

Socio-economic Differences That Affect The Legalization Of The Same-sex Marriage



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Content

1. Introduction.....	3
1.1. Information about the Leading Non-Governmental Organizations of LGBT...	3
1.2. General View to the History of LGBT.....	4
1.3. How the Discussion of Same-Sex Marriage is Related to Our Project.....	5
2. Legalization of Gay-Marriage from the Perspective of Society.....	6
2.1. Facts that affect the opinions about Gay-Marriage.....	6
2.1.1. Social Facts.....	6
2.1.2. Political Facts.....	7
2.1.3. Moral / Religious Facts.....	7
2.1.4. Facts of Media.....	8
3. LGBT in Today's World.....	9
3.1. Comparing Istanbul Gay Pride and Amsterdam Gay Pride.....	10
3.2. Islamophobia.....	11
4. How Do We See the Future of Turkey in Terms of LGBT Rigts.....	12
4.1. Gay Pride in Turkey.....	13
4.2. Hate Crime Laws in Turkey.....	14
4.3. Future of Turkey in Case of LGBT Rights.....	15
5. Interviews.....	17
5.1. Secret Garden.....	17
5.2. David Bos.....	20
5.3. Lanfranco Aceti.....	24
5.4. Sosyal Değişim Derneği / Levent Bey.....	28
5.5. The COC Netherlands.....	33
5.6. Cihan Tekeli – Amsterdam.....	34
5.7. Gökkuşğunın Kızılı.....	38
6. The Survey That We Wade for Our Street Interviews in Netherlands.....	41

1. Introduction

Meaning of marriage has never been stable and it keeps evolving through new generations both materially and morally. Social views on multiple wives, inter-racial relations, and divorce have changed. But the fundamental elements of marriage institution have remained still for centuries, and one of them was belonging of marriage only to heterosexual couples until very recently.

To some the idea of same-sex marriage is a fundamental departure from other marital changes, while for others it is a natural extension of changes begun long ago. Thus, where same-sex marriage begins is a matter of debate. And this caused to a variation of steps that are taken by different countries about legislation of same-sex marriage.

Basic arguments of same-sex marriage proponents' are: equality, marriage is based on love, marriage is always changing this is the part of its evolution while opponents' are faith based arguments or procreation.

Alterations to heterosexual institutions resulting from contracting problems arising in homosexual relations will, indeed, have profound effects on heterosexual marriage, and heterosexual pressures on marriage law will likely be inappropriate for homosexual couples. But the biggest problem is about children that are getting hurt from these marriages because all types of divorce affects children badly.

1.1. Information About The Leading Non-Governmental Organizations of LGBT

In order to have a closer look to what society thinks about legalization of same sex marriage and also to find support to our arguments in our project, it was essential for us to make investigations through non governmental organizations. This is because, it was the only way to be able to find out the point of view of a country regardless of its political or governmental opinion. Also, since they have wide number of members which are from their country, we can get large source of people to reach the most accurate conclusion.

Here it can be found the couple of the leading non-governmental organizations:

COC Netherlands (Netherlands)

This organization was found in 1946 with the aim of contributing to social emancipation and making recreation for gay men and lesbian women. COC struggles for the decriminalisation of sexual orientation and gender identity and for equality and LGBT's social acceptance in all over the world. Thus, it also has a special status with the United Nations that only few LGBT organisations have.

Secret Garden (Netherlands)

Secret Garden was established in Amsterdam in 1994 with the aim of bringing together the Muslim lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders.

Spod (Turkey)

Lambda İstanbul(Turkey)

It was founded in 1993 as a cultural space for the LGBT community, and became an official organization in 1996.

KaosGL (Turkey)

İstanbul LGBTT

1.2. General View to the History of Same-Sex Marriage

Between 20th and 21st centuries, there has been a growing movement for same-sex couples being able to get married as straight people in some countries. Legal recognition of marriage opens up a wide range of entitlements, including social security, taxation, inheritance and other benefits unavailable to couples unmarried in the eyes of the law.

Since homosexual couples are not allowed to get married by law, they were not able to access to the legal benefits of marriage. Although homosexual couples could get some of the benefits without marriage by getting registered partnership, there were still so many benefits they could not get such as inheritance, hospital visitation, adopting children and immigration.

The first country to legalize same-sex marriages was the Netherlands (2001), while the first marriages were performed in the Amsterdam city hall on April 1, 2001. As of August 2013, same-sex marriages are legal nationally in fifteen countries: the Netherlands (2001), Belgium (2003), Spain and Canada (2005), South Africa (2006), Norway and Sweden (2009), Portugal, Iceland and Argentina (2010), Denmark (2012), Brazil, France, Uruguay and New Zealand (2013). In Mexico, same-sex marriage is recognized in all states, but performed only in Mexico City, where it became effective on March 4, 2010.

In the United States as of October 2013, 14 states (New York, Vermont, Iowa, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Washington (state), Maine, Maryland, California, Delaware, Rhode Island, Minnesota), the District of Columbia and New Jersey are the ones to recognize and offer same-sex marriages, while the states of Colorado, Nevada and Oregon offer same-sex partners benefits similar to those of legally married couples.

1.3. How the Discussion of Same-Sex Marriage is Related to Our Project

In this project, we focussed on the differences between social and cultural aspects of the different countries on legalization of the same-sex marriage. In the light of these differences, we aim to figure out the obstacles which prevent the same-sex marriage to be legalized in Turkey. To observe these differences clearly, we gave weight to the country, Netherlands, in which the process of the struggles against inequality in the institution of marriage has gone long way back. Also, in order to make comparison, we will discuss the situation of today's Turkey about LGBT rights.

2. Legalization of Gay-Marriage from the Perspective of Society

According to the articles we have read and our interviews, we categorized the factors that affects the public opinions about gay marriage. These categories are social facts, political facts, religious facts and media factor.

2.1. Facts that affect the opinions about Gay-Marriage

2.1.1 Social Facts

To start with the fact that affect the opinions about Gay-Marriage in a bad way it can be attributed to ignorance of the differences of gay, lesbian and heterosexual couples.

According to Kathleen E. Hull, who writes the article named “The Cultural Power of Law and the Cultural Enactment of Legality”, the rates about different issues varies with respect to these types of relationships. And he says that the biggest difference is about child issue.

Because in same-sex marriages, children and one of the parents biological relationship must be broken either ways. And it will surely be a problem for child. Also gay or lesbian parents will be main role models for children.

All rules about marriage institutions are regulated with respect to heterosexual couples and it is not that easy to fit it to other types of relationships without hurting the traditional one.

Marriage is changed to accommodate the demands of same-sex couples these changes will hurt heterosexual marriages. To the extent changes are not made, same-sex couples will find marriage laws unsatisfactory and inefficient for their needs.

Slightly over thirty years ago family law went through a conceptual revolution called no-fault divorce, and thirty years later we know something about the consequences of that paradigm shift. During that debate the case was made that in-tact marriages would be unaffected by the legal change and the social impact would be minimal. It was hard to imagine how releasing dead marriages from bondage could have any negative impact on other loving marriages. In particular, the predictions of no impact stemmed from the view that marriage

is an environment to assist adult relationships to be stable and loving. The mistakes made by no-fault divorce reformers are now being made by proponents of same-sex marriage.

David Bos told that visibility is also one of the most important part of social facts and some gay or lesbians feel embarrassed to show up in a boat in gay pride because they think that their family will be criticized by society. Or maybe they do not want to show up on TVs or newspapers with pictures because they believe in to be heard, not to be seen to reach the acceptance of homosexuality. Instead he said, they have interesting stories to tell. Not only interviews with gays or lesbians, also with their parents.

In our interview, Cihan Tekeli said that according to their research which is made in schools, in order to insult someone, students use the word of “homo” to each other, even they are not homosexual. This shows that public sees homosexuality as an insulting case.

2.1.2 Political Facts

Political Facts are obviously one of the most important cases on effecting public opinion about same-sex marriage. Government policies or opinions of leading parties in power and their works about same-sex marriage usually can be very persuasive for the society they represent.

David Bos who is a professor at Amsterdam University on the department of Sociology and Anthropology and has published lots of books on homosexuality such as “Out in the Netherlands” laid stress on the powerful effect of government coalition in Netherlands on homosexuality. He said that for many years they always had the Christian party in power as one of the government coalition parties whether they cooperate with liberals or social democrats. And since the Christian party was against same-sex marriage, the coalition never had a chance to make the same-sex marriage legalized. But then, for the first time in 1994 when there was a coalition without the Christian party, it could be happened.

According to Cihan Tekeli, in order to understand this issue we should consider political circumstances. In Netherlands, there is an aggressive policy against Islam and the politicians do not help to solve this issue.

2.1.3 Moral / Religious Facts

David Bos approved that most of the debates on homosexuality are about religion and said that the Moroccan or Turkish communities in Netherlands have lower acceptance level because of Islam. But he was not convinced that it is the only reason. He believes that many of the people whether they are Christian or Muslim, do not know exactly what the Bible says. Thus, sometimes it is also possible to see opponents of homosexuality in completely non-religious societies, just because they think that homosexual men are not really men or homosexual women are not really women. Because it makes them weird people. And because most of the opponents of homosexuality think that, especially about gay men, their relationship is too visible and looks dirty while they think two women relationship is not physically sufficient.

Cihan Tekeli said: " I guess that Netherlands is one of the first three country whose public has fewest religious belief. There are debates about religious case but it is much more about Islam. Therefore, there is not too much oppression because the public does not care about the opinion of the Church. Even the political parties which are close to religion do not have hearing about this issue.

Lanfranco Aceti mentioned that religion shouldn't have any role in public society because it is a society where everybody's opinions, manner of life should be respected. He added that the public space belongs to everybody and any form of diversity within the space should not be allowed.

In the interview with secret garden, he said that most of people think that religion and homosexuality can't go parallel because they are religious and they think that being homosexual is a disease and they worship to God to forgive themselves but he think that this is because of bias. He added that it's just the man who try to make borders to secure a lot of things.

2.1.4. Facts of Media

David Bos mentioned about media's and especially the TVs' enormous role on acceptance of homosexuality. He said that comedians and actors were always pioneers for homosexuality therefore some soap operas and tv shows have made many changes about homosexuality on society. And while homosexuality was not publicly spoken before 1996, it showed up a real progress by them.

3. LGBT in Today's World

When we look at LGBT in today's world, there is a huge distinction between the countries according to the LGBT rights. In some countries LGBT members have equal citizen rights like equal marriage and adopting children. Netherlands is the first country which recognise same-sex marriage. Argentina who is legalised same-sex marriage allowed the change of gender on birth certificates for transgender people. Colombia recognised its first legal same-sex civil union. On the other hand in some countries we couldn't even talk about homosexuality. Same sex marriage is very far target for the homosexual people who live in those countries. LGBT people faced with violence because of the anti-gay laws in many african countries where homosexuality is already illegal. Homosexuality is still illegal in today's world in more than 75 countries. In Iran where homosexuality is punished by death, country's official described homosexuality as "an illness that should be treated". Eric Ohena Lembembe who is an outspoken LGBT rights openly gay activist was tortured and murdered in Cameroon. Jean Claude Roger Mbede received three year imprisonment because of sending a text message to another man in Cameroon. In Nigeria same-sex marriage is punished with a 14 year prison term. There are many anti-gay laws which punishes people who make propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations in Russia. Even further people can be arrested if they are gay. There is a link between the countries where homosexuality is legal and illegal. "There are really complicated links between the two. If you look at the history of the advancement of LGBT rights in the UK, every advance is accompanied by a backlash," says Alistair Stewart, assistant director of the Kaleidoscope Trust, a UK-based organisation that supports international LGBT rights. "To a certain extent that's happening on a global scale now – the advances that are being made in some parts of the world encourage a backlash in other parts of the world. The struggle for even basic human rights for LGBT people – freedom of association, freedom from violence – becomes harder to achieve when the opponents can point to something like gay marriage, which isn't even on the books for most of the countries we're talking about and make the argument that 'if we give these people even the most basic of human rights, next they'll be asking to get married in our churches'." We think that Turkey has much more to do to improve the gay rights but it's situation is not much bad when we compare with many african countries. Homosexual relations are legal in Turkey since 1858, but the law does not include sexual orientation or gender identity in its civil rights laws and there is no legal recognition for same-sex couples currently. Transgender persons in Turkey face systematic harassment from law enforcement officers. In 2006, Şevket Memiş and Orhan Bayraktar were

arrested by the police and charged with acting impudently because they were wearing women's clothing.

3.1. Comparing Istanbul Gay Pride and Amsterdam Gay Pride

Istanbul Gay Pride which celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2013, took place in late June with great number of participants at about 20,000. Except from Gay Pride March, there were also cultural events during the week including dance workshops, films, discussions and parties. There were much more participants in 2013 Gay Pride when we compare with the ancient ones. We think that Gezi Park protests also help to increase number of participations. The LGBT community supported the Gezi Park protests. People who forced to become "other" during the protests, start to think about the challenges that the suppressed people faced with. This creates empathy among the people. Apart from these they want to be treated legally as equal citizens. They use slogans like "Nerdesin aşkım burdayım aşkım? Faşizme karşı bacak omuza! Direnişin "o" biçimi! " during the pride. Also there were huge amount of people who weren't homosexual in the pride. We walked in company with percussion band and whistles. The Amsterdam Pride organized in the first weekend of August. With several hundreds of thousands visitors this event is one of the largest public events of the Netherlands. The pride is organized since 1996. The peak of the festival is during the canal parade, a parade of boats of large variety on the 3th of August, which goes from Westerdok over the Prinsengracht, Amstel river, Zwanenburgwal and Oudeschans to Oosterdok. At least 500,000 spectators and participants attended the event at the Prinsengracht canal in central Amsterdam, according to police sources. It was very joyful and colourful event.

When we compare the two prides, we found that Amsterdam gay pride was much more fun based . There weren't any protests. Homosexual people were content of the gay rights. The canal pride was like a cabaret show with a loud music. There were ballons, flags, confettis everywhere. Members of the Dutch military also participated to the canal parade. It was very crowded, people climbed the stairs of houses to be able to watch the canal parade. People generally wore pink shirts for the pride. After the canal parade, there were street parties. Whole city members were participated to canal pride. Actually some people said that gay pride lost its meaning in Amsterdam and they added that some people profit from the gay pride. On the other hand Istanbul gay pride was much more protest based. People shouted slogans during the pride. It was less crowded when we compare with Amsterdam gay pride but it was the most crowded gay pride in the history of Istanbul gay pride. We walk with a percussion group, it was also fun but we can't compare it with Amsterdam gay pride. There weren't too many people dressed particularly. In a few words, Istanbul gay pride was like a demanding equal rights for homosexual people on the other hand Amsterdam gay pride was like a celebration of their rights.



3.2. Islamophobia

One of the most important fact of being opponent to homosexuality was religion as we said before according to our interviews. But we see in our surveys that most of the Dutch people in Netherlands think that Moroccan and Turkish society in Netherlands actually form the opponent part of homosexuality. There were a perception as if Muslims are more strict than Protestants about homosexuality. Thus, we want to figure out whether it is true or there is an islamophobia against Muslims and focused on a issue about a little Turkish child named Yunus who is nine years old and live in Netherlands with his Turkish family. Since his Turkish family was not capable of looking after him, he was given to a Lesbian Dutch family. Turkish family did not like this situation and tried to take him back by registering the court but Dutch government decided not to give him to them unless they can provide him some basic needs. Turkish government also has objected to this issue because of the reason that children will have completely different family structure. They said that it was not about the foster family being lesbian but about the different culture they have. So, we asked about this topic to our interviewers and got their ideas about Yunus.

Davis Bos said that the system of adopting children in Netherlands worked right. If the child was given to a lesbian couple it must have done because of lack of any available Turkish and heterosexual couples. Because he claims that in Netherlands there is not so much Turkish

foster families. But he also added that it would be fine enough being adopted by two mothers or two fathers.

Cihan Tekeli mentioned that prime minister of Netherlands is right because it is Netherlands' issue, not Turkey's. This is because, the child is already citizen of Netherlands. In addition to this, they just look after their interest, they do not consider best for the child. Discrimination also is used for benefit, it is multifunctional. And the discrimination in this issue can not be proved, unfortunately. In Netherlands there is an corporation for children who are not taken care by their family and they give these children another family to look after them. The problem is that Turkish families are not in the lists for good family. For example, when Yunus is given to another family, his old family litigated and the court allowed them to take their child. However, the corporation did not give Yunus to his family. Cihan Tekeli mentioned that there is a discrimination for Turkish families because the corporation thinks that their people can look after the child better than Turkish families. However, it is hard to prove.

4. How Do We See the Future of Turkey in Terms of LGBT Rights

4.1. Gay Pride in Turkey

The first gay pride in Turkey was intended to celebrate in 1993 with "Week of Sexual Freedom" but governorship in İstanbul did not permit and guests coming from abroad got deported. This condition triggered the foundation of Lambda İstanbul and KaosGL which are the two of the most important LGBT organizations in Turkey today.

In 2003, the first gay pride in Turkey is placed with the participation of 30 people. This participation increased each year. In 2007, 1500 people; in 2010, 5000 people; in 2011, 10000 people; in 2012 20000 people took part in Gay Pride. On the 30th of June 2013, the pride parade attracted almost 100.000 people. The protesters were joined by Gezi Park protesters, making the 2013 İstanbul Pride the biggest pride ever held in Turkey. The European Union praised Turkey that the parade went ahead without disruption.

After the last Gay Pride in İstanbul(2013), we think that LGBT issues in Turkey gained more importance by Turkish community and advocaters of LGBT rights became more well-organized. Unfortunately, although public became aware towards LGBT rights, the government is still against this issue. After the gay pride, AKP Gaziantep representative Şamil Tayyar criticized homosexual peoples in the pride by calling them queers on Twitter. Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek wrote for Hüseyin Aygün, who took part in Gay Pride, on Twitter that:"Hüseyin Aygün are you gay?" and used the term gay as an invective. This indicates that the attitudes of government towards LGBT rights are not supportive; on the contrary it is exclusivist.



4.2. Hate Crime Laws in Turkey

Hate crime is the crime which is committed against a social group that is about racial, religious, ethnic, sexual orientation or gender identity. The laws that tries to prevent this crimes is hate crime laws.

When we look at the new hate crime law draft in Turkey, hate crime is defined the crimes caused from the differences in terms of race, religion, nationality, gender identity and political view, differently from laws of many European countries. The difference is that the

law of Turkey is lack of the crimes caused by biases of nationality, ethnicity and sexual orientation. However, LGBTs in Turkey are suffered from hate crimes too much. According to the journal of Glen Johnson, 40 transgender persons were murdered in Turkey in 2011.(<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2012/al-monitor/transgender-killings-turkey.html#>) Also, in the first three months in 2012 3 trans people were murdered. The number of trans murder in 2013 is 5 in Turkey.(<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2012/al-monitor/transgender-killings-turkey.html##ixzz2rXUfEEje>). LGBT organizations (Hêvî LGBT, KaosGL, SPoD LGBT, Hebûn LGBT and Gökkuşağının Kızılı) criticized that although LGBTs are more suffered from hate crimes, they are not even mentioned in hate crime laws. They think that LGBTs are suffered from discrimination in all fields in their lives; while the law is already discriminatory in terms of gender identity and sexual orientation, the discrimination will be continued. (<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?shva=1#search/gokkusagininkizili%40gmail.com/1417862e52047739>). As we mentioned that although seriousness of LGBT murders are explicit, the lack of LGBT issue in Turkish laws indicates that Turkish government and Turkish society do not recognize LGBTs.

We met Levent Şensever from the non-governmental organization of “Sosyal Değişim Derneği” about hate crime laws and the case of LGBTs in Turkey, in July. In that date, this law draft were not put on council of ministers. Levent Şensever told that they met some representatives about the law draft and mentioned their attitudes. He mentioned that their attitudes towards that law draft are moderate but during the voting in plenary session, their attitudes change.

4.3. Future of Turkey in Case of LGBT Rights

In addition to hate crime laws, when we asked Levent Şensever about the future of Turkey about LGBT rights, he told that this issue is not a case that be accepted by big part of the public, even the people are called democratic because according to some research, the majority of Turkish community has conservative perspective. The another reason is lack of civil society organization that studies for civil rights. For example, LGBT issues are dealt by

just LGBT people or disability problem is taken care by just disabled people. So, it is hard to anticipate marked progress about LGBT rights.

We think that the future does not look bright about the progress of LGBT rights. As we mentioned that the religious view of Turkish society is one of the biggest obstacle to accept LGBTs in society. The conservative attitudes in politics indicates that it is hard to see acceptance of LGBT rights in council unfortunately. Already, it is not possible to talk about gay marriage, while even women and men are not accepted equal in majority of Turkey.

We asked Cihan Tekeli about the solutions for deal with the biases for homosexuality. He thinks that education is a part of the solutions but besides that there is a couple of big parts: knitting up the society and the assistance of the politicians and religious leaders. Knitting up the society is the crucial part since this helps you to know different persons and get used to them. When you get used to these people, the respect between the society would be increased. For example, Cihan Tekeli mentioned that in his house that he was born and grow up, there are all kinds of people who are living there. One of their neighbours was homosexual couples from Morocco. This case gave Cihan Tekeli's family the chance of cohering with them and accordin to him if you grow up with this sense, you will them normal in the future. In addition, Cihan Tekeli gave an example for the second factor as Tarik Ramadan who is a professor from Switzerland and whose origin is Egypt. He is conservative but at the same time he is politically liberal. His opinion about this topic is that homosexuality is a problem for Islam but people must be respectful to each others. In Netherlands attitudes of people generally is like this. However, in Turkey even ministers of the state see homosexuality as a kind of disease. Instead of this attitude, politicians and religious leaders must help to solve the issue of discrimination.

If same-sex couples are allowed to marry they hurt heterosexuals. If they are denied this right, then they are hurt. This is an argument based on the feedback mechanism different types of marriages would have on legal heterosexual marriage, on the small

number of homosexuals in the population, the impact widening the definition would have on divorce, and on the impact divorce has on the rest of the population.

5. Interviews

5.1. Secret Garden

Secret Garden is a foundation for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) Muslims. It was established in Amsterdam in 1994, with the intention to reach and bring together young Muslims who are transgender, or have homosexual or bisexual feelings.

Secret garden is a non-governmental organization which also focus immigrants with the islamic background. A lot of people get confused because they hear all the time that religion is the biggest problem against homosexuality but i think it is not true. I think God makes us and puts us on this earth to be free to think and to use our brain. It's just the man, as me and you, who try to make borders to secure a lot of things. I try to live my own fate. I haven't got haj but i believe in God in my own way that is Islam for me. I try to say also to our "clients" that you have to make choices for yourself because most of them they choose for their family, for their religion to make all their surroundings better and then they think about themselves. I think if you are happy your family will also be happy but people think differently. I think this is because they come from this cultural oppression. Most of people think that religion and homosexuality can't go parallel because they are religious and they think that being homosexual is a disease and they worship to God to forgive themselves. I think this is because of bias. You haven't choose to be muslim, you haven't choose even your own name. You haven't choose anything when you born then your parents make choices for you but when you start to ask questions about yourself making a choice is getting difficult because maybe it has changed what you have learned from parents and it is a dilemma. God created us as a free man and we have to make choice for our happiness. I think that people create religions just because they are afraid if without vision, rules, ideals everthing will be in chaos. I don't think God created us to be a slave of someone. Our believers don't beleive their homosexuality just in themselves. They go to the mosque, they don't want to be homosexual. I try to explain to this people to find something for them to make a combination between their homosexuality and their feelings. Only God can judge

you. If I want that people respect to me I have to respect other people. In Turkey it is not much possible, we can also see in Gezi parc protests. The Turkish community who is living in Amsterdam is not openminded in general because they come in 60s when Netherlands need workers and most of people don't come here from the big cities. They came here without knowledge and they didn't change in Amsterdam. They are really conservative people. When you come here you have another world, another belief system. You get confused with the new life and you afraid to change because changing isn't easy. They don't know what will happen, there is fear inside in these people. They try to look for something. This reason is maybe because of culture, religion but I think it is just fear because people who came fifty years ago didn't change and they didn't accept anything. Vast Moroccan and Turkish community live in East and West of Amsterdam. It's not easy for homosexual people to walk on street hand in hand in these regions. People who are living there got the same idea that they brought 50 years ago and they give these thoughts to their children. The vision to homosexuality for these parts always stay same. It isn't because of the religion but it is because of the culture. Among these communities people think other persons (neighbours etc) thoughts. You have to keep it as a secret of your homosexuality in these communities. They are afraid to talk. Because of the Muslim community is fighting against the homosexuality, there are some people who are living a double life who are married and have a child. They are living a "normal" life without accepting their homosexuality.

In the politics of Netherlands, the christian part accept homosexuality but they don't allowed the practice of homosexuality. If you have the feeling it's okey. They are hypocrite beause they want people to support their party. In General homosexuality among the Dutch community is accepted. There is a small amount of people who don't like this. It is generally christian orthodox. Governement and organizations support LGBT. LGBT have a hundred percent rights in Netherlands. They can marry and adopt a child. It is your rights because you are a human being as the heterosexuals. Also, I don't believe in procreation theory. God created like homosexuals like that. In Islam, they believe God make no mistake. If people think homosexuality is a mistake so they think God is making a mistake which is not perfect.

People who are marrying in Netherlands for other reasons. I think one percent is about love. They marry to get the permission and to stay here that can be one reason why registered partnership is increasing in heterosexual couples.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan objected to lesbian couple who adopted nine years old Turkish boy. He said "it was against islamic culture and it's our own issue". I think these two women have the knowledge, love and the safe place. The boy will be in safe if he stays with these two women. He will get freedom to make his choices. Turkish traditional people who are living in Amsterdam have also different culture with who are living in Istanbul. You live your culture everyday so it changes your ideas, behaviours everyday. I think your president got a lot of money from the immigrants in Amsterdam to support his party.

According to a research, most of the gay and lesbians are living bordering on the suicide because of the discrimination, rape, rejecting of the people etc. Immigrants of Turkey and Moroccan who are homosexuals living in Amsterdam mostly living double life. They are physically damaged and they try to act all time. I came to Amsterdam from France. My family tried also force me to marry but i didn't do it. When i went back to Paris, i talked with them about my homosexuality and they said if you are happy we are happy and later i establish this organization here. Also the gay community didn't like it because most of people who came here is islamic gay. In Netherlands people talk "we" and "you". The Dutch people expect that the immigrant people should do lots of things to change but i think changing must happen in both sides. Dutch people should also understand the other parts.

5.2. David Bos



***You published a book about homosexuality in Netherlands. I have seen it on the internet.
Is that right?***

Few years ago i have published it. That was the part of first research project we did. There were two research project comissions by the dutch government. It was about social accptance of homosexuality. So this is the english summary of the whole large reports. Then in 2010, we published another report. In first report i focused the facts on homosexuals and in second report the changes in Moroccan community in Netherlands and protestants which is the Christian community in Netherlands.

***Our main purpose here is to figure out whether people in netherlands accept
homosexuality because they want it or they've just been accepted by government?***

It is a complex story. Interesting thing about whole story about same sex marriage is initially for many years the largest dutch gay lesbian organization the COC, they were against it.

Because they said that we gays and lesbians should not do the same as straight people do. Why should we get married? As long as we get equal rights, we can also have equal rights in apartmentship. But then sort of a campagne started by a gay magazine, it is no longer exists but it used to be very big, they said now we should have the same position as straight couple, the symbolic importance, belonging, recognition etc.

In Netherlands, for many many years we had christian party in power. The christian partys were always in power in government coalition. Whether they coooperate with liberals or cooperate with social democrats. And they were against legalization of homosexuality. But then in 1994, for the first time there was a government coalition between the free market liberals and the social democrats without the christian democrats so that they could reach an aggrement for topic like this. They had no objections for same sex marriage and they had a chance to legalize it.

In netherlands, the level of acceptance of homosexuality is very high, as you can also see in my booklets, social acceptance of homosexuality is highest in Netherlands among Sweden, Denmark etc.

Why are the oppents against homosexuality mostly? Because their religious views or..?

Yes. Most debates on homosexuality are about religion. The Moroccan or Turkish communities in Netherlands, they have lower accptance level because of Islam. But i am not convinced that it is the only reason. Yes, religion is an important fact we can see this, but certainly not the only fact. Because to me, many of the people whether they are Christian or Muslim, they do not know exactly what the Bible says. Sometimes it is also possible to see opponents of homosexuality in completely non religious societies. For instance, because of the thought that homosexual men are not really men or homosexual women are not really women. That makes them weird people. And there is another motive about especially gay men. They say that they are too visible, they manifest themselves. Two men sex is seen as dirty and horrible while two women sex is seen as not a real sex without a man.

When you compare netherlands and turkey what are the basic differences between them?

It depends on what you compare. When you look at the general acceptance, (He looks at the booklets and finds questions and answers and reads them.)

1. Do you think gays and lesbians should be allowed to live what they want to live?
2. How would you feel about having a neighbor who is a gay or lesbian?

These shows different percentages. Sometimes they say in theory its okay but having a neighbor would be a problem.

There's another question

3. How would you feel about having a son or daughter who is a gay or lesbian?

It comes even closer to you and question is no longer theoretical case.

4. How do you feel about adoption from homosexual couples? Do you think they should be allowed to adopt? And these percentages are much more lower.

But what matters is the background of these percentages. Why are they like that etc.

We want to find out whether Islam is an obstacle in the improvement of freedom to homosexuals. Because generally when we ask this to the people in our interviews they told us that the most of the opponents of homosexuality in Netherlands are consist of Turkish or Moroccan people not the Dutchs.

Well it depends. I mean for instance we have a really strong anti-islamic party in dutchland and they say that islam is not good for women and not good for homosexuals but they have a lot more percentage in their party that are against homosexuality.

So do you think that there is an islamophobia against muslims in Netherlands?

Yes. As i told before, islam is not the only fact of being an opponent but the most important fact of foreign people to be opponents of homosexuality is i believe because of not knowing any of them. Because it can really change the ideas of people when they meet someone they like and who is gay. But now it changes bit by bit. For example for the first time last year in gay pride there was a turkish boat.

What about the Christian perception in Netherlands against homosexuality?

When same sex marriage is first announced, there were not so much protests. Ofcourse christian party was against but not so loudly. But there was one problem that in city holes

there are some registerers who refuse to marry homosexual couples because of their religious views. And this case is still going on.

But isnt it illegal to refuse that?

No. Government made an exeption for them and they placed in each city some registerers who are willingly to marry them and some dont. But after ten years, now its changed. Government says that if you refuse to marry them you have to quit your job because there is no such marriage called gay marriage. There is only one type of marriage which is open to everyone.

What do you think about the issue Yunus?

Hollandadaki cocuk adopt edinme usulünü anlatıyor. Cocugun aynı aile ortamında buyumesine oncelilikli onem verilir, eger muslumansa musluman veya heteroseksuele heteroseksuel aileye verilir oncelikle. Ama hollandada musluman ve cocuk edinmek isteyen aile sayısı nispeten cok az. Muhtemelen uygun heteroseksuel aile de olmadığı icin lezbiyen aileye vermislerdir yunusu diyor. In general i belive the child can be very well of with 2 moms and 2 fathers as well.

What do you think about gay pride? Is it more likely a protest or a celebration?

Visibility. Some gay or lesbians feel emberrased to show up in a boat in gay pride because they think that their family will be criticized by society. Or some does not want to show up on TVs or newspapers with pictures because they belive in to be heard not to be seen to reach the accaptance of homosexuality. Instead, they have interesting storries to tell . Not only interviews with gays or lesbians also with their parents.

Do you think that media is playing an important role on accaptance of homos. in Netherlands?

Yes, sure. Especially Tv has played an enourmas role on accaptance of homosexuality. Until 1996 or so on, homosexuality was not publicly spoken in Netherlands but in those years there was a TV show started by Albert Mall he was also an actor. And he's told that there were some rumors about him being also attracted to men. And he just got closer and closer

to the cameras and said that if you are gonna keep it as a secret, yes its true.ehehehehe.
Comedians and actors they were öncü to yayılma. Soap opras and tv shows were also öncü.

Zimbabwe, Uganda etc. in those countries homosexuality cant be even spoken. So how do you see the future of these countries? A dark or a bright future?

Well its kinda hard to say. In those countries homosexuality is seen as a western invention. And west is trying to weaken us by introducing homosexuality. Its a new coloniasim. And they criticize us for the way we dealing with homoseuxality. In russa also this kind of objections to homosexuality are exist.

5.3. Lanfranco Aceti

What would be the personal benefits of same-sex marriage?

It's not a benefit. When you think about benefit you think about why would you are going to get married and if i ask you what is the benefit of getting married you are going to answer me; well i'm in love with somebody, i want to live with that person, i want to have children, so benefit is not the right word because you do it because you want to have comitted relationship that you hope it will last for a very long period of time, aslo the rest of your life with the person that you choose. Many people told marriage is a nightmare because they had bad experiences. People who have good experiences will tell you marriage is great. So the benefit of doing it or not doing it is personal. There are all different sorts of important reasons for doing it and not doing it but those are personal reasons. People are asking recognisiton of gay marriage because they want to have legal benefits. Yes, it is a must and people need to do it. I am going to give you very practical examples. I have been here in Turkey for five years. You accumulate pension for number of years. If anything happens to your dad, your mom will have the pension, in same-sex marriage the other partner will not inherit pension in Turkey for that reason i have a lot of insurance. So that means i have to pay more money in order to make sure that my partner doesn't have a problem if something happens to me. That 1000tl more that i should not be pay. I f something happens to you and there are medical decisions that you have to take who is going to take this medical decisions? Like life and death decisions. Same-sex partner doesn't have any rights on those decisions. There is an example in USA. A homosexual couple in their twenties

didn't marry. The marriage wasn't recognized because USA didn't recognize it at federal level (they start to recognise it by state by state.) The partner fall from the roof when he is repairing it and he died. The family took the property from the other partner. They made decisions of life, death and they moved the funeral into their own hometown. With the partner leaving, the partner who was still alive was not able to attend the funeral so when you think about it, the society has to do something. All the things that you take for you as "normal", other people gay people in general, have all difference of problems with those. My partner and i immigrated from UK. UK didn't recognise same-sex marriage but they recognise same sex relationship at the time which is different. They said if you live together two years in a same-sex relationship, you and your partner have the right to stay in the UK. So it's an immigration issue. In order to being in UK, what you have to do is to enroll in a school if you don't have a job. In order for us to be together we had to pay roughly 90000dollars. That is the amount of the money that you have to spend in order to do something. So you have to realise the request of same rights and obligations like everybody else. There is absolutely no differences. What i want to have is exactly the same rights.

Is an approval from government necessary to obtain?

An approval from government is necessary to obtain because if the government doesn't recognise your marriage you are going to have all differences of problems including children. For example you decided to have a child in Turkey. How is the government recognise two fathers or two mothers? So there is all different sorts of problems that related to that.

What do you think drives the opposition to same-sex marriage? Is it totally related with discrimination or is it that people are just unused to or uncomfortable with the idea of gay people marrying?

It depends to people. You have ideas in life. There are people tolerant and understandable. Also there are people intolerant and not understanding anybody. So, if we are talking with an intolerant person, the reasons why they are intolerant are infinite. They said for example gays created tsunamis, gays created earthquakes, god will punish you. There is a huge amount of illiteracy, idiocy thanks to the people say. It is not even cultural perspective. It is a different perception of what a society should be and how it should be. Personally i think

they are not civilised person and shouldn't belong the society. They shouldn't be allowed to voice opinions within a society. The problem is related to freedom of speech. We should be allowing all ideas but as much as not disturbing other kind of people. There should be much more done. In particular case, all of a sudden you see the extremists of christianity and the extremists of islam joining together and protesting gay marriage in France. It is very interesting because again we see the extreme parts of society, this doesn't mean all the gays are nice, people are people at the end.

What is the fundamental differences between the countries which people can not even say that they are homosexual and people can marry as a same-sex couple?

The main difference is the role of the religion playing in the society. I think religion shouldn't have any role in public society because it is a society where everybody's opinions, manner of life should be respected. In very few words the reason is understanding what public spaces is and also understanding that the public space belongs to everybody. In Iran public space is heavily regulated by monoculture, that has a theatrical structure. Any form of diversity within the space is not allowed. Civilized society should respect all different types of groups. The other problem is the idea that religion has a moral duty to say what people can do and what people can't do. I don't think that's the role of the religion in the public space. So the problem is being able to understand differences are need to be respected. In generally speaking, the humanity deals very badly with differences. It is the moment which the rules of public space is broken because of one group wants to be dominated public space. Then we can see conflicts. Gays within society is actually part of democracy, part of what an ideal democracy is, the respect of all different forms of gender, identity... In this particular time you have to fight for everyday. Those societies which are not democratic won't have respect of speech, respect of minorities...

When we look at religious people, they will say things like, both the Old and New Testaments in the Bible are very clear about marriage: God intended marriage to be between a man and a woman. What do you think about this subject?

The idea that religious morals should be accepted within society is just actually wrong. That can only be done in theocracy where there is one religion and everybody respects of the same religion. Is South America democratic? No it isn't. Because of the rise of the religious rights and religious conservatives within the USA they defeat on the issue of gay right. I think religion shouldn't have anything to do within the public space because it isn't rational. The facts that the old testament says that men should be stoned and women should be stoned as well if you have sexual intercourse before marriage. Let's try to understand what does religion mean. One thing I believe is spirituality and the other thing is religious coding of behaviours within the society. For me those can apply to the people decided to follow them but the imposition of the same coding on other people is absurd and it shouldn't happen. If I am going to church, I probably don't go with shorts but if somebody comes out from church and says that you can't do this because it is opposed to my religious sentiments. I will say your religion offend my life style, you should not be allowed in the public space. Religion will always try to expand and try to control because there has been emerging between religion and political power. That goes back centuries. It goes back to Ancient Romans, Ancient Greeks, Byzantium.

Opponents of same-sex marriage, particularly social conservatives, will argue that same-sex marriage could or would hurt traditional marriage because by broadening the definition of marriage, you make it less special - less sacred in a sense. And then, eventually, marriage will lose its special place in society - lose its meaning. What is your opinion?

Do people divorce? The marriage has already lost its meaning. Here the problem is again the religion issue. Marriage is regulated by a contract of the state. I don't want a religious gay marriage, I don't care. What I care is that the state recognise same-sex marriage. The problem here is that religious conservative people want to control public space, they want to control the state. The state and religion shouldn't have anything to say, it's your own sphere. What I find problematic here is people under social conservative values have the idea of being more respectful and protect things etc. what they are actually doing generally speaking is trying to enforce to control over others. I always think that everybody should deal with their own lives. Gender has a definition of patriarchal society where the male dominates over woman. The society is divided between man and woman. Anything outside

from this context becomes a threat, a problem for the patriarchal society. The social conservatives don't want to preserve anything. The only thing that they want to preserve is their power.

5.4. Sosyal Değişim Derneği / Levent Bey

Hazırladığımız teklifi meclise sunduk bürokratik bir süreç var onu yapmadılar. Bizimki insan hakları komisyonuna gitti. Komisyonun görüşerek genel kurala sunmaları lazım bunu yapmadılar, bloke ettiler gibi bir şey oldu. 2012de çalışmaya başladı. Aralıkta yasa taslağı hazırlandı. Geniş katılımlı bir platform, 70 tane sivil toplum kuruluşu vardı. Sendikalar, insan hakları dernekleri-mültecilerle çalışan. Konuları LGBT derneği olmadığı için kampanya parçası haline sokmakta zorlandık. Hedefimiz meclisin gündemine getirmektir. Adalet bakanlığında da bizim taslaktan yararlanarak kanun taslağı hazırladılar. Bakanlar kuruluna gidecek, orda görüşülecek, meclise sevk edilecek.

3 tane farklı taslak olduğunu söylüyorlar. Biri: nefret suçu tanımı var, maddeler ona göre. Başta nefret suçu tanımı, hangi kimliklerin yer aldığını tanımladık. Türk kanunu ceza yasasının çeşitli maddelerinde o suç fiili bir önyargıyı saikiyle işlenmişse o gruplara yönelik, cezanın arttırılması yönünde bizimki.

Adalet bakanlığı şöyle yaptı sanırım: bir tanımlı bir tanımsız dediler. Bizimki kapsamlı, onlarınki daha az maddeden oluşuyor. Bir de cinsel yönelim maddelerini birinde koyup birinde koymadıklarını tahmin ediyorum. Bakanlıktan gelecek tepkilere göre. Adalet bakanı “Hükümetin beklentileri doğrultusunda göre hazırlamayın, bakanlar kurulu onun neresini değiştirmek istiyorsa değiştirir”. Biz iki tane hakimle görüştük, bizim etkilere katıldılar onlardan aldığım bilgi bunlar.

Şu anda gündeme gelecek mi yoksa kapandı mı dosya?

Hiç bilemiyorum ama yeni bir yasa hazırlıyorlarmış azınlık haklarıyla ilgili ama bundan kimsenin haberi yok. AB komisyonu söyledi bana. Onlar çok şaşırmışlar çünkü normalde Avrupa birliği müttasabına uygun yasalar değişiyor. Kimsenin haberi yok. Yeni bir yasa taslağı çıkmış ortaya. Ama bir de bunun yanında ayrımcılık yasası var. İki yıl önce meclisten geçti geçecek derken durdurulmuş vaziyette. Azınlık dini gruplar olabilir, gayrimuslimleri

kapsaması lazım ama örneğin kürtleri kapsayacak mı ya da dil gruplarına yönelik düzenlemeler ya da romanlar. Onların kafasındakini bilemiyorum.

CHP'yle görüştüğünüzde geri bildirimi nasıl oldu?

Chp baya destekledi özellikle birebir işkilerimiz vardı milletvekilleriyle, Aykan erdemir , melda onur. Meclis içinde ve kendi partileri içinde kulis yapmamızda çok yardımcı oldular, diğer milletvekilleriyle görüşme konusunda baya destek oldular. Bdp milletvekilleri de iyiydi. BDP ve CHP de sundu ama Onları zayıftı. kariyer için referans olsun diye bastan savma, veli ağbaba verdi. Yani nefret suçları yasası denilebilecek kapsamda değildi.

AKP yle birebir görüştüğünüz bir şey oldu mu?

Komisyonlarda dağılımı partilerin milletvekili oranına göre. Ağırlıklı olarak akp oluyor. Biz bu komsynların başkanlarıyla görüştük, anayasa, aileyle ilgili. Genelde diplomatik bir dille nazik davranıyorlar sonuçta politikacıya bağlılar orda belirleyici olan meclisin içindeki, örgütlenmede genel başkan-başkanvekilleri-komisyonlar ve mvleri diye gidiyor. Biz bu hiyerarşi içinde Kılıçdaroğlu ile de görüştük tavrı gayet iyidi, başkanvekilleriyle gorusup dosyalar dağıttık. Hatta milletvekilleri ne brifing verdik niçin nefret yasası gerekir bunun onemi nedir? Hiç itirazlar gelmedi, mhp mvleri bile itiraz edecek bir tutum sergilemedi. Yerleşik parti ideolojisini bozmamak. İş oy vermeye gelince başka oluyor. Birebir gayet samimiler iyi şeyler soyluyorlar ama iş genel kurulda oylamaya gelince farklı tutum.

Biz nefret suçlarını daha kapsamlı alıyoruz:ulusal kimlikler engelliler vs. Tabi bütün bunları sayınca cinsel yönelim geçince one çıkartmıyorlar. O daha ziyade muhafazar politikalar çerçevesinde üst düzeyde belirlenen bir şey.

Lgbtyle çalışmalarınız olmuştur?

Lgbt de platform içindeydi hatta en aktifler onlar oldu çünkü yasal düzenlemeye en çok ihtiyacı olan kesimlerden biri. Dolayısıyla özellikle LİSTAG çok aktif oldular.

Yurtdışında uygulanan prosedürlere de baktığımızda, mesela Fransa'da da halkın içinde çok karşı olan bir kitle vardı. Ama sonunda kabul edildi, herkes sonuçta aynı şeyi düşünmüyor. Frnsyla Türkiye'yi karşılaştırdığımızda ne gibi farklılıklar görebiliriz uygulanan prosedürlerde? Nelerde geri kaldık ya da ileriye?

Frnsadaki eşç evlilik mezvunda oldu burda sıkıntı hep cinsel yönelim meselesinde ortaya çıkıyor.

O madde olmasa daha kabul edilebilir bir şey mi olurdu yani?

Evet yani şimdi mesela başbakan iyice daraltıyor sınırını İslamafobi yle sınırladı geçen eylulde Masumiyet filmi bağlamında bir tartışma olmuştu kamuoyunda. Erdoğan artık islamafobi de nefret suçu sayılmalı bunla ilgili yasal düznleme olmalı. Sanki oyle bir şey yokmuş gibi. Biz bunu yapıcaz dünyaya yayıcaz gibi ama hep soyledigi nefret suçuyla ilgili değil islamafobiyle alakalı bir suç tanımı. Oysa bizim tanımımızda bütün mağdurları kapsayan bir tanım vardı. Hatta bizim derneğin islami kesimle yakın ilişkleri vardı hala da var tek tük insanlar ama bizim tanımın içinde cinsel yönelim olmasıyla birlikte onlar geri çekildiler ve desteklemediler bizim platformu. Hatta birkaçane eski yoneticileri bize imza vermşilerdi ama üstlerindeki baskıdan dolayı geri çekmek zorunda kaldılar imzaları. O camiada ne kadar muhafazakar demokratik desek de bu cinsel yönelim meselesi bir tabu. Bir Ermeni soykırımı meselesi tabu bir de bu lgbt meselesi malesef.

Size gerekçe olarak sundukları bir şey oluyor mu geri çekilirken?

Yok özürdileyerek zor durumda kaldıklarını soylediler ama o kesimde yaklaşım genellikle hastalık ve günah meselesi tartışılan şey. Tabi sadece Türkiyeyle ilgili bir mesele değil. Amerikada da mesela boyle bir sorun var. Bir vaka biliyorum: bir ya irak ya da iranda bir Amerikan askeri ölüyor ve eşcinsel. Askeri törenle yapılıyor cenazesi. Burda kilise cemaati çıkıyor törenin olduğu yolda dövizlerle sloganlarla “cehennemliksiniz siz” diye bağtıyorlar. Bu olay mahkemeye yansıyor. Yerel mahkeme mahkum ediyo aslında klise cemmatini. Fakat yüksek mahkeme bunu ifade özgürlüğü olarak değerlendiriyor. Bozuyor kararı yani. Ama amerikada bu ifade ozgurlugu nefret söyleminin önünde sınırları çok geniş avrdan daha farklı. Mesela bush da düzenlenen nefret suçları yasasını 10 yıl dondurdu, onaylamadı. Bush iktidarı kaybettikten sonra obama geldi yani 10 yıl sonra ve yine nedeni de cinsel yönelim bahanesiydi. Yani bu sadece türkiyeye özgü tartışma meselesi değil, amerikada da fransada da baya saldırgan olan muhafazakarlar var.

Türkiye’de bir ilerleme görüyor musunuz?

Evlilik meselesi gündemde değil türkiyede. Çok kolay geniş çevrelkerce kabul görülcünü sanmıyorum, demokratik olduğunu ifade eden kesimlerde bile sıkıntı olabilir. Mesela Ermeni soykırımı meselelerinde insan hakları konusunda son derece demokrat olan arkadaşlarımdan bile soykırım deyince birden yaklaşımlar değişebiliyor. Kritik bir mesele bu da. Türkiye’de şöyle sorunlar var mesela: bir kere toplumun çok büyük bir kesimi muhafazakar yapılan araştırmalara göre. Bir buralarda kurtarılmış bölgelerdeyiz aslında. Özellikle Anadolu’da ve yoksul kesimlerde mütkiş bir muh yaklaşım. Bu sadece cinsel kimliklere değil, azınlıklara hatta yapılan kamuoyu araştırmaların türkiye ayağına baktığımızda diğer ülkelere göre bizim insanlarımız daha muhafazakar ve kuşkucu, “ötekiler”e yönelik kuşkucu ve bu tip ötekileştiren bir yerde duruyor. Bir de şöyle bir sorun var bence Türkiye’de: Mesela İtalya’nın en küçük kasabasında bile ırkçılık karşıtı bir insiyatif, orda konuyu gündeme getirip çalışma yapan, ırkçılıkla alakalı bir eylem olduğunda insanlar kolayca mobilize olup sokağa çıkabiliyor. Türkiye’de bu ırkçılık gibi çok önemli bir konuda çalışma yapan 2 tane kurum var: biri DUR DE, bir de ...İslam Şubesi içinde küçük bir komisyon var. Yani koskoca 70küsür milyonluk Türkiye’de bunun dışında ırkçılıkla doğrudan ilgili başka bir kurum yok. Bu inanılmaz bir şey bence. Sadece ırkçılık meselesi değil tabi, o bir örnek. Mesela LGBT konusu ilgili lgbt camisainn kendi bireyleri dışında kimse ilgilenmiyor benim bildiğim. Ya da engelliler kendi konularıyla ilgileniyor. Romanlar da öyle. Yani Türkiyede geniş sivil toplum alanı oldu soyluyoruz ama aslında çok sığ. Gerçekten insn hakları konusunda çalışan doğru dürüst bir şey yok. Helsinki, uluslar arası örgüt.... gibi büyük dernekleri çıkardığımızda ortaya bir tek madurların kendi orgtleri kalıyor. Bu da türkiyedeki durumun vahim olduğunu gösteriyor aslında.

Gayrimüslimlerden bahsettiniz. Onlar eşcinsellik konusuna daha sıcak bakıyorlar mı? Ya da müslümanları daha muhafazakar olarak değerlendirebilir miyiz?

Benim gördüğüm kadarıyla Türk toplumundan çok farklı değiller. Onlar içinde de muhafazakarı var demokratik olanı var. Zaten gayrimüslim cemaatler çok küçük burada yani en kalabalık ermeni 60000 yüzde 0.00 gibi takabil eidiyor. Buradaki azınlıkların çoğu Ortodoks, Rumlar Ermeniler, yani baya muhafazakarlar. Vatikan’dan bile daha muhafazakar olabilirler. Ve türkiyedeki, gayrimüslimlerin başka bir problemi de, devlet onları muhataba alırken hep dini azınlık kimliği üzerinden muhatap alıyor. Yani onları sivil cemaat olarak görmüyor, dini cemaat olarak görüyor. Onların sivil örgütlenmeleri de hep kilise sinegoglar

üzerinden muhatap aldığı için bütün cemaatte sivil alandaki örgütlenmesinde o hiyerarşiyle yapmak zorunda. Yani mesela ermenilerde patrik bütün cemaati temsil ediyor devlet düzeninde. Devlet onu bilinçli yapıyor, güya laik. Ama mesela kiliseye gitmeyen inançlı olmayan Ermeniler de var; fakat onlar da mecburen evlilik, çocuklarının kutsanması gibi konular nedeniyle kiliseye mahkum oluyorlar. Seçimler antidemokratik. Zaten şimdiki Patrik seçimlerle gelmedi, atamayla geldi ve ermeni cemaati içinde buna çok kızan var ama bir şey yapamıyorlar. O bakımdan onların da tutumlarının Türk muhafazakarlarından çok farklı olduğunu düşünüyorum. İçlerinde bi,zim gibi farklılaşmış, daha azınlık bir kesim de var.

Eşcinsel meselesi ırkçılık gibi mi, yoksa tanıdık olmadığımız için duyulan bir çekince mi?

Ben şöyle bir anımı aktarayım: Bizim uluslararası yürüttüğümüz bir proje var. Gittiğimiz ülkeler, kendi ülkelerinde düzenledikleri ayrımcılıklarla ilgili kampanyaları anlatıyorlar. Mesela Hollanda’da orada yaşayan bir Türk kadını getirdiler ve bu kadın oradaki bir caminin dini lideri. Oradaki müslüman göçmenleri kabul eden bir cami cemaati bu ve kadın bunların ruhani lideri. Fakat başörtüsü takmıyor, gayet modern biri. İslamofobiyle ilgili yaptıkları kampanyaları anlattı, çok güzel şeyler yapıyorlar, modern bakışları var. Aynı zamanda feminist bir kadın. Cami cemaatinin liderliğini bıraktıktan sonra kadın müslüman kadınlarla bir feminist Müslüman kadınlar grubu kurmuşlar. Erkekler kuranda dah üsttedir ya bunları yalanlıyorlar. Ben bu kadına Şunu sordum. Lgbt yle hem de müslüman kesimlerle insan haklarıyla ilgili çalışalım istiyoruz Türkiye’de ama bu mümkün olmuyor. Çünkü hep önümüzde eşcinsellik günahıdır hastalıklı diyenler var ve bunu Kuran’a bağlıyorlar. Ne diyorsunuz? Dedim. “Ben yorum yapmayayım” dedi. Peki Kuran gerçekten öyle diyor mu dedim. Ona da bir şey söylemek istemedi. Şimdi bu en modernini. Burada bile sorun varsa.

Genel olarak baktığımızda islamda keisnlikle pozitif bi yaklaşım göremediniz mi? Bu meseleyi kasında çözmüş bir müslümanla karşılaşmadım. Ama çok da gündemimde olup müslümanla görüşmüş değilim. Kişisel deneyimim sadece. Önde Duran müslüman kadınlar var: Hilal Kaplan. Onunla görüşün mutlaka. Belgin size daha iyi bağlantılar önerebilir. Çünkü onlar hem sizi yönlendirir hem de doğrudan kendi düşünceleri. Müsüman kesimlerin en demokratik önde duran kişiler. Hollandasaki kadın neden konuya girmede bilmiyorum ama ben eminimki o kadın farklı düşünüyor. Yani eşcinsel Müslümanları kendi gruplarına alabilecek kapasitedeydi kadın.

Eşcinseller arasında evliliğe karşı çıkan var mı? Olabileceğini tahmin ediyorum, baya muhafazakar eşcinseller de var ama ben rastlamadım.

5.5. The COC Netherlands



What are the personal benefits of same-sex marriage. What is the importance of an official contract for a governmental issue?

Taxes, retirement, children... They are all settled by law. Before we opened marriage in 2001, we had civil unions and registered partnerships and that gave almost the same civil rights as the same sex couples. And when they opened up marriage, we did not get any more rights, but the most important aspect of this step was in the first page of the law it was written that all homosexual couples will have equal rights as straight couples. With this,

too many other countries also got influenced and for the first time homosexual people believed that there will be equality for all of them.

5.6. Cihan Tekeli – Amsterdam



Eşcinsel evliliğin kişisel yararları ne oldu Amsterdam’da?

Bu konuda fikrim var ama kendim eşcinsel olmadığım için dışarıdan bakıyorum biraz. Vatandaş olarak benim için önemli bir konu çünkü her vatandaşın hakları aynı olması lazım. İlk olarak eşcinsel evlilik derken, gay marriage denmesini doğru bulmuyorum çünkü her vatandaş için aynı şeyi söylersin; gay marriage derken küçük bir ayrımcılık oluyor. Yine de same-sex marriage diyorlar.

Ekonomik değil. Bundan önce bazı uygulamalar vardı; birlikte yaşıyorsan “registered partnership” deniliyordu. Civil marriage’a geçince ekonomik olarak bir değişiklik olmadı.

Sanırım Fransa’da şimdiye kadar öyleydi(registered partnership). Ama bu şekilde bazı zorluklar yaşanıyor. Mesela sevdiğin kişi hastanedeyse, yanına pek kolay kolay varamıyorsun. Yani ekonomik açıdan pek bir şey değişmiyor ama bence en önemlisi “recognition” oluyor, yani tanınması. Ama etrafımdaki eşcinsel çiftlere bakarsam genellikle evlenmiyor, ama bu Hollanda kültüründe olan bir şey. Amsterdamın dışına çıkardak durum değişiyor.

Eşcinsel evlilik deyince önümüze ister istemez bir din olgusu çıkıyor. Same-sex marriagei ilk yasallaştıran ülke olan Hollanda’da din olgusu nasıl bir taşıtmaya dönüşüyor?

Sanırım Hollanda zaten dünyada 3. dini en az olan toplum arasında. Din konusunda büyük tartışmalar var ama en çok İslamiyet konusunda. O yüzden çok baskı olduğu söylenemez. O ses var ama Yani bir baskı söz konusu ama millet bunu çok dinlemiyor. Burada kilisenin fazla gücü yok tartışma konusunda. Politikaya bakarsak dini partiler bile bu konuda söz hakları yok.

Secret Garden’la da görüştük. Onlar Hollanda’nın yerlisinden çok göçmenlerin bu konuda şikayet ettiğini söylediler. Siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Etrafımdaki türk hollandalı arklarına bakarsak, koyden gelmiş eğitim görmemiş. Burda doğduk buyuduk ama ailemizden de değer alıyoruz. Sdce Türkler değil Faslılar da onların yaklaşımı da tepkili. Doğtu bir tespit bunu değiştirmek çok zor. Homo derken kötü bir kelime, top oynuyorsun aşağılayıcı bir kelime olarak kullanılıyor. Arklarımna bakarsam hala kullanılıyor. Koku o kadar derinki hala kullanılıyor. Homo derken zayıf gösteriyorsun onu. Araştırma yaptık sınıftaki ayrımcılık. Öğretmenler gay homonun kelimelirimnin kötü kullanıldığını görüyorlar. Bazı gençlere homo deyip bir kenara koyuyor, bu kişi eşcinsel olmasa bile. Hollanda’da da hla böyle. Öğretmenlerin yüzde 80i islamiyet üzer,ne ayrımcılık görüyor sınıfta.

Ötekileştiren gruplar hollandada doğup büyüyen mi yoksa...

Politik durumu da bakmak lazım. İslamiyete karşı agresif bir politika var. Tartışmalarda çirkin baskısı var. İslamafobi gizli ve büyük bir sorun. Bazıları yok der ama bu baska bir tartışma. Politikaya bakarsak hol hiç bir zaman eşcinsellere karşı ayrımcılık yoktu dışardan geliyor bu. Batının üstünlüğünü gösterme tartışmamıza geliyoruz. Bazı politikacıların inkar etmesi,

yardım etmemesi rahatsız edici. Bana sorarsanız iki taraftan da var: alohton derken aslen hollandalı olmayan.yununcadan geliyor:dıştan gelen demek. Eskiden siyah beyaz tartışması vardı bunları kullanamıyoruz daha safe kelimeler kullanıyoruz. Bu iki kelime de bu şekilde. Türk ve fas asıllı kişilerin bu konuda kompleksleri var. Biz bura misafiriz aslen hollandalı değiliz, onlar da kabul ediyor aslında. Ama yeni nesile bakarsak değişiyor biraz. İngiltereye bakarsak göçmenlerin cogu high educated. Hollanda da hepsi boyle değil.

Eğitim sizce homofobinin önüne geçebilecek bir etken mi? Yoksa gelenekle alakalı mı?

Eğitim tek çözüm değil ama çözümün bir parçası. Ama onun yanında iki büyük parçalar: topluma bakarsak insanların birlikte kaynaşması. Amsta herkes yanına yaşıyor kaynaşmasa bile. Doğduğum büyüdüğüm evde her indsan tipinden var: faslı eşcinsel çift. Hepsikle kaynaşma şansı veriyor bu durum. Çocuk olarak bu mantıkla büyürsen normal görüyorsun. Toplum liderleri bu konu uzerine öncü olarak yol göstermeleri lazım. Tarık ramadan isviçteli prof mısırlı. Büyük katkıda bulunan bir prof hem fr hem ing biliyor hollandada bşrkaç sene calisti. Kendisi gayet muhafazakar ama aynı zamanda politik olarak liberal. Onun tutumu din açısındn eşcinsellik bizim açımızdan bşr sorun ama insanlara karşı tavrım baska bir sekilde olmalı. Saygı olmalı. Hollandada insanlar genelde bu tavırdadır. Seninle aynı dölüüncede olmasam bile en azından saygu duyacağım. Türkiyede bazı devlet bakanları dahil bu durumu hastalık olarak değerlendiriyor, yardım etmiyor. Sadece politikacılar değil dini liderlerin de bu konuda yardım etmesi lazım. En iyisi amsa bakarsan bir koalisyon yapmak. Çeşitli liderlerin bir araya gelmesi lazım. Her toplum kendi çıkarlarına bakıyor. Müslümanlar sdce kendi konularıyla, eşc,inseller sadce kendi konularıyla uğraşıyor; ikiyüzlülük aslında bu bir sorun. Bu sorunları cozmek istiyorsak müslüman eşcinselleri, eşcinseller müslümanlara saygı duyacak.

Bunları baskıyla yapmak çok zor bir şey, içten gelmesi lazım. Baskı dıştan geliyor neden güvenelim der.

Çözüm nasıl olabilir sizce?

Eğitimler,seminerler olabilir. Okullarda yaptığımız bir araştırmada çocuklar kendi sorunlarını paylaşıyor ama resimlerinin ve isimlerini göstermek istemiyor. Bu konu safe bir ortamda olmadığını gösteriyor. Politik dini liderler de böyle seyler soylemeli. Şehirlerde sosyal ekonomik farkları da kırmak lazım. Amsterdamda şöyle oluyor: devletin desteğiyle kiralanan evler var. Zengini fakiri yanyana oturuyor. Bu sorunları bu şekilde çözebiliriz. Amsterdam da 180den fazla etnik köken var bu mükemmel bir şey. Tabiki sorunlarımız da var mesela senede 3 4 kez eşcinsel sokakta şiddet görüyorlar partide diskoda gençlerle dövüşüyorlar. Bu bir sorun.

İnsanlar karşı olsa bile: özgürlük mutluluk. Sen istediğini yap başka birinin işine karışmaz. Tolerans diye bir şey var ama ben bunu bazen pro oolarak görüyorum. Ama bazen tolerans bazen demek oluyorki karışmıyorum ama sevmiyorum ilgilenmek istemiyorum. O kişiyi dinleyip aynı fikirde olmasak bile saygı duymak. Bu toleranstan daha güzel bir şey. Hollandada bu yüzden kimlik krizine düştük. Türk olmak nedir? Hollandada da aynı sorunu görüyoruz, insanlar ayrımcılık yapmak istiyor.

Yunus sorusu. Travmatik bir sonucu olabilir mi acaba kültür farklılığı yüzünden?

Hollanda başbakanı pek desteklemem genelde ama bu konuda haklı çünkü bu hollandanın konusu. Ayrıca çocuk hollanda vatandaşı. İkinciissi çocuğun iyiliğini düşünmeyip kendi çıkarlarına bakıyorlar. Ayrımcılık derken, ispatlanamayan bir ayrımcılık var. Bir kurum var eğer aile o çocuğa bakamıyorsa kurum çocuğu alıp başka bir aileye veriyor. Ordaki baska bir sorun türk ailerlerin çoğu o listede yok. Aile mahkemeden çocuğu geri istiyor mahkeme kabul ediyor verilen aileden tekrar istiyor. Ama mahkeme izin vermesine rağmen bu kurum engelliyor, çocuğu geri vermiyor. Bence burada bir ayrımcılık var. Türk ailesi çocukuna bakamıyor bizim insanlarımız daha iyi bakıyor anlayışı var ama bu ayrımcılığı kanıtlamak çok zor. Başka ailelere geri veriyor ama türk aile olunca bu sorun oluyor.

Ayrımcılık multifunctional. İşine yaradığı gibi kullanılıyor.

Hollanda eşcinsel evliliğin yasallaşması süreci toplumun istediği bir şey mi politik mi dernek başarısı

Bence halktan geliyor ilk etapta. 80lerde başlayan bir tartışma eşcinsel haklarına bakarsak hollanda ilk sıralarda oluyor. Eşcinsel sporcularımız politikacılarımız olması da büyük etken. Futbol kültürü maço bir kültür ama bazı sporlarda sorun değil.

Beni karıştırma ne yaparsan yap mantoıği var

Türkiyenin gelecegi hakkında ne düşünöyorsunuz?

Evlilik çok uzak ama güzel olan şey taksimde de gördük yürüyüşlerr oluyor. İnsanların görmesi önemli bir şey. Sokaga çıkıp ben eşcinselim demessi ve onların arasında eşcinsel olmayan insanların olması da çok önemli. Gay prideın amacı başladığında öyleydi. Son yıllarada biraz değışti ekonomik bir şey oldu.

Bazı eşcinseller gay pridedan hoşlanmıyor. Kimseye göstermek istemiyorum bu benim hayatımın bir parçası. O kimiliği kişi kendisi tanımlaması lazım. Dıştan tanımlamaya calisirsak bu bir sorun olur.

5.7. Gökkuşaağının Kızılı

Gökkuşaağının kızılı iki sene önce Mart ayında LGBT meselesine dair duyarlı olan, ayrımcılık karşıtlığının homofobi ve transfobiye de içermesi gerektiğini düşönen sosyalistler tarafından bir iletişim ağı olarak kuruldu. İki yıldır Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir'deki LGBT yürüyüşlerine katılmaktayız. Bunun yanında1 Mayıs ve Alevi mitingine de katıldık.

Türkiye eşcinsel haklarının korunması konsunda hangi noktada durmaktadır?

Türkiye burda kritik bir yerde duruyor. Türkiye'de ne LGBTlerin yasal güvenceye alınmış hakları var ne de LGBT olmak Türkiye'de yasal olarak suç, hastalık ilan edilmiş değil. Bir LGBT kimliğini açıkladığı için, LGBT yürüyüşlerine katıldığı için bu kimliğiyle kamusal alanda göröldüğü için yasal bir kovuşturmaye tabi tutulmuyor. Ancak bununla birlikte Türkiye bu kritik eşiğin neresine daha yakın yani Türkiye'de LGBTler haklarını kazanamaya mı daha yakın, yoksa bunun bir suç ve hastalık olarak ilan edilmesi mi daha yakın bir seçenek diye baktığımızda, ikincisi maalesef daha yakın görünüyor çünkü TSK'nın disiplin yönetmeliğinde eşcinsel olmak ordudan temelli ihraç sebebi yani bir tür suç. TSK'nın disiplin yönetmenliğinde en ağır suçlar arasında eşcinsel ilişkide bulunmak da var. Sayılan diğer suçlar Türk ceza kanunundaki ağır suçlar. TSK fiilen eşcinselliği suç saymış durumda. İleride

Türk ceza kanununda bir düzenleme yapılırsa rahatlıkla eşcinsellik de suç kapsamına alınabilir. Türkiye'de LGBT hareketinin geldiği güç buna müsaade etmez diye düşünüyorum. Türkiye şimdilik ortada bir yerde duruyor.

Eşcinsel evliliğin kişisel olarak yararları nelerdir? Devletten yasal bir statü alınması gerekiyor mu?

Ben burda olaya eşitlik bağlamında bakıyorum. Heteroseksüellerin evlenme, boşanma, nafaka, evlat edinme hakları varsa LGBTlerin de bu hakları olmalı. Evliliğin kendisi sorgulamak, aile kurumunu sorgulamak ayrı bir başlıktır. Heteroseksüellerin bu hakkı varsa LGBTlerin de olmalı. Olay en başta eşitlikle başlıyor. LGBTlerin Türkiye'de evlenme, evlat edinme, nafaka gibi hakları yok ama heteroseksüel yurttaşların var. Bu da sağcı bir bakış açısından geliyor. "Evlilik bir kadın ve bir erkek arasındaki akıttır." Sadece bir kadınla bir erkek evlenebilir, insan doğasına bu uygundur; diğer türlü insan doğasına, ahlaka, manevi değerlerimize aykırıdır gibi bir paradigmayla karşılaşıyoruz. Bunun kendisinin de sorgulanması gerekiyor. Avrupada bazı ülkelerde birliktelik de tanınıyor. Avrupada LGBTlerin kazandığı haklar mücadeleyle kazanıldı. Aynı mücadeleyi biz vermezsek bu haklardan mahrum kalırız.

Türkiye'de eşcinsellere yönelik bakış açısını nasıl görüyorsunuz? Irkçı bir bakış açısı mı var yoksa alışılmadık bir duruma duyulan bir çekince gibi mi?

Homofobiyi ben iki kısma ayırıyorum. Bir kısmı politik sebeplerden homofobikler. Eşcinsellik insan doğasına aykırıdır, bizim halkımızı ve kültürümüzü yozlaştırmak için ihraç edilmiştir, Türk islam kültürüne aykırıdır gibi daha politik bir homofobi de var. Birde gündelik homofobi dediğim insanların birbirine ibne diye küfrederken akıllarından eşcinsellik düşmanlığı geçirmedikleri bir homofobi var. Bir söylem, davranış alışkanlığı nedeniyle insanlar homofobik hakaretlerde bulunuyor. Kemikleşmiş politik homofobinin altında bir ideoloji yatıyor. Buna heteroseksizm de deniyor. Her insanın doğuştan heteroseksüel olması gerektiği yönündeki görüşe heteroseksizm deniyor. Bu ideolijinin karşılığını bulduğu yer sağ kulvar. Siyasetin sağ kulvarı her zaman erkek egemen bir dili kullanmıştır. Sağ düşüncelerde her zaman güç vurgusu vardır. Bunun figürleri erkeklerdir. Güçlü erkekler, güçlü devleti güçlü orduyu temsil etmektedirler. Erkek figürünün bu kadar öne çıktığı bir düzende o erkeğin heteroseksüel olması yanında eşinin çocuklarının olması gerekir. Tayyip Erdoğan

"evlenmeyi bile düşünmüyorlar" demişti. Erdoğan'a göre evlenmemek aylıklık, boş boş yaşamak anlamına geliyor. Kapitalis sistemde üretim ailede başlar. Türkiye'de ucuz işçiliğin olması için çok sayıda işçinin olması gerekiyor. Bu sömürü sistemini devam ettirebilmen için belirli bir nüfus artışı oranına ihtiyaç var. Tayyip Erdoğan'ın üç çocuk yapın demesinin bir nedeni de bu. Çocuk yapan aile heteroseksüel ailedir. Eşcinsel ailelerin evlat edinme gibi bir şansı var. Dolayısıyla sistemin devamlılığı bakımından heteroseksüel ailenin ve belirli oranda bir doğum hızının yakalanması şarttır. Eşcinsellik bu düzene çomak sokan bir unsur çünkü üreme odaklı değil. Aile kapitalizmde mülkiyet birliğidir, sevgi ve aşk birliği değildir. Çocuk yapmaya ve bu sistemi bir şekilde sürdürmeye yönelik bir birliktir. Eşcinsel evlilikler daha çok aşka ve sevgiye dayalı, özgür birlikteliklerdir.

Dinlerin eşcinsel evliliğe bakışını nasıl görüyorsunuz?

Dinler de erkek egemen ideolojilerdir. Dinlerin bakış açısına göre, tanrı insanı heteroseksüel yaratmıştır; eşcinsellik bir tür sapmadır. Hristiyanlık bu konuya ekol ekol bakıyor. Katolikler eşcinsellik konusunda çok katılardır ama bir takım başka kiliselerde eşcinsel evlilikler kısıyor. Fakat İslam'da durum çok daha farklı çünkü İslam'da Lut kavimine gönderme yapan ve o kavimin eşcinsel erkekler yüzünden topluca yokolduğunu anlatan bir ayet var. Kur'an da doğrudan eşcinsel birlikteliğe gönderme yapan böyle bir ayet olduğu için İslam'ın bu konudaki tutumu çok daha sert. İslam alimi olupta o ayet yoruma açıktır, orada eşcinsel düşmanlığı yoktur; küçük çocukların rızası olmadan cinsel ilişkiye girilmesine gönderme vardır diyen birkaç imam var. Burdan İslami hoşgörüyü bel bağlamak mümkün değil. Nerede İslami ideoloji güçlenirse kadın ve eşcinsel düşmanlığı da hemen peşinden geliyor. Bizim burada yapmamız gereken İslamın eşcinsel düşmanı olmayan marjinal yorumlarına bel bağlamak değil, LGBT olarak aydınlanma mücadelesi vermek. Din eşcinsel hakları konusunda sessiz kalmalıdır. Bu dini ilgilendirmez. Türkiye'nin önde gelen homofobikleri ya islamcıdır ya faşisttir. Bu tesadüfle açıklanamaz çünkü İslam ve sağcılar için evlilik erkek ve kadın arasındaki birliktir. Onlara göre herkes heteroseksüel olmalıdır, tanrı kadını böyle yaratmıştır.

Türkiye politikasında eşcinsellerin yerini nasıl görüyorsunuz?

Türkiye'de AKP'nin LGBT'ye karşı açıktan açığa duyurmadan izlediği bir politika var. Kimliği açık olan LGBT'leri marjinalleştirmek. kimliğini gizli yaşayan LGBT'leri ise daha dini bir hayat sürmeye itmek hatta mümkünse onları heteroseksüel bir hayat sürmeye itmek. Zaten Türkiye'de yaşayan LGBT'lerin büyük bir kısmı gizli, büyük bir kısmı evli. Bir suçluluk var aslında bu insanlarda LGBT olmaktan dolayı mutlu değiller. Toplumun onlara bunu öğrettiği için bunun günah olduğunu düşünüyorlar ama engel de olamıyorlar çünkü bu bir içgüdü. Tanrıya sığınarak arınmak ve toplumun bir parçası olduğunu göstermek istiyorlar dine sığınarak. Ama toplumda pek şansları yok ne dincilik ne milliyetçilik kendilerine LGBT kontenjanı açmaz. Eşcinsel olmak varolarak AKP'nin kurmaya çalıştığı yeni rejimle bir zıtlığa düşüyor. Cemil İpekçi muhafazakar bir eşcinsel. Cemil İpekçi açıktan Akp'ye oy verdiğini söylese de Akp onun eşcinselliğini övmez. Bir LGBT milletvekili adayı da gösterilemez, bir partiye üye de yapılamaz. Eşcinsel olmakla sağcı Türk islam hareketinin varoluşsal bir zıtlık durumu var.

Bazı LGBT'lerin eşcinsel kimliklerini gizlemeye çalışmalarının sebepleri nelerdir?

Birinci nedeni sağcı, islamcı ideolojiyi içselleştirmiş olmak. Aslında Türkiye'de pek çok LGBT de homofobiktir. Bu kulağa biraz garip geliyor. Bir eşcinsel homofobik olabilir mi? Pekala olabilir. Homofobiye sadece dar anlamıyla anlamamak gerekiyor. Eşcinselleri diğer yurttaşlarla eşit görmemek de homofobinin bir türüdür. Türkiye'de pek çok LGBT bu benim yatak odamla ilgili mesele neden bunun siyasetini yapayım diye düşünüyor. Bu senin kimliğinle ilgili bir ayrımcılık, bu konuda mücadele vermen gerekir. Bunu yapmıyorsan bu da bir homofobidir, ayrımcılığı, itilip kakılmayı içselleştirdiğini gösterir. LGBT'lerde örgütsüzlük problemi var.

Muhafazakar insanların eşcinsel evliliğin onaylanmasıyla geleneksel evliliğin yara alacağına dair düşünceleri var. Bu konu hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

Geleneksel evlilik denen kurumun sarsılıcağı çok açık. Sadece geleneksel aile yara almaz aynı zamanda o egemen ideoloji, sağcı Türk islam sentezine dayanan ideoloji de yara alacaktır. Türkiye'de eşcinsel evliliğe onay çıksa da o korku aşılmadan kimse başvuru yapamaz. Önce Türkiye'de solun güçlenmesi lazım, sağın etkisinin kırılması lazım. Bütün ayrımcılıkların gerilemesi lazım kiLGBT ayrımcılığı gerilesin, LGBT hakları gündeme gelsin. Yoksa parlamentodan bir yasa çıkması meselesi değil.

The Survey That We Wade for Our Street Interviews in Netherlands

1. Age:
2. Sex: Female / Male / Intersex
3. Occupation:
4. Education: None / High School / University / Master / phd
5. Origin:
6. District: Bos en lommer, Wester Park, De Baarsjek, Oud-West, Centrum, Oud Zuid, Noord, Zeeburg,Oost/Watergraafsmar, Zolder-Amstel, Slotervaart, Osdorp, Geuzenveld/Slotermeer, Westpoort, Zuidoost.
7. Political Ideology: Anarchism/ Communism/ Conservatism/ Environmentalism/ Liberalism /Feminism/ Nationalism/ Religious Fundamentalism/ Socialism/ Other
8. Religious Belief:
9. Involvement with the church: once a week / less / none
10. Involvement with the congregation
11. Sexual orientation: Heterosexual / Bisexual / Homosexual / Asexual

12. I know someone personally who is homosexual: Family / Friend
13. Sexual preference: inborn / choice / both
14. Perception to homosexuality: against / tolerated /don t care / agree
15. Homosexual relationships should be recognized by governments all around the world
16. If I had a neighbour who is homosexual, disturbing / don't care / okay
17. It is damaging for children to be adopted/foster cared by same-sex couples:
18. Adoption for same sex couples should be allowed: yes / no
19. I would be comfortable with my child being in a gay marriage
20. Homosexual man is a less man than a heterosexual man: yes / no
21. Homosexuality is a kind of disease that must be treated: yes / no
22. The one who is religious can also be homosexual: yes / no
23. My religious belief contradicts with acceptance of homosexuality:
24. My traditional and moral values contradict with acceptance of homosexuality:
25. Homosexual couples who are showing affection in public: against / tolerated /don t care / ok
26. Gay couples should have the equal rights with heterosexual couples: yes / no
27. Local officials should have the right to refuse to register gay marriages if it is against their conscious or their religion: yes / no
28. Living with people who have different background is disturbing / tolerated / don t care / ok
29. Most of the opponents of same-sex marriage in NI are consist of immigrants: yes / no

30. Dutch society indicates immigrants as the only opponents of same sex marriage because of their islamophobic perception against them.

31. The most important factor that contributes to acceptance of homosexuality in NL: traditions / education / religious belief / political preference

32. The most important factor that contributes to the legalization of same sex marriage in NL : non governmental organizations / media / government / society