theoretical concepts and arguments, I have delved into the nuanced interplay between public and private traumas faced by LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey – which I rebrand as "queer* trauma". Influenced by systemic homo-

[137] This transdisciplinary view of mine echoes with Fiorini's embrace of "open psychoanalysis" (Eco 1989 as cited in Fiorini 2007) which allows "enough porosity and sufficient mobility at its boundaries to allow it generate revisions, interchanges with other disciplines, and productive debates" (2017, xxii).

[138] My findings resonate with Veena Das's words on the violent traumas of the Partition of India in 1947 and the massacre of the Sikhs in 1984, and how her analysis of the everyday life of trauma do not point at grand theoretical discussions of inaccessible pasts or recovery but connects to "the question of how everyday tasks of surviving – having a roof over your head, being able to send your children to school, being able to do the work of the everyday without constant fear of being attacked – could be accomplished. I found that the making of the self was located, not in the shadow of some ghostly past, but in the context of making the everyday inhabitable" (216). The experiences of my interlocutors have pointed at a similar phenomenon of erupting in the material now of the everyday life that has been deemed inhabitable or at best only at the expense of your physical and psychological well-being.

phobia, transphobia, and femmephobia and a lack of supportive institutional and cultural discourses and policies, the deep-seated trauma experienced by queer people in Turkey, I have argued, results in a number of mental health challenges, which include higher rates of depression, anxiety disorders, PTSD, and interpersonal relationship difficulties. As I have engaged closely with the personal testimonies from my interlocutors, I have illustrated the real-life impacts of societal stigmatization, institutional discrimination, and criminalizing oppression on the everyday experiences of LGBTQIA+ people living in Turkey.

As I have situated these narratives at the background of Cvetkovich's, Berlant's, and Butler's ideas on heteropatriarchal nationalist desires of queer erasure and the national reflection of heterosexual melancholia, I have shown how the cisheterosexual majority strives to succeed in their collective political repression of their 'Otherness' [139] to themselves and their renounced traumas of sensing and but not recognizing the perversity in their own developmental pasts and psyches. Although I did not engage with theories of perversion in this project as a key concept, one certain takeaway from my readings is that, echoing Saketopoulou's Laplanchean re-theorizing on perversity [140] (2023, 30-35), it is not directly the failure of the cisheterosexual subject and his clan's inability to face the perversity in their psychic past (though it may be so), it is more of a problem of unknowability or, to use Saketopoulou's choice of word, a matter of "translation" [141], in that the hegemonic subject and/or the group does not know how their unmarked subjectivity has been formed and restructured in the shadow of the repudiated others, and how this discursive and psychic play on

---

[139] This view can also be entertained from a Lacanian perspective, revisiting his infamous phrases "there is no sexual relation" and "the woman does not exist" (for a detailed analysis, see Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Ross' *Jacques Lacan and the Ecole Freudienne: Feminine Sexuality* (1982). In short, "On the one hand, we can speak of the man as universal, by identifying him with the one, with the phallus. But, on the other hand, there is an absence, an otherness, which cannot be identified collectively with a signifier...It is impossible to write a sexual relation between the one and an Other characterized by the fact that there is no signifier to identify it, and thus by an absence, a gap" (Morel 2011, 65). I would argue that this also applies to any interpersonal and intergroup relationship where there is no 'natural' base for equity. In this case, for queer individuals and the burden of 'perverse' sexuality, the cisheteronormative community does not just see the lack and the gap inherent in the formation of their so-called natural sexual matrix, but also sees an excess – one that is growing bigger and more menacing as the haunting of their repudiation of "polymorphous sexuality". As the author, I am fond of any moment of an eruption of an excess as I would like to think of my detailed footnotes as a meta-movement that allegorically functions like an excessive appendage to the main text.

[140] Revisiting Freud's statement that "perversion is something innate in everyone" (1905, 171), Saketopoulou develops a view of perverse sexuality that, "all sexuality, independently of its behavioral expression, has the alien and the perverse swirled in it. If the perverse underwrites all sexuality, rather than ask perversity to account for itself", they ask "we might, instead, ask after docile, tame, and subdued sexualities that may suffer from having lost their footing the perverse" (30-31).

[141] The concept of translation here is borrowed from Laplanche's oeuvre where it is used to refer to processes of meaning-making of the enigmatic messages coming from the sexual unconscious of the other (parents). The traumatic element is not the "secret message of enigma" but the fact that this "implantation" signals perversity and needs to be ascribed meaning (Saketopoulou 2023, 41). Hence, the traumatophilic approach, as proposed by Saketopoulou, presents that it is in our humane capacity to experience traumas of all kinds (constitutive or event-based or systemic) and the ensuing remaking of what it may mean for us. "Our capacity to wrest meaning out of trauma", Saketopoulou writes, "means that humans are not just driven to symbolize but that we become human by engaging in the activity of symbolizing. It is our capacity to translate again and again that furnishes our humanity..." (42).

the 'natural' essence of their 'right' to dominate and power actually comes from forgetting and erasing some of the similarities that they shared with the abjected others. Almost like Kleinian "projective identifications" on a larger matrix, the cisheteronormative majority missiles the unwanted, 'ugly' and 'pervert' parts of their desires as the bad parts of their selves and conjure the phantom images of bad objects that make them feel more certain and justified in the moral naturality of their ways of life. As Klein suggested, what is projected is not simply discrete impulses, but a part of the self or the group – not just aggressive impulses, for examples, but a bad self, now located in another. Since that which is projected is a segment of the self, a connection to the expelled part is maintained, through an unconscious identification" (Mitchell and Black 1995, 101). In this light, it is no wonder that the cishet community is 'obsessed' with the anxious talk about the looming 'dangers' of growing 'popularity' of LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey and their unyielding desires to regulate and criminalize these groups' lives.

In Chapter VI, where I continue my close analysis of the testimonies of my interviewees, I have engaged with the intricate and multifaceted experiences of queer* trauma within the context of affect, loss, and symbolic struggle on meaning. I started the chapter with a recourse to Derrida's ideas on the roles of archives and their power in witnessing violence, having criticized the conventional view of archives as statis repositories of past events, which does not apply to the case of LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey as their struggles are not confined to the past but count as continuous experience that keep getting reagitated and more precarious by the day. Principally, through interviews with my interlocutors in this study, I have examined the systemic and structural discrimination they endure, revealing the ubiquitous impact of stigma and the internalized shame it fosters [142]. I situate these stories in close proximity to the theoretical insights from Lauren Berlant, whose concept of "cruel optimism" enabled me to describe the paradoxical attachment of queer people to systems and futures of hope that promise them a sense of momentary relief and a sense of belonging, however fleeting they may be on the long run. Also, in this chapter, I explored the political aspects of queer* trauma by situating these personal experiences within a broader sociopolitical context that unsettle the theoretical distinction between private and public trauma. Drawing on Judith Butler's psychoanalytical work on grievability and the politics of mourning, I have examined how queer lives in Turkey are considered ungrievable in death, and insignificant and

[142] I have also touched upon the internalized ways in which these cruel attachments produce within-group (subcultural) modes of reproducing shame and debasement, especially in the way the more normative members of queer community (ones that are considered to be more acceptable because of their masculine, straight-acting, and penetrative role). Stockton wrote on this shaming politics of 'bottoming' and insinuations of abjected femininity in great detail in *Beautiful Bottom, Beautiful Shame: Where "Black" Meets "Queer"* (2006). I have found similar narratives of pervasive femmephobia and bottom shaming in Turkey's queer and trans* communities.

even dangerous for the public welfare when they are alive. Rather than being a case of an archive of queer negativity, I have presented a living case of here-and-now realities where queerness has been defined in relation to hegemonic structures of norms and practices about cisheteronormative sexuality and cisgenderism.

The stories I examined here demonstrated the negative impact of these political approaches on the public status and the social value of queer people on the public sphere and how these destructive ideas become internalized and end up causing a wide array of mental health issues for the LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. I have concluded my general analysis by reflecting on the agency and resilience of queer individuals, who, despite the pervasive trauma they described, continue to strive for recognition, legitimacy, and power over the authority to chart and make sense [143] of their own lives. I have framed this resilience, not as a subjective, psychological factor of mentally protective qualities, but as a dimension within "crisis ordinariness" that Berlant talked about, where every day acts of survival and resistance become sites of potential transformation and empowerment. Through these concepts, I have offered a multidimensional understanding of the complexities of queer* trauma which is experienced both as a catalyst of numerous psychological difficulties of great severity, and a source of finding collective power of resilience and resistance amongst queer public cultures [144] in Turkey. In line with Butler's theory of "national/heterosexual melancholia" and the ethical implications of the unacknowledged losses (of the infantile polymorphous sexuality), which provide a framework for understanding the societal dynamics that contribute to the marginalization and oppression of queer individuals, and Berlant's theory on national heterosexuality and "cruel optimism", which have been shown to demonstrate how queer* trauma is manifested through feelings of shame and various experiences of psychological distress, I have shown the interconnectedness between the personal narratives of my interviewees and the literatures on private/public traumas of gender non-conformity and sexual dissidence.

In *Queer Turkey: Transnational Poetics of Desire* (2022), Ralph J. Poole writes

---

[143] A recent work on the relationship between trauma and its destructive power on meaning-making potential has been written by Vivienne Matthies-Boon on what they examine under the label of work "counter-revolutionary trauma" in Egypt. According to Matthies-Boon's analysis, "Trauma is the violent violation of our counterfactual expectation to be treated as equal peers in our communicative relations, as a result of which the lifeworld's functioning is so deeply disrupted that we lose our capacity to act in the world. Trauma is hence above all an issue of meaning-making – or rather the destructive loss of meaning-making in the world" (2023, 49-50).

[144] "A queer public", in Warner's words, "might be one that throws shade, prances, disses, acts up, carries on, longs, fantasizes, throws fits, mourns, and 'reads'. To take such attribution of public agency seriously, however, we would need to inhabit a culture with a different language ideology, a different social imaginary – a relation of agency that is acquired in front of the state which transforms the alternative public into a social movement." (2002, 124). Although we have a vibrant, most resilient LGBTQIA+ social movement in Turkey, which even happily terrorizes the state, which is evidenced by the fact that the state's armed forces rain down onto the streets of Taksim when it is Pride March, we have currently no queer public (in the official sense of the term) of mental health that opposes to the hegemonic forms of pathologizing queer ways of life, sexuality, and relationalities.

that, relying on the concept of "emotional memory", a concept he borrows from Cvetkovich, who borrowed it from Toni Morrison, culture-specific sexual public cultures have been captured well in the early histories of homoeroticism and same-sex relations that he was tracing throughout his analysis. Even though there are exemplary forms of queer public cultures, both in the political sphere and the popular cultural archives, I cannot argue that there are currently specific formations and arrangements of public trauma/therapeutic cultures in Turkey that have been politically organizing around their combined identities of psychodiverse queer individuals. Despite this lack, the personal testimonies from my interlocutors have illustrated the real-life impact of homophobia and other forms of anti-LGBTQIA+ sentiments, revealing commonly shared stories of psychological distress and traumatization amidst their systemic oppression. By situating these personal narratives within broader theoretical contexts, I have offered a view of queer* trauma and the pressing need to emphasize for political remobilization, reorganization, and public for visibility, recognition, and rights for LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey.

At this point, I should also acknowledge that I have experienced numerous hardships and problems that need to be mentioned as limitations to the method and goals of this project. First of all, one of the biggest challenges was to figure out how to make meaningful, transdisciplinary connections between different disciplines and literatures on trauma that do not speak to one another or do not pay attention to their terminologies or the way they conceptualize similar phenomena. I must acknowledge that the way I have read and compiled the works I have cited in this project comes from a personal selection of resources with a focus on determining which texts have been cited popularly in any of the disciplinary literatures I have investigated, but this does not mean that the collection of resources or ideas I provide here is, by no means, meant as an exhaustive list or the way these resources should be archeologically found, read, and interpreted. Instead, I have taken much initiative following the traces of certain early proto-queer, feminist, or simply anarchist sentiments and ideas found in the oft-cited resources, believing that even when the author does not name their project feminist, queer, or trans as such, there may already be fundamentally anti-normative and dis-ordering motives in their theoretical or clinical pieces, which was confirmed in this case.

The second major challenge proved to be the collection of quantitative and qualitative data from queer and trans communities in Turkey as they have proved to be (i) fed up with being researched on as 'clinical' communities and (ii) resistant to talk about their mental states and emotional words as they find it naturally upsetting and triggering (Clark 2008). Moreover, they have reported that, despite their initial permission to the informed consent, four of them decided for their data not to

be used in this project as they feared possible retribution or political backlash for their comments, which I had connected to my sociopolitical analysis in this project. Another limitation was clearly the lack of engagement with the neuropsychological and more medical research on the peculiarities of trauma, and how the biomedical model has furthered their research in relation to the social dynamics of psychological trauma, or how the social and cultural differences may have affected the brains and the chemical states of various groups and their members across time and place. Although I read many biomedical and neuropsychological key resources on this issue, I have deduced that we are still in need of much research that can generate sound and robust consequences about the ways trauma changes the neural mechanisms in the brains of certain social groups or how we may come to understand these differences without coming at hasty generalizations that, at best, rely on correlative findings or do not explain the 'why' and 'how' in the rigorous way they seem to be seeking.

Although it is possible to numerate even more difficulties in such a demanding, ambitious project of transdisciplinary scope, one final limitation that I wish to mention is how challenging it has been to analyze conversational material that is filled with qualitative psychological data of clinical nature, in that, since I am not a trained psychotherapist or a clinical psychologist, I have found it hard how to make sense of some of the clinical information provided by my interviewees. Most of the time, I was not certain whether I was overanalyzing or that I was pushing my subjective understanding of their world and their expressed 'symptoms' rather than following a more friendly, supportive feminist and queer solidarity. Not only did I lack the professional expertise in the way a trained psychotherapist can bring into the analysis of their client's psychological history, I also found it very demanding to find balance between the analyzing eye of a listener/data interpreter (as a trained anthropologist/psychologist) and the passionate, empathic voice of being another queer* trauma/s survivor. In the same vein, I found it emotionally overwhelming and triggering to conduct our in-depth interviews, despite the power of affective solidarity they introduced into my life, and to go back to recording and interview notes and relive the emotional weight of those painful memories and the hardship of the people I witnessed vicariously.

I believe that recognizing these limitations can help future researchers, activists, and anyone interested in these themes recognize the present hardships embedded in the task of studying trauma within queer and trans communities, and explore more suited and structured ways to do theoretical or applied research on not only examining the dynamics that contribute to the collective deterioration of the mental health conditions of LGBTQIA+ people in Turkey, but also advocate for more inclusive political environments and clinical practice/teaching for these people. Fu-

ture studies are advised to collect both quantitative and qualitative data from the minority populations within Turkey's queer and trans* communities especially with a focus on the ethnic and religious minorities who happen to be queer or trans. Such an interdisciplinary approach, I am sure, will introduce more dynamics of the projection of internalized negative affects and the way they are experienced inside within-group dynamics. In the same light, future studies should look into the way these psychosocial mechanisms around non-normative genders and sexualities are played out in the therapy room, and how the social permeates the clinic, and how therapists deal with these issues raised in this project. Because it proved to be an underwhelming project for a single person, future studies should consider establishing interdisciplinary collaborations to explore queer* trauma by dividing the workload and different conceptual and methodological knowledge across a number of available experts who would not mind experimenting with transdisciplinary academic excursions. Finally, future studies should continue the quantitative trajectory that is opened by this research, and try to uncover how different constructs and processes play vital roles in the psychosocial mechanisms and phenomena described here.

In conclusion, with this dissertation that coalesces the queer theories of Butler, Berlant, and Cvetkovich as well as classical and contemporary psychoanalytic, literary, and sociological theories of trauma, I have demonstrated that (i) Turkish society is strictly organized around the national fantasies of normative cisgendered heterosexuality that valorizes solely the expressive forms of patriarchal, penetrative masculinities, and that (ii) this sociopolitical realm of the Symbolic law includes the establishment and maintenance of violent prohibitive cultural norms, values, practices, and even state- sponsored instrumentalization of criminalizing anti-queer legislative and armed power that culminates in a pervasive traumatizing social-cultural atmosphere for the LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. Connected to this, I have highlighted the ways in which the Turkish cisheteronormative society systematically violate the citizenship rights of LGBTQIA+ individuals by exposing them to potentially traumatizing events that end up exacerbating their mental health problems which, in return, bring forth new dangers of retraumatization and internalization of the negative beliefs and attitudes portrayed by the majority. Moreover, I have underscored how the cisheteronormative society projects the pain and suffering from their forgotten and repressed acts of repudiation of the polymorphous perversity of infantile sexuality and the psychic burdens of our otherness [145] and our naked vulner-

[145] One of the most intellectually-stipulating and poetically-moving accounts on the psychosocial story of how the majority's otherness is resolved in the political dynamics of oppression is illustrated in Calvin Thomas' theory (2008) where he presents a Lacanian reworking on sexual difference from a scantological perspective that he subsumes under what he calls "straight queer theory", he writes the following: "If, however, my understanding of my 'sexual difference' from others is supported by a buried but an unbearable suspicion that I am ultimately 'no different' not only from them but also from the lifeless objects that fall out of my ass, if my understanding is sustained by the not completely evacuated theory that I originally fell into the

ability in the face of a never achievable omnipotence or mastery onto the discursively and symbolically marginalized targets of 'bad objects' which happen to be affectively and politically invested with images and meanings of shame, inferiority, evilness, and immorality. Finally, I have demonstrated how, via the above-mentioned psychosocial haywire of their collective defenses, the cisheteronormative society resurrects the constitutive trauma embedded in human being's emergence to a functioning level of subjectivity, and rather than examining what their sexual object-choices may mean and relatedly the trauma of having lost some of these cathexes, they find it psychologically easier to project any negative affect apropos of this traumatic entanglement to the non-normatively gendered and sexualized others. It is my hope that I was able to show how trauma, as a theoretical concept and a lived reality, functions like a fulcrum in the theoretical and political divide between the private and the public, revealing many repercussions of the psychiatric privatization of trauma within the confines of the clinic that obfuscates the intricate way trauma permeates the porous, unstable boundaries between the psychic and the social.

At the intersections of trauma, desire, and societal norms, in this study I have examined how queer and trans identities are shaped and challenged within a complex socio-political context by critically examining the daily experiences of queer* trauma under oppressive cultural and political systems. Using a queer psychoanalytic lens, I emphasized the need for a cultural-ecological framework to capture the impact of systemic bias on gender and sexual relationships. Offering new perspectives on queer trauma that, instead of evaluating the appropriateness of social relations, identifications, and identities based on their alignment with disciplinary labels like sexuality, queer, or gender studies, I urged future researchers to consider the appropriateness of these disciplinary labels by the extent to which they disrupt identities and identifications. By challenging legibility, I argued, they reveal how these relations and identities are embedded in a broader social framework that segregates people and places them on divergent paths of life and death (Povinelli 2011, 268). By exploring the psychosocial challenges faced by LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey, I have revealed the intricate interactions between societal norms, oppressive laws, and individual/communal trauma experiences within gendered and sexual contexts, providing valuable insights into trauma studies, queer theory, and psychoanalysis. My findings call for a queer psychoanalytic approach to understand and address the unique mental health challenges of this group of people. It is my intention that this study can initiate a new segment of research in Turkey that will

---

world as just such a bad object, if it is precisely the kakon of my own being that I madly try to get at in the objects that I strike, then I can symbolically sustain myself only by having the complexly castratory questions of my existence – What am I there? Am I a man or a woman? Am I still living? What the fuck happened to the real? – answered in ways that not only satisfy me but also allow or compel me to continue treating 'my' sexual others like shit (49). [Emphasis mine]

adopt trans/interdisciplinary approaches to address these complex challenges faced by LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey, and can foster inclusive mental health support and advocacy efforts at the benefit of these people, hoping that the reigning model of the current clinical practices in Turkey can be restructured in a way to go beyond "the microcosm of the clinical encounter [that will] become a place for bearing witness and healing wounds but also a crucible in which new possibilities for civil society can be forged" (Kirmayer 2007, vii). Based on the stories I have listened where trained experts ended up causing more harm and damage on these already multiply-marginalized and distressed people, I hope this research can point to the exigent need to establish competent educational institutions and clinical programs that will intentionally integrate and support the education around the intersectional points of gender and sexuality studies, queer studies, trans studies, and crip/mad studies so that future practitioners can be prepared to be proactive in their future encounters with these minoritized groups.

As a final remark, one question remains as of what the future may hold, after trauma [146], for queer* and trans* communities in Turkey, especially considering how these communities at increasing risk of criminalizing have started to be publicly targeted by the President himself with his promise of "eradicating the roots of LGBTQIA+ people" whose presence he likened to a corruption of Turkish society that is reminiscent of fascism (Ünikuir 2024). The pressing question is not only what will happen next to the social welfare and psychological well-being of these minoritized and marginalized people whose basic human rights are systematically and continuously being undermined and violated with a state-led political incineration of their humanness and citizenship, but also how these communities will manage to deal with these aggressive attacks on their right to a decent, secure life. While, in the recent years following the first public prohibition of the pride parade and march in Taksim and the annexation of their constitutional rights to have peaceful protest, we have seen a continuing resistance, however dispersed and smaller in numbers, against these bans and the accompanying police violence and media- based demonization, it begs the question whether this non-violent form of resistance will prove to be effective or will

[146] As for the question of whether there is life after trauma, in this case for the LGBTQIA+ people and their communities in Turkey that have been exposed to systemic traumas of various kinds, I tend to agree with the rather pessimist/realistic approach provided by Saketopoulou, who has been working as a practicing psychoanalyst for many years, state that "trauma is never cured and that no one has ever been delivered back to an intact, pretraumatic state, no matter how motivated they are or how good their access to care or their resources. This is a statement that many clinicians would agree with in theory. But when the rubber hits the road, that is, when we sit with patients who need help, many of us, just like many of our patients, get caught in the quicksand of imagining that psychoanalysis or therapy can restore mental health, that it can help repair and, in some way, undo wounds. This belief prevails outside the clinic as well: both popular culture and academic discourse like to imagine subjects whose injuries (personal or structural) may be worked through, ridding the subject of their imprint. At best, though, we learn to live in trauma's afterlife, and I say this not to imply that political struggles for betterment should be therefore abdicated or that we should give in to social injustices, but because I am concerned about the burgeoning neoliberal economies that promise impossible healing and worry about the seductive assurances of contemporary medicine-men who tell us we can overcome pain" (2023, 133).

we need alternative strategies to form future national and transnational, political and academic allegiances that will gather around the acceptance of their common interest in anti-discrimination, freedom, and safety. Thinking about the possibilities of forming such coalitions and the conundrum of how to come together despite our differences and limits, I have remembered Butler's comments on this topic in their "Postscript" to *The Force of Non-Violence: An Ethico-Political Bind* (2020), where they wrote that:

> We do not have to love one another to engage in meaningful solidarity. The emergence of a critical faculty, of critique itself, is bound up with the vexed and precious relationship of solidarity, where our "sentiments" navigate the ambivalence by which they are constituted. We can always fall apart, which is why we struggle to stay together. Only then do we stand a chance of persisting in a critical commons: when nonviolence becomes the desire for the other's desire to live, a way of saying, "You are grievable; the loss of you is intolerable; and I want you to live; I want you to want to live, so take my desire as your desire, for yours is already mine." The 'T' is not you, yet it remains unthinkable without the "you"-worldless, unsustainable. So, whether we are caught up in rage or love rageful love, militant pacifism, aggressive nonviolence, radical persistence - let us hope that we live that bind in ways that let us live with the living, mindful of the dead, demonstrating persistence in the midst of grief and rage, the rocky and vexed trajectory of collective action in the shadow of fatality (204).

As I heed to Butler's hopeful attachments to future possibilities of figuring out to see beyond our differences, finitude, and surging hatred, I am not at the same optimistic level of arguing that reason and critical faculty, even if it is attainable in the first hand in the case of Turkey, can be the basis for such change since I would argue that, Turkey's political history of anti-minoritarian violence and the cultural infrastructure and the collective psychic apparatuses of "loving one another" or considering them as humans whose lives are sacred and grievable are intertwined with the Sunni religious framework present extraordinary cases of historical and sociological analyses compared to the political history of social change in the United States. Seeing the multitude of online comments on various social media outlets that report how happy and celebratory they feel when they witness young queer and trans people getting beaten by the Turkish police force during the pride events or when a queer or trans kid commits suicide and the comments sections are filled with messages that portray celebration and heralding of "deserved" divine damnation, I cannot help but think that neither love (or any source of another 'positive' affect)

or reason can be enough on its own to force structural change.

Instead, I would, possibly taking a rather less celebrated perspective of a Fanonian theorization of political resistance against multileveled oppression and violence (1967), argue for a more radical approach, one of revolutionary counterviolence that does not necessarily signal direct violence or physical aggression but one that would demonstrate the psychological and social force of the collective unrest, defiance, and angst against the socially and psychologically destructive blows of the sovereign. Even though I have learned much from the stories and memories I have collected in terms of the affective, therapeutic power of standing one's ground (resilience) and forgiving for a self- therapeutic healing, I profess that we are now in need of, if not more than ever, public remobilization of queer rage – one that would grab the mirror in the hand of the oppressor, who is narcissistically lost in the ever-distorted image of their 'perfect' reflection, smash and replace it with a magnifying glass that would force them to look at what they are doing. While it is still possible for some to enjoy the scene of havoc and ruin they have unleashed upon the victims, at least they would not be able to enjoy their masquerade once the background is filled with our raging voices and cries for justice. This academic, and indissolubly activist project, I aspire, will be able to join the ranks of likeminded intellectual endeavors that take mischievous pleasure in causing ruckus in this nightmarish world order where some of us are willingly sacrificed and banished to a living hell! One should not forget how adamant queer feminist rage can be, as one of the protest signs on Feminist Night March on March 8 reminded us all:

If you ever feel scared of the dark, we will set this town on fire!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A., Robinson B. 2018. "Conditional Families and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth Homelessness: Gendered Explanations for Family Rejection." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 80(2): 383–396.

Abraham, N., and Torok M. 1984. ""The lost object—me": Note on identification within the crypt." *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 4: 221–242.

Abraham, N., and Torok M. 1994. *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Acevedo, C. A., and E. R. Brody. 2015. "Sexual orientation and mental health: A review of the literature." *Clinical Psychology Review* 41: 21–35.

Ahmed, S. 2004. *The cultural politics of emotion.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. 2010. "Happy objects." In *The affect theory reader*, ed. Gregg M., and Seigworth G. J. Duke University Press.

Ahıska, M. 2019. "Memory as Encounter: The Saturday Mothers in Turkey." In *Women Mobilizing Memory*, ed. A. G. Altınay, M. Göknar, and E. Gürbey. Columbia University Press.

Alcoff, L., and Gray L. 1984. "'Survivor Discourse: Transgression or Recuperation?" *Signs* 18(2): 260–90.

Alessi, E. J. 2014. "A Framework for Incorporating Minority Stress Theory into Treatment with Sexual Minority Clients." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health* 18(1): 47–66.

Alessi, E. J., Kahn S., Woolner L., and van der Horn R. 2018. "Traumatic Stress Among Sexual and Gender Minority Refugees From the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia Who Fled to the European Union." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 31(6): 805–815.

Alexander, J. C., Eyerman R., Giesen B., Smelser N. J., and Sztompka P. 2004. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity.* Sztompka, P. (2004). Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity. University of California Press.

Alford, C. F. 2016. *Trauma, culture, and PTSD.* Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature.

Almeida, J., Johnson R. M., Corliss H. L., Molnar B. E., and Azrael D. 2010. "Emotional distress among LGBT individuals: The role of stigma and social support." *American Journal of Public Health* 99(11): 2233–2239.

Altınay, A., Contreras M., Hirsch M., Howard J., Karaca B., and Solomon A. 2019. "Women Mobilizing Memory." In *Women Mobilizing Memory.* New York, Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press pp. 487–525.

American Psychiatric Association. 1980. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington:APA.

American Psychiatric Association. 1987. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington:APA.

American Psychiatric Association. 1994. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington:APA.

American Psychiatric Association. 2000. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington:APA.

American Psychiatric Association. 2013. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. APA.

Atlas, R., and Pepler D. J. 1998. "Observations of bullying in the classroom." *Journal of Educational Research* 92: 86–89.

Bager-Charleson, S., and McBeath A. 2022. *Supporting Research in Counselling and Psychotherapy Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Research*. Springer Nature.

Bager-Charleson, S., and McBeath A. G. 2020. *Enjoying Research in Counselling and Psychotherapy: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Research*. 1st ed. ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baird, K., and Kracen A.C. 2006. "Vicarious traumatization and secondary traumatic stress: A research synthesis." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 19(2): 181–188.

Bakacak, A., and Öktem K. 2014. "The impact of cultural attitudes on the mental health of LGBT individuals in Turkey." *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 8(2): 142–159.

Balaev, M. 2014. *Contemporary Approaches to Literary Trauma Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Balsam, R. 2001. "Integrating male and female elements in a woman's gender identity." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 49: 1335–1360.

Bammer, G. 2013. *Disciplining Interdisciplinarity: Integration and Implementation Sciences for Researching Complex Real-World Problems*. ANU E-Press.

Banerjee, S. B., Morrison F. G., and Ressler K. J. 2017. "Genetic approaches for the study of PTSD: Advances and challenges." *Neuroscience Letters* 649: 139–146.

Baraitser, L. 2022. ""Time and Psychoanalysis: Reflections on Temporal Experience in Clinical Practice."." *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 27(2): 173–187.

Barbieri, N. B. 1999. "Psychoanalytic contributions to the study of gender issues." *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 44(1): 72–76.

Bauermeister, J., Choi S. K., Bruehlman-Senecal E., Golinkoff J., Taboada A., Lavra J., Ramazzini L., Dillon F., and Haritatos J. 2022. "An Identity-Affirming Web Application to Help Sexual and Gender Minority Youth Cope With Minority Stress: Pilot Randomized Controlled Trial." *Journal of Medical Internet Research* 24(8): e39094.

Benjamin., J. 1988. *The bonds of love: Psychoanalysis, feminism, and the problem of domination*. New York: Pantheon.

Benjamin, J. 1998. *The Shadow of the Other: Intersubjectivity and Gender in Psychoanalysis*. New York: Routledge.

Benjamin, J. 2018. *Beyond Doer and Done To: Recognition Theory, Intersubjectivity and the Third*. London and New York: Routledge.

Benvenuto, S. 2016. *What are Perversions? Sexuality, ethics, psychoanalysis*. Routledge.

Bereket, H., and Adam A. 2006. "Attitudes towards homosexuality and gay rights in Turkey: A cultural and sociopolitical analysis." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12(3): 275–288.

Berg, J., Smith R., and Jones L. 2015. ""Sexual orientation and mental health: A comprehensive review."." *Clinical Psychology Review* 41: 15–26.

Berg, R. C., M. D., and S. R. 2010. "Mental health outcomes of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals: A review of the literature." *Journal of Clinical Psychology,* 71(7): 710–731.

Berlant, L. 1997. *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Berlant, L. 2008. *Introduction: Intimacy, publicity, and femininity. The female complaint: The unfinished business of sentimentality in American culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Berlant, L. 2011*a*. *Cruel Optimism*. Duke University Press.

Berlant, L. 2011*b*. "Starved." In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 79–90.

Berlant, L. 2012. *Desire/love*. Brooklyn, NY: Punctum Books.

Berlant, L. 2013. *Sex, or the unbearable*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bersani, L. 1995. *Homos*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bersani, L. 2010. *Is the Rectum a Grave?: And Other Essays*. University of Chicago Press.

Bersani, L. 2011. "Shame on you." In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 91–109.

Bersani, L. 2018. *Receptive bodies.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bersani, L., and Phillips A. 2008. *Intimacies*. University of Chicago Press.

Bianet. 2024. "Istanbul's LGBTI+ Activists Hold Pride March in Unexpected Location to Circumvent Bans.".

Birksted-Breen, D. 2016. *The Work of Psychoanalysis: Sexuality, Time and the Psychoanalytic Mind*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Birksted-Breen, D., ed. 1993. *The Gender Conundrum: Contemporary Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Femininity and Masculinity*. Routledge.

Bistoen, G. 2016*a*. *Trauma, Ethics and the Political Beyond PTSD: The Dislocations of the Real*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bistoen, G., Vanheule S., and Craps S. 2014. "Nachträglichkeit: A Freudian perspective on delayed traumatic reactions." *Theory & Psychology* 24(5): 668–687.

Bistoen, S. 2016*b*. *Psychoanalysis, Gender, and Sexuality: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge..

Boehmer, U., Case P., and C. Doss. 2019. "A longitudinal study of the mental health of LGBT individuals: The role of social support and minority stress." *Journal of Homosexuality* 66(5): 670–692.

Bogousslavsky, J., ed. 2014. *Hysteria: The rise of an enigma*. Karger Medical and Scientific Publishers.

Bostwich, W. B., Boyd C. J., Hughes T. L., and McCabe S. E. 2010. "Dimensions of sexual orientation and the prevalence of mood and anxiety disorders in the United States." *American Journal of Public Health* 100(3): 468–475.

Boulanger, G. 2002. "Wounded by reality: The collapse of the self in adult onset trauma." *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 38(1): 45–76.

Bourdieu, P., and Waquant L. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Bowlby, J. 1969. *Attachment and loss, Vol. 1 : Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.

Boysan, M., Ozdemir G. P., Ozdemir O., Selvi Y., Yilmaz E., and Kaya N. 2017. "Psychometric Properties of the Turkish Version of the PTSD Checklist for Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (PCL-5)." *Psychiatry and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 27(3): 300–310.

Bracken, P., and P. Thomas. 2005. *Postpsychiatry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Braun, V., and Clarke V. 2006. "Using thematic analysis in psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101.

Braun, V., and Clarke V. 2013. *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. SAGE Publications.

Breen, J. 1993. *Psychoanalysis and Gender: A Critical Review*. Routledge.

Breslau, N., Davis G. C., P. Andreski, and Peterson E. 1991. "Traumatic events and posttmumatic stress disorder in an urban population of young adults." *Archives of General Psychiatry* 48: 216–222.

Breslau, N., Davis G. C., P. Andreski, and Peterson E. 1995. "Risk factors for PTSD related traimatic events: A prospective analysis." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 152: 529–535.

Breslow, A. S., Brewster M. E., Velez B. L., Wong S., Geiger E., and Soderstrom B. 2015. "Resilience and Collective Action: Exploring Buffers Against Minority Stress for Transgender Individuals." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 2(3): 253–265.

Breuer, J., and Freud S. 1895. "Studies on Hysteria." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. J. Strachey. Vol. 2 London: Hogarth Press pp. 1–335.

Brittney, C. 2018. *"Intersectionality",*. The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory.

Bromberg, P. M. 1998. *Standing in the spaces: Essays in clinical process, trauma, and dissociation.* Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press.

Bromberg, P. M. 2003. "Something Wicked This Way Comes: Trauma, Dissociation, and Conflict: The Space Where Psychoanalysis, Cognitive Science, and Neuroscience Overlap." *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 20(3): 558–574.

Bromberg, P. M. 2006. *Awakening the Dreamer: Clinical Journeys*. Analytic Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. 1992. "Ecological Systems Theory." In *Six Theories of Child Development: Revised Formulations and Current Issues*, ed. R. Vasta. Jessica Kingsley Publishers pp. 187–249.

Brown, L. S. 1987. "From Alienation to Connection: Feminist Therapy with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder." *Women and Therapy* 5: 13–26.

Brown, L. S. 2001*a*. *Cultural Competence in Trauma Theory: Beyond the Flashback*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Brown, L. S. 2001*b*. "Not outside the range: One feminist perspective on psychic trauma." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Caruth C. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brown, L. S. 2003. "Sexuality, lies, and loss: Lesbian, gay, and bisexual perspectives on trauma." *Journal of Trauma Practice* 2: 55–68.

Brown, L. S. 2009. "Cultural competence: A new way of thinking about integration in therapy." *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration* 19(4): 340–353.

Brown, W. 1995. *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brown, W., and J. W. Scott. 2014. "Power." In *Critical Terms for the Study of Gender*, ed. C. McCann, and S. Kim. University of Chicago Press.

Buelens, G., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. 2014. "Introduction." In *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. Buelens G., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. London: Routledge.

Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. 1999. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. 10th anniversary ed. ed. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. 2000. *Antigone's Claim: Kinship Between Life and Death*. Cambridge University Press.

Butler, J. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

Butler, J. 2005. *Giving an account of oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Butler, J. 2009. *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* London: Verso.

Butler, J. 2015. *Senses of the Subject*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Butler, J. 2021. *The Force of Nonviolence: An Ethico-Political Bind*. Paperback edition ed. London: Verso.

Butler, J. P. 1997. *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection*. Stanford University Press.

Campbell, J. 2000. *Arguing with the phallus: Feminist, queer and postcolonial theory: A psychoanalytic contribution*. Zed Books.

Cardona, N. D., Cohen J. M., and Feinstein B. A. 2023. "Targeting Self-Compassion Among Sexual and Gender Minority People Experiencing Psychological Distress: A Comment on." *Clinical Psychology: A Publication of the Division of Clinical Psychology of the American Psychological Association* 30(1): 40–42.

Cardona, N. D., Madigan R. J., and Sauer-Zavala S. 2022. "How Minority Stress Becomes Traumatic Invalidation: An Emotion-Focused Conceptualization of Minority Stress in Sexual and Gender Minority People." *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 29(2): 185–195.

Caruth, C. 1995*a*. "Recapturing the past: Introduction." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Caruth C. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Caruth, C. 1995*b*. *Trauma: Explorations in memory*. London: John Hopkins University Press.

Caruth, C. 1996. *Unclaimed experience: Trauma, narrative, and history*. London: John Hopkins University Press.

Casper, M., and Wertheimer E. 2016. *Critical trauma studies: Understanding violence, conflict, and memory in everyday life*. New York University Press.

Cassorla, R. M. S. 2008. "From Bastion to Enactment: The 'Non-Dream' in the Theatre of Analysis." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 89(3): 551–573.

Cepeda, A., Nowotny K. M., Frankeberger J.and Ramirez E., Rodriguez V. E., Perdue T., and Valdez A. 2020. "Examination of Multilevel Domains of Minority Stress: Implications for Drug Use and Mental and Physical Health Among Latina Women Who Have Sex With Women and Men." *PLOS ONE* 15(3): e0230437.

Charcot, J. M., and Harris R. 1887. "Lecons sur les maladies du systéme neroeux-faites d la Salpetriére [Lessons on the illnesses of the nervous system held at the Salpetriére]." *Paris: Progrés Médical en A. Delahaye 8: E. Lecrosnie* 3.

Charcot, J.-M., and Harris R. 1991/2015. *Clinical lectures on diseases of the nervous system.* 1st ed. ed. Routledge.

Chen, Y. L., Chang Y. P., and Yen C. F. 2023. "Effects of Gender Nonconformity and Biological Sex on the Relationship Between Sexual Orientation Microaggressions and Anxiety and Depressive Symptoms Among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Taiwanese Young Adults: A Moderated-Moderation Study." *Journal of Affective Disorders* 334: 129–136.

Chodorow, N. J. 2012. *Individualizing gender and sexuality: Theory and practice.* New York: Routledge.

Cicero, D. C., and Hsu J. T. 2020. "D Minority stress and mental health among transgender individuals: The role of perceived stigma and discrimination." *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 76(2): 267–283.

Claire, M. St. 1986/2004. *Object relations and self psychology: An introduction.* Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Clark, T. 2008. "'We're Over-Researched Here!': Exploring Accounts of Research Fatigue within Qualitative Research Engagements." *Sociology* 42(5): 953–970.

Clifford, J. 1958. "Partial Truths."." *Anthropology Today* 14(6): 19–21.

Clough, P. T., and Halley J., eds. 2007. *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social.* Duke University Press.

Collins, P. H. 2017. "On Violence, Intersectionality and Transversal Politics." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(9): 1–14.

Cook, M. 2012. "Squatting in history: Queer pasts and the cultural turn." In *Social research after the cultural turn*, ed. Roseneil S., and Frosh S. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Corbett., K. 1993. "The mystery of homosexuality." *Psychoanalytic Psycholog* 10(3): 345–356.

Corbett., K. 2009. *Boyhoods: Rethinking masculinities.* Yale University Press.

Corbett., K. 2014. "Gender Now." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 24(1): 75–88.

Cox, B. J., Clara I. P., and Enns M. W. 2002. "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and the Structure of Common Mental Disorders." *Depression and Anxiety* 15(4): 168–171.

Cozolino, L. 2002. *The Neuroscience of Psychotherapy.* New York: Norton.

Craps, S. 2014. "Beyond Eurocentrism: Trauma theory in the global age." In *The future of trauma theory: Contemporary literary and cultural criticism.*, ed. Buelens G., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. London: Routledge.

Crastnopol, M. 2015. *Micro-Trauma: A Psychoanalytic Understanding of Cumulative Psychic Injury.* New York: Routledge.

Crenshaw, K. W. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–1299.

Crenshaw, K. W. 2010. "Close Encounters of Three Kinds: On Teaching Dominance Feminism and Intersectionality." *Tulsa Law Review* 46: 151–155.

Creswell, J. W. 2013. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches.* SAGE Publications.

Crimp, D. 1999. "Getting the Warhol We Deserve." *Social Text* 59: 49–66.

Cvetkovich, A. 2003. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures.* Duke University Press.

Das, Veena. 2007. "Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary." In *The biopolitics of trauma*, ed. G. Buelens S. Durrant, and R. Eaglestone. Berkeley: University of California Press.

D'Augelli, A. R., Grossman A. H., and Starks M. T. 2006. "Childhood Gender Atypicality, Victimization, and PTSD Among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youth." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 21(11): 1462–1482.

Davis, C. 2020*a*. *The Routledge companion to literature and trauma.* Routledge.

Davis, C. 2020*b*. "Trauma, poststructuralism and ethics." In *The Routledge companion to literature and trauma*, ed. Davis C., and Meretoja H. Routledge.

Davis, K. 2008. "Intersectionality as Buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful." *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67–85.

Davis, S., and Dean J. 2022. *Hatred of Sex: Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and the Critique of Desire.* Palgrave Macmillan.

de Lauretis, T. 1994. *The Practice of Love: Lesbian Sexuality and Perverse Desire.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Dean, T., and C. Lane. 2001. *Homosexuality and psychoanalysis.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Demertzis, N. 2022. *The political sociology of emotions: Essays on trauma and ressentiment.* Routledge.

Der-Meguerditchian, S., and Hirsch M. 2019. "Treasures." In *Women Mobilizing Memory*, ed. A. G. Altınay, M. Göknar, and E. Gürbey. Columbia University Press.

Derogatis, L. R. 1975. *Brief Symptom Inventory.* Baltimore: Clinical Psychometric Research.

Derogatis, L. R. 1993. "Brief Symptom Inventory." *European Journal of Psychological Assessment* .

Derogatis, L. R., and Melisaratos N. 1983. "The Brief Symptom Inventory: An Introductory Report." *Psychological Medicine* 13(3): 595–605.

Derrida, J. 1996. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, J., Magnus B., and Cullenberg S. 2006. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International.* Routledge.

deVries, M. W. 2007. "Trauma in cultural perspective." In *Traumatic Stress: The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body, and Society*, ed. B. A. van der Kolk, A. C. McFarlane, and L. Weisaeth. New York, London: The Guilford Press pp. 398–413.

DiCicco-Bloom, B., and Crabtree B. F. 2006. "The qualitative research interview." *Med Educ* 40: 314–21.

Didi-Huberman, G. 2004. *Invention of hysteria: Charcot and the photographic iconography of the Salpêtrière.* The MIT Press.

Didier, F., and R. Rechtman. 2009. *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood.* Princeton University Press.

Diedrich, L. 2018. ""PTSD: A New Trauma Paradigm"." In *Trauma and Literature*, ed. Kurtz J. R. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Dimen, M. 1999. "Between lust and libido." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 9: 415–40.

Dimen, M. 2001. "Perversion is us? Eight notes." *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration* 11: 825–860.

Dimen, M. 2003. *Sexuality, intimacy, power.* The Analytic Press/Taylor & Francis Group.

(Director), J. Demme. 1993. "Philadelphia.".

(Director), K. Peirce. 1999. "Boys Don't Cry.".

(Director), R. Mulcahy. 2009. "Prayers for Bobby.".

Douglass, R. P., Conlin S. E, and Duffy R. D. 2020. "Beyond Happiness: Minority Stress and Life Meaning Among LGB Individuals." *Journal of Homosexuality* .

Durkheim, E. 1951. "Suicide." In *A Study in Sociology*, ed. J. A. Spaulding, and G. Simpson. London: Routledge pp. 41–53.

Durrant, S. 2014. "Undoing Sovereignty: Towards a Theory of Critical Mourning." In *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. Buelens G., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. London: Routledge pp. 91–110.

Dworkin, E. R., A. K. Gilmore, M. Bedard-Gilligan, K. Lehavot, K. Guttmannova, and D. Kaysen. 2018. "Predicting PTSD Severity from Experiences of Trauma and Heterosexism in Lesbian and Bisexual Women: A Longitudinal Study of Cognitive Mediators." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 65(3): 324.

Eagle, G., and Kaminer D. 2013. "Continuous Traumatic Stress: Expanding the Lexicon of Traumatic Stress." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 19(2): 85–99.

Eagle, G. T., and Kaminer D. 2015. "Traumatic Stress: Established Knowledge, Current Debates and New Horizons." *South African Journal of Psychology* 45(1): 22–35.

Eaglestone, R. 2014. *Knowledge, 'afterwardness', and the future of trauma theory. In: G. Buelens, S. Durrant, & R. Eaglestone (Eds.): The future of trauma theory: Contemporary literary and cultural criticism.* London: Routledge.

Eagly, A. H., and Wood W. 2013. "The Nature–Nurture Debates: 25 Years of Challenges in Understanding the Psychology of Gender." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 8(3): 340–357.

Edelman, L. 1994. *Homographesis: Essays in gay literary and cultural theory.* Routledge.

Edelman, L. 2004. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive.* Duke University Press.

Edelman, L. 2011. "Ever after." In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 110–120.

Edkins, J. 2003*a*. "Introduction: Trauma, Violence and Political Community." In *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, ed. J. Edkins. Cambridge University Press pp. 1–19.

Edkins, J. 2003*b*. *Trauma and the Memory of Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edkins, J. 2014. "Time, Personhood, Politics." In *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. G. Buelens, S. Durrant, and R. Eaglestone. London: Routledge pp. 127–140.

Elliott, A., and Frosh S. 1995. *Psychoanalysis in context: Paths between theory and modern culture.* London: Routledge.

Ellis, C., and Bochner A. 2000. "Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject." *Communication Faculty Publications* 91.

Emerson, P., and Frosh S. 2004. *Critical Narrative Analysis in Psychology.* London: Palgrave.

Emerson, P., and S. Frosh. 2004. *Critical Narrative Analysis in Psychology: A Guide to Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eng, D., Halberstam J., and Muñoz J. E. 2005. "'What's Queer about Queer Theory Now?" Social Text." *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 23(3-4): 1–17.

Epstein, O. B. 2019. "Trauma Work via the Lens of Attachment Theory: Gaslight—Reality Distortion by Familiar Attachment Figures." In *Approaches to Psychic Trauma: Theory and Practice*, ed. B. Huppertz. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers pp. 347–363.

Erichsen, E. 1866. *On railway and other injuries of the nervous system.* London: Walton & Moberly.

Erikson, E. H. 1950. *Childhood and society.* W W Norton & Co.

Eskin, M., and G. G. 2005. "The relationship between sexual orientation and mental health in Turkey: A study of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 51(3): 213–223.

Estrada, F., Cerezo A., and Ramirez A. 2021. "An Examination of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder-Related Symptoms Among a Sample of Latinx Sexual- and Gender-Minority Immigrants." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 34(5): 967–976.

Eyerman, R. 2004. "Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity." In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press pp. 60–111.

Fanon, F. 1986. *Black Skin White Masks.* UK: Pluto Press.

Fausto-Sterling, A. 2000. *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality.* New York: Basic Books.

Felman, S. 1995. "Education and crisis, or the vicissitudes of teaching." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory.* Johns Hopkins University Press pp. 13–60.

Felman, S., and D. Laub. 1992. *Testimony: Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history.* London: Routledge.

Ferenczi, S. 1932. "Confusion of tongues." In *The clinical diaries of Sándor Ferenczi*, ed. Dupont E., Balint M., and Jackson N. Z. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Figler, C. R. 2006. *Mapping Trauma and its Wake: Autobiographical Essays.* London: Routledge.

Figley, C. R., ed. 1995. *Compassion Fatigue: Coping with Secondary Traumatic Stress Disorder in Those Who Treat the Traumatized.* Brunner/Mazel.

Fiorini, L. G. 2017. *Sexual Difference in Debate: Bodies, Desires, and Fictions.* 1st ed. ed. Routledge.

Fish, J. N. 2020. “Future Directions in Understanding and Addressing Mental Health Among LGBTQ Youth.” *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology* 49(6): 943–956.

Fletcher, J. 2013. *Freud and the scene of trauma*. New York: Fordham.

Flyvbjerg, B. 2001. *Making social science matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed Again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fonagy, P. 2008. “A genuinely developmental theory of sexual enjoyment and its implications for psychoanalytic technique.” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 56(1): 11–36.

Fonagy, P., and Target M. 2000. “Mentalization and Personality Disorder in Children: A Current Perspective from the Anna Freud Centre.” In *The Borderline Psychotic Child: A Selective Integration*, ed. Lubbe T. Taylor & Francis pp. 69–89.

Fonagy, P., and Target M. 2006. “Psychosexuality and psychoanalysis: An overview: Identity, gender, and sexuality.” In *150 years after Freud*, ed. Fonagy P., Krause R., and Leuzzinger-Bohleber M. New York: Routledge.

Fonagy, P., Gergely G., Jurist E. L., and Target M. 2002. *Affect Regulation, Mentalization, and the Development of the Self.* New York: Other Press.

Fonagy, P., Krause R., and Leuzinger-Bohleber M., eds. 2009. *Identity, Gender, and Sexuality: 150 Years After Freud*. Karnac Books.

Fonagy, P., Krause R., and Leuzzinger-Bohleber M. 2006. “Identity, gender, and sexuality.” In *150 years after Freud*, ed. Fonagy P., Krause R., and Leuzzinger-Bohleber M. New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. 1981. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Vintage Books.

Fraser, N. 2005. “"Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World."” *New Left Review* 31: 69–88.

Fraser, N. 2010. “"Feminism, Capitalism, and the Cunning of History."” *New Left Review* 61: 97–116.

Fraser, N. 2013. *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. Verso.

Fraser, N. 2022. *Cannibal Capitalism. How Our System Is Devouring Democracy, Care, and the Planet And What We Can Do About It*. Verso Books.

Freccero, C. 2006. *Queer/early/modern*. Duke University Press.

Freccero, C. 2011. “Queer times.” In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 17–26.

Freeman, E. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Duke University Press.

Freeman, E. 2011. "Still after." In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 27–33.

Freud, S. 1895*a*. "The aetiology of hysteria." In *The standard edition of the complete psychological works ofSigmund Freud*, ed. Strachey. London: Hogarth Press. pp. 189–221.

Freud, S. 1895*b*. *Studies on Hysteria*. , Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Freud, S. 1905. "Three Essays on Sexuality." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. J. Strachey, and A. Freud. Vol. 7 London: Hogarth pp. 125–243.

Freud, S. 1920. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Vol. 18 of *Standard Edition* London: Hogarth.

Freud, S. 1923/1961. *The ego and the id*. W W Norton & Co.

Freud, S. 1938. *Totem and taboo: Resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Freud, S. 1939. *Moses and Monotheism*. New York: Vintage.

Freud, S. 1940. "From An Outline of Psycho-Analysis." In *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Norton Standard Edition. City: Norton pp. 13–78.

Freud, S. 1987. "Making of a psychoanalyst." In *The Freud reader*, ed. Gay P. NY: Norton.

Freud, S. 1989*a*. "Beyond the pleasure principle." In *The Freud Reader*, ed. P. Gay. New York: Norton pp. 594–626.

Freud, S. 1989*b*. *Civilization and its discontents*. New York & London: Norton.

Freud, S. 1989*c*. "The interpretation of dreams." In *The Freud Reader*, ed. P. Gay. New York: Norton pp. 129–172.

Freud, S. 1989*d*. "Mourning and melancholia." In *The Freud Reader*, ed. P. Gay. New York: Norton pp. 584–589.

Freud, S. 1995. "An outline of psycho-analysis." In *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. J. Strachey. London: The Hogarth Press pp. 13–78.

Friedman, M. S., Marshal M. P., Guadamuz T. E., Wei C., Wong C. F., Saewyc E. M., and Stall R. 2011. "A Meta-Analysis of Disparities in Childhood Sexual Abuse, Parental Physical Abuse, and Peer Victimization Among Sexual Minority and Sexual Nonminority Individuals." *American Journal of Public Health* 101(8): 1481–1494.

Friedman, R. C. 2006. "The issue of homosexuality in psychoanalysis: Identity, gender, and sexuality: 150 years after Freud." In *150 years after Freud*, ed. Fonagy P., Krause R., and Leuzzinger-Bohleber M. New York: Routledge.

Frosh, S. 2006. *For and against psychoanalysis* . Routledge.

Frosh, S. 2010*a*. *Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Theory.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2010*b*. *Psychoanalysis outside the clinic: Interventions in psychosocial studies.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2012*a*. "Psychoanalysis after the turn: Relationality, ontology, and ethics." In *Social research after the cultural turn*, ed. Roseneil S., and Frosh S. London: Palgrave Macmillan p. 56–72.

Frosh, S. 2012*b*. *Psychoanalysis, Therapy and the Cultural Politics of Trauma.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2013*a*. *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and ghostly transmissions.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2013*b*. *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and ghostly transmissions.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2013*c*. *The Politics of Psychoanalysis: An Introduction to Psychoanalytic Theory.* Routledge.

Frosh, S. 2015*a*. "Introduction: Psychosocial Imaginaries." In *Psychosocial Imaginaries: Perspectives on Temporality, Subjectivities and Activism*, ed. J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1–16.

Frosh, S. 2015*b*. *Understanding Psychosocial Studies.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. 2016. "Towards a psychosocial psychoanalysis." *American Imago* 73: 469–482.

Frosh, S. 2018. "Rethinking psychoanalysis in the psychosocial." *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 23: 5–14.

Frosh, S. 2019. *Those Who Come After: Postmemory, Acknowledgement and Forgiveness.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frost, D. M., and Meyer I. H. 2023. "Minority Stress Theory: Application, Critique, and Continued Relevance." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 51: 101579.

Fung, H. W., Chien W.T., Ling H. W. H., Ross C. A., and Lam S. K. K. 2022. "The Mediating Role of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in the Relationship Between Childhood Adversities and Depressive Symptoms in Two Samples." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 131: 105707.

Gampel, Y. 2004. "Historical and intergenerational trauma: Radioactive transmission of the burdens of history—Destructive versus creative transmission." In *Approaches to psychic trauma: Theory and practice*, ed. Huppertz B. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. pp. 53–62).

Gay, P. 1989. *The Freud Reader.* W.W. Norton & Company.

Gençöz, T., and Yüksel I. 2005. "Sexual orientation and mental health: A study of gay men in Turkey." *Journal of Homosexuality* 49(2): 23–41.

George, A. 2021. "Qualitative Methods in Health Care Research." *International Journal of Preventive Medicine* 12: 20.

Gherovici, P. 2017. *Transgender psychoanalysis: A Lacanian perspective on sexual difference.* Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Gibbs, A. 2014. *Contemporary American Trauma Narratives.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Gilbert, S. M., and S. Gubar. 1979. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer & the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Gold, S. D., Feinstein B. A.and Skidmore W. C., and Marx B. P. 2011. "Childhood Physical Abuse, Internalized Homophobia, and Experiential Avoidance Among Lesbians and Gay Men." *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 3(1): 50.

Gold, S. N. 2017. *APA Handbook of Trauma Psychology.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Goldbach, J. T., Schrager S. M., Mamey M. R., and Rhoades H. 2021. "Confirming the Reliability and Validity of the Sexual Minority Adolescent Stress Inventory in a National Sample of Sexual Minority Adolescents." *Frontiers in Psychology* 12: 720199.

Goldner, V. 1991. "Toward a critical relational theory of gender." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 1: 249–272.

Goldstein, R. B., Smith S. M., Chou S. P., Saha T. D., Jung J., Zhang H., Pickering R. P., Ruan W. J., Huang B., and Grant B. F. 2016. "The epidemiology of DSM-5 posttraumatic stress disorder in the United States: Results from the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions-III." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 51(8): 1137–1148.

Gordon, A. F. 1997. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Greenberg, J., and Mitchell S. 1983. *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Gregg, M., and Seigworth G. J. 2010. *The affect theory reader.* Duke University Press.

Grigg, S., Brown D., and Wright J. 1999. ""Gender and Psychoanalytic Theory: A Review of the Literature."." *Journal of Gender Studies* 8(2): 187–204.

Guelbert, C. S. 2023. "Providing Trauma-Informed Care to Patients Who Identify as LGBTQAI." *Nursing* 53(4): 45–48.

Guyan, K. 2022. *Queer data: Using gender, sex and sexuality data for action.* Bloomsbury Academic.

Gül, E. 2014. Prevalence Rates of Traumatic Events, Probable PTSD and Predictors of Posttraumatic Stress and Growth in a Community Sample from İzmir Doctoral thesis Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankara: .

Habermas, J. 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action.* Beacon Press.

Halberstam, J. 2005. *In a Queer Time and Place.* New York University Press.

Halberstam, J. 2011. *The Queer Art of Failure.* Duke University Press.

Halbwachs, M. 1992. *Collective Memory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, S. 2006. "Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity." In *Stuart Hall.* Routledge pp. 422–452.

Halley, J., and Parker A., eds. 2011. *After sex? On writing since queer theory.* Duke University Press.

Hamburger, A., Hancheva C. Volkan V. D. 2021. *Social trauma - an interdisciplinary textbook.* Springer.

Hamilton, C. 2004. "Activist Memories: The Politics of Trauma and the Pleasures of Politics." In *The Future of Memory*, ed. Crownshaw R., Kilby J., and Rowland A. New York: Berghahn p. 265–78.

Haraway, D. 1988. ""Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 81–102.

Haraway, D. 1991. *Simians, cyborgs, and women: The reinvention of nature.* New York: Routledge.

Haraway, D. 2004. *The Haraway Reader.* New York: Routledge.

Harding, S. 2003. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader.* NY: Routledge.

Harding, S. 2004. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader.* Routledge.

Harris, A. 2009*a*. *Gender as Soft Assembly.* Routledge.

Harris, A. 2009*b*. ""You Must Remember This."." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 19: 2–21.

Harris, A. 2019. "Relational psychoanalysis and trauma: The significance of witnessing and containing." In *Approaches to psychic trauma: Theory and practice*, ed. . Huppertz B. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Harris, A., Klebanoff S., and Kalb M. 2016. *Ghosts in the consulting room: Echoes of trauma in psychoanalysis.* Routledge.

Hatzenbuehler, M. L. 2009. "How Does Sexual Minority Stigma "Get Under the Skin"? A Psychological Mediation Framework." *Psychological Bulletin* 135(5): 707.

Hatzenbuehler, M. L., A. Bellatorre, N. Slopen, and K. A. McLaughlin. 2010. "Social networks and discrimination: An examination of mental health and the moderating role of social support." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 51(3): 287–306.

Hatzenbuehler, M. L., and Pachankis J. E. 2016. "Stigma and Minority Stress as Social Determinants of Health Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth: Research Evidence and Clinical Implications." *Pediatric Clinics of North America* 63(6): 985–997.

Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Nolen-Hoeksema S., and Dovidio J. F. 2003. "The impact of institutional discrimination on psychiatric disorders in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: A longitudinal study." *American Journal of Public Health,* 99(7): 1273–1278.

Hay, C. 2016. *Methods That Matter.* The University of Chicago Press.

Hayes, A. F. 2018. *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach.* The Guilford Press.

Heim, G., and Bühler K.E. 2006. "Psychological Trauma and Fixed Ideas in Pierre Janet's Conception of Dissociative Disorders." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 60(2): 111–129.

Helminen, E. C., Ducar D. M., Scheer J. R., Parke K. L., Morton M. L., and Felver J. C. 2023. "Self-Compassion, Minority Stress, and Mental Health in Sexual and Gender Minority Populations: A Meta-Analysis and Systematic Review." *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 30(1): 26.

Hemmings, C. 2011. *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory.* Duke University Press.

Hemmings, C. 2012. "Affective Solidarity: Feminist Reflexivity and Political Transformation." *Feminist Theory* 13(2): 147–161.

Hendricks, M. L., and Testa R. J. 2012. "A Conceptual Framework for Clinical Work with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Clients: An Adaptation of the Minority Stress Model." *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 43(5): 460–467.

Henink, M. M., and Kaiser B. N. 2022. "Qualitative research in global health: Methodologies, considerations, and challenges." *Global Public Health* 17(5): 686–702.

Henry, J. P. 1993. "Psychological and Physiological Responses to Stress: The Right Hemisphere and the Hypothalamo-Pituitary-Adrenal Axis, an Inquiry into Problems of Human Bonding." *Integrative Physiological and Behavioral Science* 28: 369–387.

Herman, J. L. 1992. "Complex PTSD: A syndrome in survivors of prolonged and repeated trauma." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 5(3): 377–91.

Herman, J. L. 2015. *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence—from domestic abuse to political terror.* Basic Books.

Herzog, D. 2015. "What happened to psychoanalysis in the wake of the sexual revolution? A story about the durability of homophobia and the dream of love, 1950s–2010s: Sexualities: Contemporary psychoanalytic perspectives." In *). Sexualities: Contemporary psychoanalytic perspectives*, ed. Lemma A., and Lynch P. E. New York: Routledge.

Hirsch, M. 1992. "Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory." *Discourse* 15(2): 3–29.

Hirsch, M. 1996. "Past Lives: Postmemories in Exile." *Poetics Today* 17: 659–685.

Hirsch, M. 1997. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hirsch, M. 2001. "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14(1): 5–38.

Hirsch, M. 2012. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hoad, N. 2011. "Queer theory addiction." In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 130–141.

Hoad, N. 2018. "Arrested Development or the Queerness of Savages: Resisting Evolutionary Narratives of Difference." In *Routledge Handbook of Queer Development Studies*, ed. S. E. Hartman, R. Amin, and S. G. McGuire. Routledge pp. 29–42.

Hollier, J., Clifton S., and Smith-Merry J. 2022. "Mechanisms of religious trauma amongst queer people in Australia's evangelical churches." *Clinical Social Work Journal* EDSWSS.

Horowitz, M. J. 1976/2019. *Stress response syndromes: PTSD, grief, adjustment, and dissociative disorders: Approaches to psychic trauma: Theory and practice.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Howell, E. 2022. "Philip Bromberg and the revolution about dissociated self-states." *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 58(3): 299–309.

Hoy-Ellis, C. P. 2023. "Minority Stress and Mental Health: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Homosexuality* 70(5): 806–830.

Huppertz, B. 2019. *Approaches to psychic trauma: Theory and practice.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers..

Hurston, Z. N. 1990. *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica.* 1st perennial library ed. ed. New York: Perennial Library.

Hyde, J. S. 2014. "Gender similarities and differences." *Annual Review of Psychology* 65: 373–398.

Hyde, J. S., Bigler R. S., Joel D., Tate C. C., and van Anders S. M. 2018. "The future of sex and gender in psychology: Five challenges to the gender binary." *American Psychologist* 74(2): 171–193.

Ipekci, I. C. 2018. A culture-sensitive and non-heteronormative examination of the Oedipus complex at the junction of anthropology and psychoanalysis. Master's thesis Yeditepe University.

Irzik, S. 2019. "Remembering "Possibility": Postmemory and Apocalyptic Hope in Recent Turkish Coup Narratives." In *Women Mobilizing Memory*, ed. A. G. Altınay, M. Göknar, and E. Gürbey. Columbia University Press pp. x–x.

Jackson, S. 1999. *Heterosexuality in Question.* SAGE Publications Ltd.

Jacobson, E. 1964. *The self and the object world.* New York: International Universities Press.

Jahn, T., Bergmann M., and Keil F. 2012. "Transdisciplinarity: Between Mainstreaming and Marginalization." *Ecological Economics* 79: 1–10.

Janet, P. 1889. *L'automatisme psychologique.* Paris: Alcan.

Janet, P. 1901. *The Mental State of Hystericals: A Study of Mental Stigmata and Mental Accidents.* New York: Putnam.

Janoff-Bulman, R. 1992. *Shattered Assumptions: Towards a New Psychology of Trauma.* New York: Free Press.

Jessee, E. 2018. *The life history interview: Handbook of research methods in health social sciences.* Springer, Singapore.

Jones, A., and Dans C. 2010. ""Gender, Sexuality, and Psychoanalysis: A Critical Review."." *Journal of Gender Studies* 19(3): 245–259.

Jordan-Young, R., and Rumiati R. I. 2012. "Hardwired for sexism? Approaches to sex/gender in neuroscience." *Neuroethics* 5(5): 305–315.

Juliet, M., and Rose J. 1983. *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the école freudienne.* London: Macmillan Press.

Jyothi, V., Kavitha D., and Suresh K. 2014. "The impact of minority stress on mental health outcomes among LGBTQ+ populations: A systematic review." *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction* 14(2): 216–231.

Kansteiner, W. 2002. ""Enactment" in the lives and treatment of Holocaust survivors' offspring." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 71(2): 251–272.

Kansteiner, W. 2004. "Genealogy of a category mistake: A critical intellectual history of the cultural trauma metaphor." *Rethinking History* 8: 193–221.

Kansteiner, W., and Weilnböck H. 2008. "Against the Concept of Cultural Trauma Theory (or How I Learned to Love the Suffering of Others without the Help of Psychotherapy)." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. A. Erll, and Nünning A. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 229–40.

Kansteiner, W., and Wilnöck S. 2008. "The Use of Narrative in Trauma Studies: Methodological Perspectives." *History and Theory* 47(4): 419–436.

Kaos GL Association. 2021. “Newsletter.”.

Kaplan, E. A. 2005. *Trauma culture: The politics of terror and loss in media and literature*. Rutgers University Press.

Kardiner, A. 1941. *The Traumatic Neuroses of War*. Washington, DC: National Research Council.

Karlsson, M., Pelger E., and Carlsson S. 2014. “Minority stress and trauma in LGBTQ+ individuals: A narrative review.” *Journal of LGBT Youth* 11(1): 59–72.

Katz, G. 2014. *The Play Within the Play: The Enacted Dimension of Psychoanalytic Process*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Keating, J. A., Kimmel M. S., and Cramer R. J. 2010. “Understanding minority stress among LGBTQ+ individuals: The role of stigma and discrimination in mental health.” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 106(2): 230–248.

Keating, L., and Muller R. T. 2020. “LGBTQ+ Based Discrimination is Associated with PTSD Symptoms, Dissociation, Emotion Dysregulation, and Attachment Insecurity Among LGBTQ+ Adults Who Have Experienced Trauma.” *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation* 21(1): 124–141.

Keilty, P. 2023. *ueer data: A guide to methods and tools for research*. Oxford University Press.

Kelly, C., Roberts T., and Williams S. 2020. “"Reconceptualizing Identity: Gender, Sexuality, and Psychoanalysis in Contemporary Practice."." *Journal of Psychoanalytic Theory and Practice* 39(3): 212–22.

Khan, M. M. R. 1963. “The Concept of Cumulative Trauma.” *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 18(1): 286–306.

Kidd, J. D., and Kral M. J. 2016. “Experiences of violence and mental health among LGBT individuals: A systematic review and meta-analysis.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 13(7): 747.

Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick H. S., Milanak M. E., Miller M. W., Keyes K. M., and Friedman M. J. 2013. “National Estimates of Exposure to Traumatic Events and PTSD Prevalence Using DSM-IV and DSM-5 Criteria.” *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 26(5): 537–547.

King, M., J. Semlyen, A. Tate, H. Killaspy, and D. Osborn. 2008. “Mental disorders, suicide, and deliberate self harm in lesbian, gay, and bisexual people: A systematic review of the literature.” *BMC Psychiatry* 8: 70.

Kira, I. A. 2021. “Toward an integrative theory of self-identity: Structural trauma, ethnic identity, and relational identity theories.” *Psychology Research and Behavior Management* 14: 403–416.

Kira, I. A. 2022. “Measuring trauma: From cumulative trauma disorder to developmental trauma disorder and the need for incorporating transdiagnostic trauma-based measures.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 13.

Kira, I. A., Shuwiekh H. A. M, Alhuwailah A., Ashby J. S., Rai D., Abdulhamid P., and Jamil H. J. 2020. "The dynamics of post-traumatic growth across different trauma types in a Palestinian sample." *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 25(7): 577–596.

Kira, I. A., Templin T., Lewandowski L., Ashby J. S., Alayarian A., and Mohanesh J. 2022. "Cumulative trauma disorder: A new conceptualization and its application to refugees." *Traumatology* 18(1): 1–16.

Kirmayer, L. J. 2007. "Foreword." In *Voices of trauma: Treating psychological trauma across cultures*, ed. B. Drožđek, and J. P. Wilson. Springer Science & Business Media pp. v–vii.

Kirsch, G. E. 1999. *Ethical dilemmas in feminist research: The politics of location, interpretation, and publication.* State University of New York Press.

Klein, M. 1928. ""Early stages of the Oedipus complex."." *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 9: 167–180.

Klein, M. 1932. *The psycho-analysis of children.* London: The Hogarth Press.

Klein, M. 1976. *Theory of Psychoanalysis.* New York: IUP.

Koenen, K. C., Amstadter A. B., and Nugent N. R. 2009. "Gene-environment interaction in posttraumatic stress disorder: an update." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 22(5): 416–426.

Koenen, K. C., Ratanatharathorn A., Ng L., McLaughlin K. A., Bromet E. J., Stein D. J., and Kessler R. C. 2017. "Posttraumatic stress disorder in the World Mental Health Surveys." *Psychological Medicine* 47(13): 2260–2274.

Kogan, I. 2012. "Enactment in the Lives and Treatment of Holocaust Survivors' Offspring." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 71(4): 807–832.

Kohut, H. 1977. *The restoration of the self.* University of Chicago Press.

Kramer, P. G. 2022. *Queer politics in contemporary Turkey.* Bristol University Press.

Kris, E. 1956. "The recovery of childhood memories in psychoanalysis." *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 11(1): 54–88.

Krueger, E. A., Fish J. N., and Upchurch D. M. 2020. "Sexual Orientation Disparities in Substance Use: Investigating Social Stress Mechanisms in a National Sample." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 58(1): 59–68.

Krueger, R. F., Caspi A., Moffitt T. E, and Silva P. A. 1998. "The Structure and Stability of Common Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R): A Longitudinal-Epidemiological Study." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 107(2): 216.

Krystal, H. 1968. *Massive Psychic Trauma.* New York: International Universities Press.

Krystal, H. 1995. *Trauma and affects. In C. Caruth (Ed.), Trauma: Explorations in Memory.* Johns Hopkins University Press.

Krüger, C. 2020. "Culture, trauma and dissociation: A broadening perspective for our field." *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation* 21(1): 1–13.

LaCapra, D. 1994. *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma, Ithaca.* NY: Cornell University Press.

LaCapra, D. 1998. *History and Memory after Auschwitz.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

LaCapra, D. 2000. *Writing History, Writing Trauma.* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

LaCapra, D. 2008. "Fascism and the sacred: Sites of inquiry after (or along with) trauma)." In *The future of trauma theory: Contemporary literary and cultural criticism*, ed. Buelens S., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. Routledge. pp. 23–44.

Lampe, J., Shelby R. D., and Thomas B. 2011. "Traumas of development in the gay male." In *Trauma: Contemporary directions in theory, practice, and research*, ed. Ringel S. S., and Brandell J. R. SAGE Publications, Inc. pp. 171–190.

Landsberg, A. 2004. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture.* Columbia University Press.

Laplanche, J. 1976. *Life and Death in Psycho-Analysis.* Johns Hopkins University Press.

Laplanche, J. 1995. "Seduction, persecution, revelation." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 76: 663–682.

Laplanche, J. 1997. "The Theory of Seduction and the Problem of the Other." *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 78: 653–666.

Laplanche, J., and Pontalis J-B. 1968. "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality." In *Formations of Fantasy*, ed. Burgin V., Donald J., and Kaplan C. London: Methuen p. 5–34.

Laub, D. 1991. "No One Bears Witness to the Witness." In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, ed. S. Felman, and D. Laub. New York: Routledge pp. 229–240.

Laub, D. 1995. "Truth and testimony: The process and the struggle." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Caruth C. Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 229–40.

Laub, D. 2005. "The traumatic shutdown of narrative and symbolization: A death instinct derivative?" *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 41(2): 307–326.

Laub, D., and Auerhahn N. C. 1989. "Failed empathy–a central theme in the survivor's holocaust experience." *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 6(4): 377–400.

Laub, D., and Auerhand N. 2017. *Knowing and not knowing: Forms of traumatic memory: Psychoanalysis and Holocaust Testimony: Unwanted Memories of Social Trauma.* New York: Routledge.

Laub, D., and Hamburger A. 2017. *Psychoanalysis and Holocaust testimony: Unwanted memories of social trauma.* Routledge.

LeFrançois, B. A., Menzies R., and Reaume G. 2013. *Mad Matters: A Critical Reader in Canadian Mad Studies.* Canadian Scholars.

Lehavot, K., and Simpson T. L. 2014. "Trauma, Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, and Depression Among Sexual Minority and Heterosexual Women Veterans." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 61(3): 392.

Lemma, A., and Lynch P. E. 2015. *Sexualities: Contemporary psychoanalytic perspectives.* New York: Routledge.

Lescure, R. M. 2022. "(Extra)ordinary Relationalities: Methodological Suggestions for Studying Queer Relationalities Through the Prism of Memory, Sensation, and Affect." *Journal of Homosexuality* 70(1): 35–52.

Lewes, M. 1995. *The Psychology of Gender and Sexuality.* Routledge.

Lewis-O'Connor, A., Warren A., Lee J. V., Levy-Carrick N., Grossman S., Chadwick M., Stoklosa H., and Rittenberg E. 2019. "The state of the science on trauma inquiry." *Women's Health* 15.

Lewis, T. 2016. *Divided Kingdom: Trauma, Gender, and the Legacies of War.* Duke University Press.

Leys, R. 2000. *Trauma: A Genealogy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Libbrecht, K., and Quackelbeen J. 1995. "On the early history of male hysteria and psychic trauma. Charcot's influence on Freudian thought." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 31(4): 370–384.

Lifton, R. 1967. *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima.* New York: Random House.

Lin, J., Liu W., Guan J., Cui J., Shi R. R., Wang L., Chen D., and Liu Y. 2023. "Latest updates on the serotonergic system in depression and anxiety." *Frontiers in Synaptic Neuroscience* 15: 1124112.

Linden, M., and C. P. Arnold. 2021. "Embitterment and Posttraumatic Embitterment Disorder (PTED): An Old, Frequent, and Still Underrecognized Problem." *Psychother Psychosom* 90(2): 73–80.

Liu, W. 2020. "Feeling down, backward, and machinic: Queer theory and the affective turn." *Athenea Digital* 20(2): e2321.

Livingston, N. A., Flentje A., Brennan J.and Mereish E. H., Reed O., and Cochran B. N. 2020. "Real-Time Associations Between Discrimination and Anxious and Depressed Mood Among Sexual and Gender Minorities: The Moderating Effects of Lifetime Victimization and Identity Concealment." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 7(2): 132–141.

Lonsdorf, T. B., Weike A. I., Nikamo P., Schalling M., Hamm A. O., and Öhman A. 2009. "Genetic gating of human fear learning and extinction: possible implications for gene-environment interaction in anxiety disorder." *Psychological Science* 20(2): 198–206.

Lorde, A. 1984. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.

Love, H. K. 2007. *Feeling backward: Loss and the politics of queer history*. Harvard University Press.

Luckhurst, R. 1991. "Future Shock: Science Fiction and the Trauma Paradigm." In *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. G. Buelens, S. Durrant, and R. Eaglestone. Routledge pp. 157–168.

Luckhurst, R. 2003. "Trauma Culture." *New Formations* 50(3): 28–47.

Luckhurst, R. 2008. *The Trauma Question*. London: Routledge.

Luker, K. 2008. *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences*. Harvard University Press.

Luntz, F. L. 1994. "Focus Group Research in American Politics." *Polling Report* 10(1): 1–7.

Lüküslü, D., and Aksoy Ö. A. 2023. *Youth suicide in Turkey: Understanding youth suicides and fostering hope for a better world*. Istanbul Youth Research Center.

Madigan, T. 1991. "Theories of cultural trauma." In *The Routledge companion to literature and trauma*, ed. C. Davis, and Meretoja H. Routledge pp. 45–53.

Main, M., , and Solomon J. 1993. "Procedures for identifying infants as disorganized/disoriented during the Ainsworth Strange Situation: Attachment in the Preschool Years." In *Attachment in the Preschool Years*, ed. Greenberg M. T., Cicchetti D., and Cummings E. M. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marchi, M., Travascio A., Uberti D., De Micheli E., Grenzi P., Arcolin E., Pingani L., Ferrari S., and Galeazzi G. M. 2023. "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Among LGBTQ People: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences* 32: e44.

Martin, E. 1991. "The Egg and the Sperm: How Science Constructed a Romance Based on Stereotypical Male-Female Roles." *Signs* 16(Spring): 485–501.

Massad, J. A. 2007. *Desiring Arabs*. University of Chicago Press.

Massumi, B. 2010. "The future birth of the affective fact: The political ontology of threat." In *The affect theory reader*, ed. Gregg M., and Seigworth G. J. Duke University Press. pp. 52–70.

Massumi, B. 2021. "The autonomy of affect." *Philosophy Journal* .

Matthies-Boon, V. 2022. *Breaking intersubjectivity: A critical theory of counter-revolutionary trauma in Egypt*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

McNay, L. 2016. "Agency." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, ed. L. Disch, and M. Hawkesworth. Oxford Handbooks Oxford University Press.

Menhinick, K. A., and Sanders C. J. 2023. "LGBTQ+ Stress, Trauma, Time, and Care." *Pastoral psychology* 72(3): 367–384.

Menhinick, M., and Daneer L. 2023. *Revisiting Psychoanalysis: Gender, Sexuality, and Contemporary Critiques.* Routledge.

Meretoja, H. 1991. "Philosophies of trauma." In *The Routledge companion to literature and trauma*, ed. Davis C., and Meretoja H. Routledge p. 23–35.

Meyer, I. H. 2003*a*. "Minority Stress and Mental Health: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 42(2): 195–202.

Meyer, I. H. 2003*b*. "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence." *Psychological Bulletin* 129(5): 674.

Micale, M. 1995. *Approaching hysteria.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Micale, M. S. 1990. "Charcot and the idea of hysteria in the male: Gender, mental science, and medical diagnosis in late nineteenth-century France." *Medical History* 34(4): 363–411.

Micale, M. S. 2009. *Hysterical Men: The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Micale, M. S. 2017. "Toward A Global History of Trauma." In *Psychological Trauma and the Legacies of the First World War*, ed. Crouthamel J., and Leese P. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 289–310.

Micale, M. S., and Lerner P. 2001. *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Michaels, P. A., and Twomey C. 2021. *Gender and trauma since 1900.* Bloomsbury Academic.

Mishna, F., and Sawyer J. 2012. "The trauma of bullying experiences." In *Trauma: Contemporary directions in theory, practice, and research*, ed. Ringel S., and Brandell J. R. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mitchell, J., and J. Rose. 1982. "Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the école freudienne." In *xxx.* London: Macmillan p. 11.

Mitchell, S. A. 1992. "True selves, false selves, and the ambiguity of authenticity." In *Relational perspectives in psychoanalysis*, ed. Skolnick N. J., and Warshaw S. C. Analytic Press, Inc.

Mitchell, S. A., and Black M. J. 1995/2016. *Freud and beyond.* Basic Books.

Mongelli, F., Perrone D., Balducci J., Sacchetti A., Ferrari S., Mattei G., and Galeazzi G. M. 2019. "Minority Stress and Mental Health Among LGBT Populations: An Update on the Evidence." *Minerva Psichiatrica* 60(1): 27–50.

Morrigan, C. 2017. "Trauma time: The queer temporalities of the traumatized mind." *Somatechnics* 7(1): 50–58.

Morrison, T. 1987. *Beloved*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Moussawi, G. 2021. "Bad Feelings: On Trauma, Nonlinear Time, and Accidental Encounters in "the Field"." *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research* 10(1): 78–96.

Munt, S. R. 2007. *ueer attachments: The cultural politics of shame*. Ashgate Publishing.

Mustanski, B. S., Garofalo R., and Emerson E. M. 2010. "Mental Health Disorders, Psychological Distress, and Suicidality in a Diverse Sample of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youths." *American Journal of Public Health* 100(12): 2426–2432.

Muñoz, J. E. 2009. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University Press.

Myers, C. S. 1915. "A contribution to the study of shellshock: being an account of the cases of loss of memory, vision, smell and taste admitted to the Duchess of Westminster's War hospital, Le Touquet." *The Lancet* 185(4772): 316–320.

Nadal, K. L., Hamit S., Lyons O., Weinberg A., and Corman L. 2013. "Gender Microaggressions: Perceptions, Processes, and Coping Mechanisms of Women." In *Psychology for Business Success*, ed. M. A. Paludi. Vol. 1 Praeger/ABC-CLIO pp. 193–220.

Neal, A. G. 2005. *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience*. 2nd ed. London: M. E. Sharpe.

Nigianni, C., and Voela A. 2019. "Psychoanalytic Practice and Queer Theory: Queering the Clinic." *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 20: 234–237.

Nigianni, C., and Voela K. 2019. ""Queer Feminist Interventions: Exploring the Intersection of Theory and Practice."." *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 26(5): 728–742.

Nisbet, R. 1993. "The Two Revolutions." In *The Sociological Tradition*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers pp. 21–44.

Norrholm, S. D., Jovanovic T., Smith A. K., Binder E., Klengel T., Conneely K., and Ressler K. J. 2013. "Differential genetic and epigenetic regulation of catechol-O-methyltransferase is associated with impaired fear inhibition in posttraumatic stress disorder." *Frontiers in Behavioral Neuroscience* 7: 30.

Nyong'o, T. 2005. "Punk'd Theory." *Social Text* (84-85): 19–34.

Obradors-Campos, M. 2011. "Deconstructing Biphobia." *Journal of Bisexuality* 11(2-3): 207–226.

Oksala, J. 2018. *"Microphysics of Power"*. The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory.

Okutan, S., S. Kaba, and Kaya M. 2017. "Exploring the role of family and social support on the mental health of gay men in Turkey." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 63(2): 130–140.

Oliner, M. 2012. *Psychic Reality in Context: Perspectives on Psychoanalysis, Personal History, and Trauma*. London: Karnac Books.

Oppenheim, H. 1889. *Die traumatische Neurosen*. Berlin: Hirschwald.

Oppenheim, H. 1911. *Text-book of Nervous Diseases, for Physicians and Students*. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze.

Outland, P. L. 2016. Developing the LGBT Minority Stress Measure. Master's thesis Colorado State University.

Oğuz, B. 2016. *Hah*. London: World Editions.

Pachankis, J. E., Hatzenbuehler M. L., Hickson F., Weatherburn P., Berg R. C., Marcus U., and Schmidt A. J. 2015. "Hidden from Health: Structural Stigma, Sexual Orientation Concealment, and HIV Across 38 Countries in the European MSM Internet Survey." *AIDS* 29(10): 1239–1246.

Pachankis, J. E., Mahon C. P., Jackson S. D., Fetzner B. K., and Bränström R. 2020. "Sexual Orientation Concealment and Mental Health: A Conceptual and Meta-Analytic Review." *Psychological Bulletin* 146(10): 831.

Page, H. 1885. "Injuries of the spine and spinal cord without apparent mechanical lesion." In *Posttraumatic neurosis: From railroad spine to whiplash*, ed. M. R. Trimble. London: Churchill. p. 29.

Pearlman, L. A., and Saakvitne K. W. 1995. *Trauma and the therapist: Countertransference and vicarious traumatization in psychotherapy with incest survivors*. W W Norton & Co.

Penney, James. 2014. *After Queer Theory: The Limits of Sexual Politics*. London: Pluto Press.

Perelberg, R. J. 2018. *Psychic bisexuality: A British-French dialogue*. London: Karnac Books.

Phillips, P., Bartlett A., and King M. 2001. "Psychotherapists' approaches to gay and lesbian patients/clients: a qualitative study." *The British Journal of Medical Psychology* 74(1).

Plummer, K. 2005. ""Sexualities and the Social World: Introduction."." *Sociology* 39(2): 211–223.

Poole, R. J. 2022. *Queer Turkey: Transnational poetics of desire*. Transcript Verlag.

Poteat, V. P., Birkett M., Turner B., Wang X., and Phillips G. II. 2020. "Changes in Victimization Risk and Disparities for Heterosexual and Sexual Minority Youth: Trends From 2009 to 2017." *The Journal of Adolescent Health: Official Publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine* 66(2): 202–209.

Poteat, W. H. 1985. *Polanyian Meditations: In Search of a Post-Critical Logic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Pratchett, L. C., and Yehuda R. 2011. "Foundations of posttraumatic stress disorder: Does early life trauma lead to adult posttraumatic stress disorder?" *Development and Psychopathology* 23(2): 477–491.

Pratt, G. 2004. *Working Feminism*. Temple University Press.

Probyn, E. 2010. "Writing shame." In *The affect theory reader*, ed. Gregg M., and Seigworth G. J. Duke University Press. pp. 71–92.

Puar, J. K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke University Press.

Puckett, J. A., Surace F. I., Levitt H. M., and Horne S. G. 2016. "Sexual Orientation Identity in Relation to Minority Stress and Mental Health in Sexual Minority Women." *LGBT Health* 3(5): 350–356.

Punt, J. 2011. *Queer Intersections: Explorations in Trauma, Gender, and Sexuality*. Routledge.

Rabaté, J. M. 1996. *The Ghosts of Modernity*. Gainesville, FL: Florida University Press.

Radstone, S. 2007b. "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics." *Paragraph: A Journal of Modern Critical Theory* 30(1): 9–29.

Ragins, B. R., Singh R., and Cornwell J. M. 2007. "Making the invisible visible: Fear and disclosure of sexual orientation at work." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 92(4): 1103–1118.

Ramos, N., and Marr M. C. 2023. "Traumatic Stress and Resilience Among Transgender and Gender Diverse Youth." *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America* 32(4): 667–682.

Ranjbar, N., Erb M., Mohammad O., and Moreno F. A. 2020. "Trauma-informed care and cultural humility in the mental health care of people from minoritized communitiesy." *Focus (American Psychiatric Publishing)* 18(1).

Rapaport, E. 2019. *From psychoanalytic bisexuality to bisexual psychoanalysis: Desiring in the Real*. London. Routledge.

Reisner, S. L., Greytak E. A., Parsons J. T., and Ybarra M. L. 2015. "Gender Minority Social Stress in Adolescence: Disparities in Adolescent Bullying and Substance Use by Gender Identity." *Journal of Sex Research* 52(3): 243–256.

Renjith, V., Yesodharan R., Noronha J. A., Ladd E., and George A. 2021. "Qualitative Methods in Health Care Research." *International Journal of Preventive Medicine* 12: 20.

Renn, O. 2021. "Transdisciplinarity: Synthesis Towards a Modular Approach." *Futures* 130: 102744.

Reyes, G., Elhai J., and Ford J. 2008. *The encyclopedia of psychological trauma.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.

Rhodes, M., and Mandalaywala T. M. 2017. "The development and developmental consequences of social essentialism." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews Cognitive Science* 8(4).

Rigolot, C. 2020. "Transdisciplinarity as a discipline and a way of being: complementarities and creative tensions." *Humanit Soc Sci Commun 7* 100.

Ringel, S., and Brandell J. 2012. *Trauma: Contemporary Directions in Theory, Practice, and Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rivers, W. H. R. 1917. *Repression of War Experience.* The Lancet.

Roberts, A. L., Austin S. B., Corliss H. L., Vandermorris A. K., and Koenen K. C. 2010. "Pervasive Trauma Exposure Among US Sexual Orientation Minority Adults and Risk of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." *American Journal of Public Health* 100(12): 2433–2441.

Roberts, A. L., Rosario M., Corliss H. L., Koenen K. C., and Austin S. B. 2012. "Elevated Risk of Posttraumatic Stress in Sexual Minority Youths: Mediation by Childhood Abuse and Gender Nonconformity." *American Journal of Public Health* 102(8): 1587–1593.

Rogof, I. 2003. *From criticism to critique to criticality. European Institute for Progressive Cultural Politics.* Transversal.

Rooke, A. 2010. "Queer in the field: On emotions, temporality, and performativity in ethnography." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 14(1): 85–89.

Root, M. P. P. 1992. "Reconstructing the impact of trauma on personality." In *Personality and psychopathology: Feminist reappraisals*, ed. Brown L. S., and Ballou M. The Guilford Press.

Roper, M. 2005. "Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History." *History Workshop Journal* 59: 57–72.

Roseneil, S. 2012. "Doing feminist social research after the cultural turn." In *Research with practical intention: Social research after the cultural turn.* London: Palgrave Macmillan. .

Rothberg, M. 2014. "Preface: Beyond Tancred and Clorinda – Trauma studies for implicated subjects." In *The future of trauma theory: Contemporary literary and cultural criticism*, ed. Buelens G., Durrant S., and Eaglestone R. London: Routledge.

Roy, J., Prasad P., Putcha R. S., and Kasmani O. 2023. “From Elsewhere.” *Feminist Review* 133(1): 1–10.

Rubin, G. 1975. “The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex.” In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Reyna R. R. Monthly Review Press pp. 157–210.

Rubin, G. 1984. “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality.” In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Ed V. C. Routledge & Kegan pp. 267–319.

Ruffolo, D. 2009. *Post-Queer Politics*. Routledge.

Saketopoulou, A. 2014. “To suffer pleasure: The shattering of the ego as the psychic labor of perverse sexuality.” *Studies in Gender Sexuality* 15(4): 254–268.

Saketopoulou, A. 2023. *Sexuality Beyond Consent: Risk, Race, Traumatophilia*. New York: New York University Press.

Sarıtaş, E. 2020. *Cinsel normalliğin kuruluşu: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e heteronormatiflik ve istikrarsızlıkları*. Metis Yayınları.

Scanlon, C., and Adlam J. 2022. *Psycho-social explorations of trauma, exclusion and violence: Un-housed minds and inhospitable environments*. Routledge.

Schore, A. 2009. “Relational trauma and the developing right brain: An interface of psychoanalytic self-psychology and neuroscience.” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1159: 189–203.

Schore, A. N. 1994. *Affect Regulation and the Origin of the Self: The Neurobiology of Emotional Development*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sedgwick, E. K. 1990*a*. *Epistemology of the closet*. University of California Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 1990*b*. *Introduction: Axiomatic,” in Sedgewick, Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: U. of California Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 1993. *Tendencies*. Duke University Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 1995. “Shame in the cybernetic fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins.” *Critical Inquiry* 21(2): 496–522.

Sedgwick, E. K. 2003*a*. *A Dialogue on Love*. Duke University Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 2003*b*. *Touching feeling: Affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 2011. “Melanie Klein and the difference affect makes.” In *After sex? On writing since queer theory*, ed. J. Halley, and A. Parker. Duke University Press pp. 283–302.

Seidman, S., ed. 1996. *Queer Theory/Sociology*. Blackwell.

Shipherd, J. C., Berke D., and Livingston N. A. 2019. "Trauma Recovery in the Transgender and Gender Diverse Community: Extensions of the Minority Stress Model for Treatment Planning." *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 26(4): 629–646.

Showalter, E. 1997. *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture*. London: Picador.

Shyamalan, M. N. 2024. "The Watchers." Film.

Sissoko, D. R. G., and Nadal K. L. 2021. "Microaggressions Toward Racial Minority Immigrants in the United States." In *Trauma and Racial Minority Immigrants: Turmoil, Uncertainty, and Resistance*, ed. P. Tummala-Narra. American Psychological Association pp. 85–102.

Smelser, N. J. 2004. "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma: The Case of the Holocaust." In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. University of California Press pp. 60–100.

Solomon, D. T., Combs E. M., Allen K., Roles S., DiCarlo S., Reed O., and Klaver S. J. 2021. "The Impact of Minority Stress and Gender Identity on PTSD Outcomes in Sexual Minority Survivors of Interpersonal Trauma." *Psychology & Sexuality* 12(1-2): 64–78.

Spade, D., and Willse C. 2016. "Norms and Normalization." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, ed. L. Disch, and M. Hawkesworth. Oxford University Press.

Stern, D. B. 2021. "Philip M. Bromberg (1931–2020): Trauma, Dissociation, and the Multiple Self." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 102(1): 178–188.

Stevens, F. L., Tapscott J. L., and Aharonovich E. 2013. "The neurobiology of emotional trauma: From the amygdala to the prefrontal cortex." *The Neuroscientist* 19(1): 577–596.

Stevens, G., Eagle G., Kaminer D., and Higson-Smith C. 2013. "Continuous Traumatic Stress: Conceptual Conversations in Contexts of Global Conflict, Violence and Trauma." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 19(2): 75–84.

Stevens, M. E. 2016. "Trauma Is as Trauma Does: The Politics of Affect in Catastrophic Times." In *Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict, and Memory in Everyday Life*, ed. M. J. Casper, and E. H. Wertheimer. New York: NYU Press pp. 19–36.

Stockton, K. B. 2006. *Beautiful Bottom, Beautiful Shame: Where "Black" Meets "Queer"*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stolorow, R. D. 2007. *Trauma and human existence: Autobiographical, psychoanalytic, and philosophical reflections*. The Analytic Press/Taylor & Francis Group.

Straub, K. T., McConnell A. A., and Messman-Moore T. L. 2018. "Internalized Heterosexism and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms: The Mediating Role of Shame Proneness Among Trauma-Exposed Sexual Minority Women." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 5(1): 99–108.

Stryker, S., and Whittle S., eds. 2006. *The Transgender Studies Reader*. 1st ed. ed. Routledge.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo C. M., Torino G. C., Bucceri J. M., Holder A. M. B., Nadal K. L., and Esquilin M. 2007. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice." *American Psychologist* 62(4): 271–286.

Summerfield, D. 2001. "The Invention of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Social Uses of Trauma." *British Medical Journal* 322(7285): 95–98.

Sütterlin, N. A. 2020. "History of Trauma Theory." In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Trauma*, ed. Colin Davis, and Hanna Meretoja. New York: Routledge pp. 11–22.

Sztompka, P. 2000. "Cultural Trauma: The Other Face of Social Change." *European Journal of Social Theory* 3(4): 449–466.

Sztompka, P. 2004. "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies." In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. Berkeley: University of California Press pp. 155–195.

Szymanski, D. M., and Balsam K. F. 2010. "Insidious Trauma: Examining the Relationship Between Heterosexism and Lesbians' PTSD Symptoms." *Traumatology* 17(2): 4–13.

Tagay, S., Zararsiz R., Erim Y., Düllmann S., Schlegl S., Brähler E., and Senf W. 2008. "Traumatische Ereignisse und Posttraumatische Belastungsstörung bei türkischsprachigen Patienten in der Primärversorgung." *Psychotherapie, Psychosomatik, Medizinische Psychologie* 58(3–4): 155–161.

Terr, L. C. 1991. "Childhood traumas: An outline and overview." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 148(1): 10–20.

Thoma, B. C., Eckstrand K. L., Montano G. T., Rezeppa T. L., and Marshal M. P. 2021. "Gender Nonconformity and Minority Stress Among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Individuals: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 16(6): 1165–1183.

Thomas, C. 2008. *Masculinity, Psychoanalysis, Straight Queer Theory: Essays on Abjection in Literature, Mass Culture, and Film*. New York: Palgrave.

Tucker, R. P., Pace B. T., and Dulabaum B. A. 2019. "Minority stress, self-compassion, and mental health in LGBTQ adults: A meta-analysis." *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 38(10): 825–843.

UniKuir. 2024. "Erdoğan: LGBT dayatması faşizmi dahi aratır hale geldi.".

Ussher, J. M. 2011. *The Madness of Women: Myth and Experience*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Uyurkulak, M. 2002. *Tol*. Istanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Valentine, D. 2007. *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category.* Duke University Press.

Valentine, S. E., and Shipherd J. C. 2018. "A Systematic Review of Social Stress and Mental Health Among Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming People in the United States." *Clinical Psychology Review* 66: 24–38.

Valentine, S. E., Smith A. M., Miller K., Hadden L., and Shipherd J. C. 2023. "Considerations and Complexities of Accurate PTSD Assessment Among Transgender and Gender Diverse Adults." *Psychological Assessment* 35(5): 383–395.

van Anders, K. J. 2015. ""Beyond Binary Sex and Gender: Sexual Configurations Theory and Feminist Science."." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 39(3): 397–408.

van Anders, K. J. 2022. ""Feminist Queer Science and Sexual Configurations Theory: Reframing the Study of Gender and Sexuality."." *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 22: 85–102.

van Anders, K. J., B. Glaser, and J. Halberstam. 2023. "Feminist and Queer Science: Principles for Research with Gender, Sex, and Sexuality in Psychology and Beyond." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 20(2): 123–140.

van der Hart, O., and R. Horst. 1989. "The Dissociation Theory of Pierre Janet." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 2(4): 397–412.

van der Kolk, B. 2014. *The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma.* Penguin.

van der Kolk, B. A. 2005. "Developmental trauma disorder: Toward a rational diagnosis for children with complex trauma histories." *Psychiatric Annals* 35(5): 401–408.

van der Kolk, B. A., and O. van der Hart. 1995. "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press pp. 158–182.

van der Kolk, B., A. Boyd, J. Krystal, and M. Greenberg. 1984. "In Post-traumatic Disorders." In *Post-traumatic Disorders*, ed. B. van der Kolk. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press.

Varghese, R. 2019. *RAW (1st ed.).* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Vasileiou, K., J. Barnett, S. Thorpe, and T. Young. 2018. "Characterizing and Justifying Sample Size Sufficiency in Interview-Based Studies: Systematic Analysis of Qualitative Health Research Over a 15-Year Period." *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 18(1): 148.

Vasterling, V. L. M. 2010. "The psyche and the social: Judith Butler's politicizing of psychoanalytical theory." In *Sexuality and psychoanalysis: Philosophical criticisms*, ed. J. de Vleminck, and E. Dorfman. Leuven University Press pp. 171–182.

Veith, I. 1965. *Hysteria: The history of a disease.* Rev. ed. ed. University of Chicago Press.

Vermeulen, P. 2014. "The Biopolitics of Trauma." In *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. G. Buelens, S. Durrant, and R. Eaglestone. Routledge pp. 141–156.

Vigoya, M. V. 2018. *Sex/Gender*. The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory.

Ward, A. 2015. *Postcolonial Traumas: Memory, Narrative, Resistance*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Warner, M. 2002. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, MA: Distributed by MIT Press.

Watney, S. 1987. *Policing Desire: Pornography, AIDS, and the Media*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Watson, D. 2005. "Rethinking the Mood and Anxiety Disorders: A Quantitative Hierarchical Model for DSM-V." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 114(4): 522.

Watson, E., and Giffney N. 2017. *Clinical encounters in sexuality: Psychoanalytic practice and queer theory*. Goleta, CA: Punctum Book.

Weathers, F. W., B. T. Litz, and .... P. P. Schnurr. 2013. "The PTSD Checklist for DSM-5 (PCL-5) – Standard.".

Weber, M. 1992. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge.

Weeks, S. N., Renshaw T. L., and Vinal S. A. 2021. "Minority Stress as a Multidimensional Predictor of LGB+ Adolescents' Mental Health Outcomes." *Journal of Homosexuality* 70(5): 938–962.

Weiss, M., ed. 2024. *Unsettling Queer Anthropology: Foundations, Reorientations, and Departures*. Duke University Press Books.

Westengard, L. 2019. *othic queer culture: Marginalized communities and the ghosts of insidious trauma.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Wiegmann, W. L. 2017. "Habitus, symbolic violence, and reflexivity: Applying Bourdieu's theories to social work." *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 44(4).

Wiggins, T. B. D. 2019. The sexual politics of clinical psychoanalysis and transgender mental health PhD thesis York University.

Williams, M. T., Chapman L. K., Wong J., and Turkheimer E. 2012. "The role of ethnic identity in symptoms of anxiety and depression in African Americans." *Psychiatry Research* 199(1): 31–36.

Williams, R. 1954. "Film and the Dramatic Tradition." In *Preface to Film*, ed. Raymond Williams, and Michael Orrom. London: Duke University Press. pp. 1–55.

Wilson, E. A. 2015. *Gut feminism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Winnicott, D. 1960. "The theory of the parent-infant relationship." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysi* 41: 585–595.

Winnicott, D. W. 1964. *The child, the family and the outside world*. London: Penguin Books.

Wittgenstein, L. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations*. Blackwell Publishing.

Wolf, D. L. 1999. *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*. Westview Press.

Wright, E. 1984. *Psychoanalytic criticism: Theory in practice*. London: Methuen.

Yep, G. A., Chrifi A., and Lescure R. M. 2022. "Mapping Queer Relationalities: An Exploration of Communication at the Edges of Cultural Unintelligibility." *Journal of Homosexuality* 70(1): 1–16.

Young, A. 1995. *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zengin, A. 2024. *Violent Intimacies: The Trans Everyday and the Making of an Urban World*. New York: Duke University Press.

Ziya-Eslen, D., and Koç D. 2016. "Intersectionality and queer theory: The experiences of LGBT individuals in Turkey." *European Journal of LGBTQ+ Studies* 5(1): 142–159.

Zizek, S. 2016. *Antigone*. Bloomsbury.

Özbay, C., and İpekçi İ. C. 2024. "State-led Antigender Politics, Islamism, and the University: Experiences of Gender Studies Scholars in Turkey." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 20(1): 89–110.

Özbay, Y. 2010. "Queer identities and social stigma: An examination of the experiences of gay men in contemporary Turkey." *Sexualities* 13(5): 615–634.

İlhan, B., Berikol G. B., Eroğlu O., and Deniz T. 2023. "Prevalence and Associated Risk Factors of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Among Survivors of the 2023 Turkey Earthquake." *The American Journal of Emergency Medicine* 72: 39–43.

Şar, V. 2008. "Trauma and Dissociation in Context: Personal Life, Social Process, and Public Health." *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation* 9(1): 1–8.

Şar, V. 2020. "Childhood Trauma and Dissociative Disorders." In *Childhood Trauma in Mental Disorders*, ed. G. Spalletta, D. Janiri, F. Piras, and G. Sani. Cham: Springer pp. 269–282.

Şar, V., Öztürk E., and İkikardeş E. 2012. "Çocukluk Çağı Ruhsal Travma Ölçeğinin Türkçe Uyarlamasının Geçerlilik ve Güvenilirliği." *Türkiye Klinikleri Tıp Bilimleri Dergisi* 32(4): 1054–1063.

.1 Approval of the Study

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 20.09.2023-17028

Sabancı Üniversitesi

Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC)

Application Date: September 2023

To: Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık (PI) – İlkan Can İpekçi (Co-I)
From: Prof. Mehmet Yıldız, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee

Protocol Number: FASS-2023-45
Protocol Name: Queer beyond the Clinic: A Psychosocial Politics of Queer* Trauma and LGBTQIA+ Mental Health in Turkey

Subject: SUREC Approval
Official Approval Date: September 20, 2023

Sabancı University Research Ethics Council has approved the above named and numbered protocol through expedited review. You are responsible for promptly reporting to the SUREC:

- any severe adverse effects
- any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others;
- any proposed changes in the research activity

Enclosed you can find the below noted approved documents.

☒ Protocol Application

☒ Informed Consent Form

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me via phone at 216-483 9010 or via e-mail at meyildiz@sabanciuniv.edu

Best Regards,

Prof. Mehmet Yıldız
Chair of the Ethics Committee

Mevcut Elektronik İmzalar

Doç. Dr. Sabahat Çiğdem Hemşinlioğlu - Psikoloji (Öğretim Üyesi) - 20.09.2023
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Krısten Sarah Bıehl Öztuzcu - Kültürel Çalışmalar (Öğretim Üyesi) - 20.09.2023
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Eren Günseli - Psikoloji (Öğretim Üyesi) - 20.09.2023
Prof. Dr. Abdurrahman Sekin Aydemir - Ekonomi (Öğretim Üyesi) - 20.09.2023
Prof. Dr. Mehmet Yıldız - Rektör Yardımcılığı (Araştırma) (Rektör Yardımcısı) - 20.09.2023

Orta Mah. Üniversite Caddesi No:27
34956 Tuzla / İSTANBUL
+90 (216) 483 9000
+90 (216) 483 9005
sabanciuniversitesi@hs03.kep.tr
www.sabanciuniv.edu

FRG-A410-01-03

.2 Inform Consent I

Sabancı University

Consent to Participate in an Online Research Study

Study Title: Beyond the Clinic: A Psychosocial Politics of Queer* Trauma and LGBTQIA+ Mental Health in Turkey

Principal Investigator: Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık

Co-Investigator: İlkan Can İPEKÇİ

Interviewer: İlkan Can İPEKÇİ

This study is conducted by the doctoral candidate İlkan Can İpekçi in the Gender Studies PhD Program at Sabancı University, under the co-supervision of Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Halfon. The purpose of this study is to investigate the intersections of everyday life narratives of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey through their psychological, relational, and societal interactions.

During the study, you will be asked to fill in a survey which includes some demographic questions and a brief psychological measure. When you fill in the survey, you may find the discomfort of revealing private information about your personal life and your psychological states of mind. Nevertheless, our study is completely anonymous and all personal information that we collect from this research project will be kept confidential. Participation in this survey is voluntary. You are free to answer as many or as few questions as you wish, and you do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. You are also free to stop answering questions at any time and ask us to destroy your data. Completing this study will take around 10-15 minutes of your time. If you have questions about this study, please contact Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık at sibeli@sabanciuniv.edu and/or İlkan Can İpekçi at ilkancanipekci@sabanciuniv.edu.

If you believe that your rights have been violated in any way, please contact Prof. Mehmet Yıldız, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at Sabancı University at (216) 300-1301 or by email at meyildiz@sabanciuniv.edu.

If you have read and understood the above statements, please sign below to indicate your consent to participate in this study.

.3 Debriefing Statements

Debriefing Form I

As it was stated in the informed consent form, the purpose of this study is to examine the intersections of mental health experiences and everyday life experiences of psychodivergent LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. During the survey, you were asked about your past and current mental health issues, and your experiences of living as an LGBTQIA+ individual in Turkey. You were also asked to provide personal information about your life and relationships. If you are found to be eligible to take part in the second phase of this study, you will be contacted by the researchers via the contact information you provided on the survey.

Now that you've done answering the questions in the survey, how are you feeling? If you are feeling some level of distress or discomfort, we kindly ask you to inform the interviewer about this issue so that you and the interviewer can arrange a psychosocial intervention meeting with a clinical psychotherapist. Names of available and willing psychotherapists are provided below. If you do not wish to have a session with a clinical psychotherapist, you can email the researcher and ask for a meeting where you can talk to the interviewer about what is troubling you and what you need. While the interviewer cannot offer any professional clinical support other than providing a list of available clinicians, it may be useful to share your feelings in a non-judgmental, empathic environment instead of ending the interview with negative emotions.

If you feel that you need professional help, please contact; SPoD (LGBTQ+ Association for Studies of Gender, Sexual Orientation and Social Policy) vvia their LGBTİ+ Counselling HelpLine (08508885428) or contact them via email (psikolojikdestek@spod.org.tr)

Bilgi University's Centre for Psychological Counselling (pdm@bilgi.edu.tr) or call the center (+902123117674).

You can find more information on the background of the research below:

Cvetkovich A. (2003). An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures. Duke University Press.

Berlant, L. and Edelman, L. (2014). Sex, Or the Unbearable. Duke University Press.

Carr, S. and Simon, G. (Eds.). (2016). Queer Mental Health: Critical Perspectives

on Mental Health and Illness. Palgrave Macmillan.

You can also access some beneficial self-help information from the sources listed below:

Van der Kolk, B. (2014). The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma.

Cori, J. L. (2008). Healing from Trauma: A Survivor's Guide to Understanding Your Symptoms and Reclaiming Your Life.

Herman, J. (1992). Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror.

Please note that while self-help psychology books can provide valuable insights and strategies, it is always recommended to seek professional help and guidance when dealing with PTSD or any mental health condition.

.4 Inform Consent II

Sabancı University

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Study Title: Beyond the Clinic: A Psychosocial Politics of Queer* Trauma and LGBTQIA+ Mental Health in Turkey

Principal Investigator: Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık

Co-Investigator: İlkan Can İPEKÇİ

Interviewer: İlkan Can İPEKÇİ

This study is conducted by the doctoral candidate İlkan Can İpekçi in the Gender Studies PhD Program at Sabancı University, under the co-supervision of Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Halfon. The purpose of this study is to investigate the intersections of everyday life narratives of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey through their psychological, relational, and societal interactions.

During the study, you will be asked various personal questions, inquiring about your gender identity, sexual orientation, romantic relationships, and past and current experiences related to your mental health. You will be asked to talk about your social relationships, your work/school life, and your quotidian life apropos of your gendered and sexual experiences.

You are expected to answer the interviewer's questions in an honest, open manner. You may feel uneasy about providing your personal information and the state of being recorded. If you experience any discomfort or distress during the interview, you are free to stop the interview at any point and ask us to destroy your data. Our study is completely anonymous and personal information that we collect from this research will be kept confidential and safe in designated areas.

Participation is completely voluntary. You are free to answer as many or as few questions as you wish, and you do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. After the interview, the researcher may wish to contact you via the contact information you choose to provide in order to include you actively in the interpretation process of your data. The researcher may also wish to consult you regarding the way they interpret your data. Participants are given the chance to choose their pseudonyms themselves if they wish.

The semi-structured, in-depth interview will take around 1-1.5 hour of your time. If you have questions about this study, please contact Prof. Dr. Sibel Irzık at sibeli@sabanciuniv.edu and/or İlkan Can İpekçi at ilkancanipekci@sabanciuniv.edu.

If you believe that your rights have been violated in any way, please contact Prof. Mehmet Yıldız, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at Sabancı University at (216) 300-1301 or by email at meyildiz@sabanciuniv.edu.

If you have read and understood the above statements, please sign below to indicate your consent to participate in this study.

Signature

Date

.5 Debriefing Statements II

Debriefing Form II

As it was stated in the informed consent form, the purpose of this study is to examine the intersections of mental health experiences and everyday life experiences of psychodiverse LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey. During the interview, you were asked about your past and current mental health issues, your memories related to growing up and living as an LGBTQIA+ individual in Turkey. You were also asked to provide quite personal information about your life, your relationships, your past, and your ideas on politics, the queer scene in Turkey, among many other important topics. Since we did not want to influence you by introducing the concept of trauma ourselves, we decided to let you talk about your experiences to see whether, and if so, how trauma emerges in your interview.

For this reason, we asked you a few questions about your memories and experiences of hardship as we believed that the intersection of mental health issues and living a queer life in Turkey is situated at the center of traumatizing past and current experiences. We kindly thank you for being open-minded and courageous enough to take part in such a challenging study as this one. But, if you are feeling some level of distress or discomfort after the interview, we ask you to inform the interviewer about this issue so that you and the interviewer can arrange a psychosocial intervention meeting with a clinical psychotherapist. Names of available and willing psychotherapists are provided below. If you do not wish to have a session with a clinical psychotherapist, you are encouraged to talk to the interviewer about what is troubling you and how you are feeling. While the interviewer cannot offer any professional clinical support other than providing a list of available clinicians, it may be useful to share your feelings in a non-judgmental, empathic environment instead of ending the interview with negative emotions.

.6 Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Characteristic	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
	n	%	%
Gender			
Cis Women	74	43	43
Cis Men	31	18	18
Non-Binary	53	30.8	30.8
Trans Women	6	3.5	3.5
Trans Men	8	4.7	4.7
Sexual Orientation			
Heterosexuals	10	5.8	5.8
Gay Men	26	15.1	15.1
Lesbians	28	16.3	16.3
Bi+	72	41.9	41.9
Asexual	1	0.6	0.6
Queer	26	15.1	15.1
Other	9	5.2	5.2
Socioeconomic Status			
Lower Income	20	11.6	11.6
Lower-Middle Income	44	25.6	25.6
Middle Income	71	41.3	41.3
Upper-Middle Income	33	19.2	19.2
Upper Income	4	2.3	2.3
History of Mental Disorder			
Yes	123	71.5	71.5
No	49	28.5	28.5
Clinical Diagnoses			
Depression	18	10.5	15.0
Anxiety	21	12.2	17.5
Trauma	1	0.6	0.8
Anxious Misery	71	41.3	59.3
Bipolar	4	2.3	3.3
OCD	1	0.6	0.8
Personality Disorder	2	1.2	1.7
Eating Disorder	1	0.6	0.8
Dyslexia	1	0.6	0.8
Total	120	69.3	100
Missing	52	30.2	

.7 Demographic Characteristics of the Participants in the Qualitative Study

Name	**Age**	**Occupation**	**Sexual Orientation**	**Gender Self-Identification**
Derin	22	Senior PSY Student	Bi+	Woman
Ömer	39	Engineer/Activist	Gay	Man
Güldem	21	Senior SOC Student	Bi+	Woman
Cengiz	33	Translator	Queer	Genderqueer
Yağmur	24	Social Media Expert	Bi+	Woman
Ali	27	Research Assistant	Gay	Queer
Eren	36	Information Systems Exp.	Gay	Man
Cüneyt	27	Doctoral Student	Bi+	Queer
Özgür	25	Master's Student	Queer	Non-Binary
Meriç	28	Activist/NGO Worker	Bi+	Woman
Oğuz	36	Barista	Queer	Gay
Ayşen	32	Research Assistant	Bi+	Woman

.8 Semi-Structured, In-depth Interview Questions

I. First, could you tell me a bit about yourself? (To explore: How old are you? Where were you born/raised? What is your profession? What kind of education have you received? What are your living conditions like? How does a typical day for you go? etc.)

II. As it is central to my research, I also want to ask: Do you identify your gender identity? If yes, do you identify yourself as male or female, or do you identify in a way that does not conform to either of these? Could you explain a bit more?

III. Do you define your sexual orientation? If yes, who are you attracted to sexually and/or romantically in general? (To explore: Do you experience different attractions sexually and romantically? Have there been periods when you did not experience any sexual attraction? Have there been any changes in your typical sexual attraction?)

IV. Speaking of your gender identity and sexual orientation, do you think they define you? How important are these identities in your daily life? (To explore: What does it mean for you to be LGBTQ+? Key: Being LGBTQ+ and difficulties/challenges)

PART I: MENTAL HEALTH AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH LGBTQIA+ IDENTITY

I. Since you have accepted to have this interview with me, I assume that you know my interest in speaking with LGBTQIA+ individuals who have dealt with psychological issues. Could you tell me a bit about your experiences in this context? First of all, when and how did your psychological problems begin?

i. Follow-up question: What did you do when these problems first emerged? Did you seek help from mental health professionals? (To explore: What kind of complaints did you have? How did the process unfold? Did you receive any diagnoses? How did it make you feel, what thoughts did it provoke?)

ii. Follow-up question: How was the approach of healthcare professionals towards you? Have you tried alternative treatment approaches? How did you try to cope?

II. Do you think there is a relationship between your LGBTQIA+ identity and the psychological problems you have experienced? What are your thoughts on this?

i. Follow-up question: In your opinion, how do LGBTQIA+ individuals compare to cisgender heterosexual individuals in terms of experiencing psychological difficulties? (To explore: What factors affect the mental health and well-being of LGBTQIA+

individuals? What do you think about the role of society in this matter?)

III. Have you experienced any negative events in the past that you have hard time remembering? What psychological experiences did you go through as a result of this event? For example, how did it affect your inner world? What emotions did you feel? What were your thoughts? (To explore: Did your relationships with others change? If yes, how?)

PART II: PAST AND RELATIONAL DYNAMICS

I. With your permission, I will now ask you some questions about your relationships with others. For example, do your family and school/work colleagues know about your LGBTQIA+ identity? (To explore: How does your family respond to your LGBTQIA+ identity? Do you discuss these topics with your family? Could you tell me a bit about the people in your close circle, like your friends? Key: Memories)

II. Since we're delving into the past, how were your relationships with your counterparts while growing up? (To explore: Did you have difficulty making friends? Did you face any challenges? Did you differ from other children? Key: Different)
i. Follow-up question: When did you start feeling different? Did you open up to anyone about these feelings? (Key: Coming out). If yes, how did they react? If not, why? How does it make you feel now (being 'out' or not)?

III. Do you currently have a specific someone involved in your life romantically and/or sexually? Have you ever been in a long-term relationship? (To explore: Do you engage in romantic relationships? If you prefer not to have a partner, what is your romantic/sexual life like in general?)

IV. Besides your romantic/sexual relationships, how would you describe your relationships with other LGBTQIA+ individuals? (To explore: Do you have any LGBTQIA+ friends? Do you have a nightlife in the LGBTQIA+ scene in Turkey?)

V. What are your thoughts about the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey? Do you feel some form of belonging? (To explore: How have you experienced the scene? What do you think are the positive and negative aspects of the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey?)

PART III: SOCIAL LIFE AND LGBTQIA+ SUBJECTIVITY

I. What are your thoughts on the role and visibility of LGBTIA+ individuals in society? (To explore: What do you think about their position in politics?)

II. How interested are you in Turkey's politics in general? In your opinion, how much and in what ways are you affected by current politics as an LGBTQIA+ person?

i. Follow-up question: How would you explain the increased visibility of the LGBTQIA+ movement in the Turkish media in recent years? Do you consider this a positive development? (Yes/No? Why?)

III. Do you believe that both cisgender/heterosexual individuals and LGBTQIA+ individuals have certain roles and responsibilities in their relationships with each other? (To explore: What kind of responsibility exists or should exist between a nation and its LGBTQIA+ citizens? How should this responsibility be shared? What should the approach of both sides be? Do you think this country has fulfilled its responsibility towards you?)

IV. If you were to compare LGBTQIA+ individuals living in the West with those in Turkey, do you notice any differences? In your opinion, in what aspects are we similar or different?

V. What comes to mind when you hear the term "queer"? (In your opinion, what does "queer" mean? What are your thoughts on the place of queer theory and queer politics in Turkey? If you do not have information on that, we can skip this question).

VI. What are your thoughts about the future? (To explore: For yourself? What kind of future do you envision for LGBTQIA+ individuals in Turkey?)

Do you have any questions you would like to ask me? Is there any point where you think I should ask something else or a topic that you would like to talk about it further?

.9 The Demographics Form

1. Your Age:

2. Your Gender:

a. Cis Woman b. Cis Man c. Trans Man d. Trans Woman

e. Genderqueer f. Agender g. Bigender h. Non-binary

i. Intersex j. Queer k. Do not wish to disclose

3. Your Marital Status:

a. Single b. Married c.Divorced d. Other

4. Educational Attainment:

a. Primary School b. Middle School c. High School/Lyceé d. Undergraduate e. Master's f. Ph.D.

g. Other

5. Your Occupation:

6. In which discipline or field were you educated or continue your studies?

7. How would you describe your level of economic status or class?

a. Low b. Lower-Middle c. Middle d. Upper-Middle e. Upper

8. Have you ever experienced any psychological disorder or have you been diagnosed with a psychological disorder?

a. Yes b. No

9. If you replied with a "Yes" to the above-question, please indicate the name of your diagnosis below:

.10 Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI-18)

Please rank each feeling item on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 4 (extremely).

Not at all (0); A little bit (1); Moderately (2); Quite a bit (3); Extremely (4)

1. Faintness or dizziness.

2. Feeling no interest in things.

3. Nervousness or shakiness inside.

4. Pains in heart or chest.

5. Feeling lonely.

6. Feeling tense or keyed up.

7. Nausea or upset stomach.

8. Feeling blue.

9. Suddenly scared for no reason.

10. Trouble getting your breath.

11. Feelings of worthlessness.

12. Spells of terror or panic.

13. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body.

14. Feeling hopeless about future.

15. Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still.

16. Feeling weak in parts of your body.

17. Thoughtful on ending your life.

18. Feeling fearful.

.11 The LGBT Minority Stress Measure (MSM))

Please rank each feeling item on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (Disagree Completely) to 5 (Agree Completely).

Disagree Completely (1); Disagree (2); Neutral (3); Agree (4); Agree Completely (5)

1. Difficulty finding a partner because you are LGBT.

2. Difficulty finding LGBT friends.

3. Having very few people you can talk to about being LGBT.

4. Watching what you say and do around heterosexual people.

5. Hearing about LGBT people you know being treated unfairly.

6. Hearing about LGBT people you don't know being treated unfairly.

7. Hearing about hate crimes that happened to LGBT people you don't know.

8. Being called names such as "fag" or "dyke".

9. Hearing other people being called names such as "fag" or "dyke".

10. Hearing someone make jokes about LGBT people.

11. Family members not accepting your partner as a part of the family.
12. Your family avoiding talking about your LGBT identity.
13. Your children being rejected by other children because you are LGBT.
14. Your children being verbally harassed because you are LGBT.
15. Feeling like you don't fit in with other LGBT people.
16. Pretending that you have an opposite-sex partner.
17. Pretending that you are heterosexual.
18. Hiding your relationship from other people.
19. People staring at you when you are out in public because you are LGBT.
20. Worry about getting HIV/ AIDS.
21. Constantly having to think about "safe sex".
22. Feeling invisible in the LGBT community because of your gender expression.
23. Being harassed in public because of your gender.
24. Being harassed in bathrooms because of your gender expression.
25. Being rejected by your mother for being LGBT.
26. Being rejected by your father for being LGBT.
27. Being rejected by a sibling or siblings because you are LGBT.
28. Being rejected by other relatives because you are LGBT.
29. Being verbally harassed by strangers because you are LGBT.
30. Being verbally harassed by people you know because you are LGBT.
31. Being treated unfairly in stores or restaurants because you are LGBT.
32. People laughing at you or making jokes at your expense because you are LGBT.
33. Hearing politicians say negative things about LGBT people.
34. Avoiding talking about your current or past relationships when you are at work.
35. Hiding part of your life from other people.

36. Feeling like you don't fit into the LGBT community because of your gender expression.

37. Difficulty finding clothes that you are comfortable wearing because of your gender expression.

38. Being misunderstood by people because of your gender expression.

39. Being treated unfairly by teachers or administrators at your children's school because you are LGBT.

40. People assuming you are heterosexual because you have children.

41. Being treated unfairly by parents of other children because you are LGBT.

42. Difficulty finding other LGBT families for you and your children to socialize with.

43. Worrying about infecting others with HIV.

44. Other people assuming that you are HIV positive because you are LGBT.

45. Discussing HIV status with potential partners.

46. Being punched, hit, kicked, or beaten because you are LGBT.

47. Being assaulted with a weapon because you are LGBT.

48. Being raped or sexually assaulted because you are LGBT.

49. Having objects thrown at you because you are LGBT.

50. Being sexually harassed because you are LGBT.

.12 The Revised and Expanded Turkish Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ-33)

Below statements are designed to follow this central statement: Please rate each item on 5-point scale from Never true (1) to Very often true (5)

Never true (1); Rarely true (2); Sometimes true (3); Often true (4); Very often true (5)

When I was a child or adolescent

1. I had enough to eat.

2. My daily care and safety were adequately provided.

3. My parents used to say that I was not worthy of my family.

4. My physical needs were adequately met.

5. There was someone in my family who helped me by listening to my concern.

6. My clothing was not cared for.

7. I felt loved.

8. My mother or father made me feel ashamed of myself.

9. I got hit so hard by someone in my family that I had to see a doctor or go to the hospital.

10. There were things I wanted to change in my family.

11. People in my family hit me so hard that it left me with bruises or marks.

12. I was punished with a belt, a board, a cord, or some other hard object.

13. My mother or father used to take my opinions seriously.

14. People in my family said hurtful or insulting things to me.

15. I believe I was physically roughed up.

16. I had the perfect childhood.

17. I got hit or beaten so badly that it was noticed by someone like a teacher, neighbor, or doctor.

18. I felt that someone in my family hated me.

19. People in my family felt close to each other.

20. Someone tried to touch me in a sexual way or tried to make me touch them.

21. Someone threatened to do harm to me unless I did something sexual with them.

22. I had the best family in the world.

23. Someone tried to make me do sexual things or watch sexual things.

24. Someone molested me sexually.

25. People in my family used to put blame on me.

26. There was someone to take me to the doctor if I needed it.

27. I believe that I was sexually abused.

28. My family was a source of strength and support.

29. People in my family restricted my contacts with my peers and friends.

30. People in my family intervened with my personal matters.

.13 PTSD Checklist for DSM-V (PCL-5)

Please answer each question on a 5-point scale ranging from Not at all (0) to Extremely (4)

Not at all (0); A little bit (1); Moderately (2); Quite a bit (3); Extremely (4)

1. Repeated, disturbing, and unwanted memories of the stressful experience?

2. Repeated, disturbing dreams of the stressful experiences?

3. Suddenly feeling or acting as if the stressful experience were actually happening again (as if you were actually back there relieving it)?

4. Feeling very upset when something reminded you of the stressful experience?

5. Having trouble physical reactions when something you of the stressful experience (for example, heart pounding, trouble breathing, sweating)?

6. Avoiding memories, thoughts, or feelings related to the stressful experience?

7. Avoiding external reminders of the stressful experience (for examle, people, places, conversations, activities, objects, or situations)?

8. Trouble remembering important parts of the stressful experience?

9. Having strong negative beliefs about yourself, other people, or the world (for example, having thoughts such as: I am bad, there is something seriously wrong with me, no one can be trusted, the world is completely dangerous)?

10. Blaming yourself of someone else for the stressful experience or what happened after it?

11. Having strong negative feelings such as fear, horror, anger, guilt, or shame?

12. Loss of interest in activities that you used to enjoy?

13. Feeling distant or cut off from other people?

14. Trouble experiencing positive feelings (for example, being unable to feel happiness or have loving feelings for people close to you)?

15. Irritable behavior, angry outbursts, or acting aggressively?

16. Taking too many risks or doing things that could cause you harm?

17. Being "superalert" or watchful or on guard?

18. Feeling jumpy or easily startled?

19. Having difficulty concentrating?

20. Trouble falling or staying asleep?

.14 Rhizomatic Word Map: Thematic Clusters