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BEYOND RAINBOW CAPITALISM: USING PRIDE MARCHES
FOR INTERSECTIONAL ACTIVISM

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The truth is, no one of us can be free until everybody is free.

Maya Angelou

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I. ACRONYMS

ACLU – American Civil Liberties Union

APA – American Psychological Association

ECHR – European Commission of Human Rights

EU – European Union

LGBTIQ+ – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer and Other Gender Identities

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

WHO – World Health Organization

II. ABSTRACT

This thesis critically examines the utilization of Pride marches as a means to promote intersectional issues encompassing race, gender, and class, while also exploring the challenges that have emerged in this process. The study underscores the importance of intersectionality in comprehending the complexities of discrimination and marginalization, considering the intricate nature of human identity and the interplay between various identity components. The research traces the historical development of Pride marches, beginning with their origins as protests against LGBTIQ+ discrimination and progressing toward their adoption of a comprehensive and inclusive approach to addressing related concerns. Within the context of Pride marches, the study focuses on three key dimensions of intersectionality: racial, gender, and class intersectionality. The advantages of intersectional Pride marches include increased visibility of marginalized groups, fostering unity and solidarity, promoting intersectional advocacy, and amplifying voices from marginalized communities. However, the thesis also acknowledges several disadvantages, such as marginalization within the movement, limited representation of intersecting identities, tensions and conflicts arising from diverse viewpoints, and the potential for tokenism and appropriation. To provide a comprehensive analysis, the study incorporates a literature review, an exploration of intersectionality, a discussion on intersectional activism, an examination of challenges faced, and concluding reflections. Ultimately, the research aims to contribute to a more inclusive, equitable, and empowering Pride movement that recognizes and addresses the complexities of intersecting identities and experiences.

Keywords: Intersectionality, Pride marches, LGBTIQ+ movement, activism

1. Introduction

As a social organism, humans are inherently shaped by and integrated into a multitude of identity components from the early stages of development. These identity elements can encompass a range of characteristics such as cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and gender-related traits, among others, and can profoundly influence an individual's sense of self and their interactions with the world around them. The interplay between these different identity components can be complex and nuanced, and understanding how they intersect can be essential for comprehending the nature of human identity and social dynamics. Indeed, the multifaceted nature of identity components can lead individuals to seek out groups or communities that share similar characteristics or experiences. Such groups can provide a sense of belonging, validation, and opportunities for social support and collective action. This is particularly true for historically marginalized or underrepresented groups, who may have been excluded from dominant social structures and institutions. Organizing can take many forms, from informal gatherings and networks to more formalized social movements or advocacy organizations. By coming together, individuals can amplify their voices and effect change on both individual and systemic levels. In the context of our contemporary world, characterized by globalization and growing interpersonal interactions, individuals are more likely to possess multiple and interconnected identities such as racial, sexual orientation, national, religious, etc. These identities may intersect with one another, forming intricate and complex patterns. However, this complexity can also create challenges, as individuals may face discriminatory attitudes and behaviors from others who may not understand or appreciate the nuances of their intersecting identities. As a consequence, it is essential to recognize and address how intersecting identities can intersect with experiences of discrimination and marginalization. The concept of intersectionality was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 as a new approach to the different types of oppression and discrimination women experience. This approach rejects the idea that class, race, and gender are completely separate categories (Crenshaw, 1991) and draws attention to the experience of the combination of these different categories in the person (Crenshaw, 1991).

The early history of Pride marches can be traced back to the Stonewall riots in 1969, which were sparked by the resistance of LGBTIQ+ individuals against police

harassment and discrimination. These initial protests primarily focused on the specific issues faced by the LGBTIQ+ community in terms of sexual orientation and gender identity (Smith, 2020). The intersectional perspective and the recognition of the intersecting challenges faced by different marginalized groups within the LGBTIQ+ community developed over time as the movement progressed and expanded its scope. Pride marches have evolved to adopt an inclusive and comprehensive approach that addresses the intersecting challenges faced by marginalized groups within the LGBTIQ+ community, making them closely intertwined with the concept of intersectionality. According to Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality refers to the combined impact of multiple forms of power and oppression. To foster a more inclusive movement, Pride marches now recognize the need to amplify the voices of individuals marginalized due to their race, gender, class, or other intersecting identities. As a result, Pride marches have become a platform to advocate for racial equality, transgender rights, economic justice, and other related causes, aiming to dismantle oppressive structures that affect multiple marginalized communities. This research aims to examine how Pride marches have been employed to advance intersectionality and highlight the challenges encountered along the way and will focus on the intersectionality of gender, race, and class.

2. Research Question & Objectives

This study is based on the research question, "How have Pride marches been utilized to promote intersectional issues, encompassing race, gender, and class, and what challenges have arisen in this process?" In this vein, the historical development of Pride marches is examined, tracing their progress from the landmark events at the Stonewall Inn in 1969 to the current circumstances. The first part of the study examines the development of Pride marches over time, tracing the origins of the rainbow as an umbrella term, which was originally focused on advocating for sexual orientation rights and following its historical progression toward wider acceptance and involvement in issues of intersectional discrimination. In addition, an examination of intersectional activism is included.

A detailed review of the relevant literature is covered in the next chapter. It examines the evolution of Pride marches as a scholarly topic, surveys the literature relevant to

intersectionality, and broadens the perspective of sexual orientation and activism. An explanation of the methods used, including data collection and analysis for this research, follows the literature review in this chapter as well.

The third chapter elaborates on the basic principles and areas of intersectionality within the scope of this study, showing how intersectional activism has taken root within Pride marches. In addition to highlighting how race, gender, and class have shaped and expanded intersectional activism within the context of Pride marches, it also looks at how the idea of intersectionality has converged with activism and contributed to the success of intersectional endeavors in the social and political spheres. The issues that intersectionality and intersectional activism face within the framework of Pride marches are explored in the following chapter. It includes the history of Pride marches, a movement that started as a fight for the freedom of sexual orientations but expanded to include intersectional activism over time. It also includes a look at the conflicts that have developed between various groups working within this field and outlines the difficulties that have come to be associated with intersectional activism throughout time. This chapter also looks at strategies that intersectional activism has historically used and continues to utilize at present.

The study's analysis is given within a thorough framework in the last chapter, which concludes with an outline of conclusions. Discussions focus on highly relevant findings as well as both the theoretical and practical implications of these findings. The final chapter represents the last part of this research study as it summarizes the research results and makes simple suggestions for additional lines of inquiry.

3. Research Design & Methodology

Within the realm of social sciences literature, gender studies have made significant advancements in understanding social inequalities amidst the ongoing winds of cultural change. Initially, the focus of gender studies was primarily centered on the process of female identity construction. However, as the 1970s and 1980s unfolded, the field saw a noticeable paradigm shift, as mainstream feminist analysis gained prominence. This analytical framework emphasized how women's experiences and opportunities were intricately intertwined with the influences of capitalism and patriarchy (Butler, 1990). In the subsequent decade, the 1990s, gender studies witnessed another pivotal turn,

characterized by the rise of poststructuralism and subjectivism as prevailing theoretical approaches. During this era, scholars and researchers increasingly directed their attention toward comprehensive gender analyses, exploring a diverse array of themes. These themes encompassed an expansive range of subjects, including feminist studies, which delved into the complexities of women's lived experiences, and masculinity studies, which sought to understand the construction of masculinity within societal contexts (Adams and Savran, 2002). Concurrently, queer theory emerged as a powerful intellectual framework, questioning and deconstructing rigid norms related to sexuality, gender identity, and sexual orientation (Jagose, 1997; Corber and Valocchi, 2003). Moreover, since the 1990s, gender studies have expanded beyond theoretical explorations into practical policy considerations. The notion of gender mainstreaming has gained traction, advocating for the integration of gender perspectives into all aspects of policymaking and implementation. This approach recognizes that addressing gender inequalities requires a concerted effort to embed gender considerations into the fabric of society's institutions and practices. Additionally, cultural diversity has become a significant focal point in contemporary gender theory. Acknowledging the multifaceted nature of gender identities and expressions across diverse cultural contexts, scholars have embraced the idea that gender is not solely a universal construct but is shaped and influenced by various cultural factors.

Essentially, the development of gender studies in the social sciences literature-illuminating human experiences' complexities and philosophical changes that have addressed the complexity of social inequities and the fluidity of gender dynamics within the context of the ever-evolving cultural environment. Gender studies continue to play a crucial role in shining light on the complexities of human experiences and advancing more inclusive and equitable societies via a comprehensive knowledge of the interplay between gender, power, and culture. In addition, gender studies have moved past theoretical investigations into actual policy issues since the 1990s. The idea of "gender mainstreaming," which calls for incorporating gender viewpoints into all facets of legislation and execution, has gained support. This approach recognizes that addressing gender inequalities requires a concerted effort to embed gender considerations into the fabric of society's institutions and practices, taking into account how gender intersects

with other social categories such as race, class, and sexuality—an approach commonly known as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991).

Despite these advancements, it is critical to be watchful for any possible exploitation of gender-related issues for selfish ends. One such phenomenon is "pinkwashing," wherein groups and governments engage in strategic marketing while pretending to support LGBTIQ+ rights to draw attention away from other divisive topics or provide a progressive image. To make sure that these initiatives promote LGBTIQ+ rights and do not only serve as performative gestures, scholars and activists have emphasized the importance of critical awareness while analyzing these initiatives (Halperin, 2012). While considering significant events, the Stonewall Riots of 1969 occupy a crucial place in the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement. The rebellion, which was predominately spearheaded by transgender women of color, was a turning point in the struggle for LGBTIQ+ visibility and rights and ignited a massive amount of action. The history of Stonewall serves as a somber reminder of the ongoing fight for LGBTIQ+ rights and the significance of inclusive and interdisciplinary methods in the discipline of gender studies. Fundamentally, the development of gender studies in the literature of the social sciences has been characterized by transformational philosophical changes that have addressed the complexity of social inequities and the fluidity of gender dynamics within the context of the ever-evolving cultural environment. Gender studies continue to play a crucial role in illuminating human experiences' complexities and advancing more inclusive and equitable societies via a comprehensive knowledge of the interplay between gender, power, and culture. To ensure that gender studies continue to be genuinely committed to advancing marginalized communities and pursuing social sciences literature navigate the complexities of intersectionality, be aware of pinkwashing techniques, and take inspiration from historical landmarks like the Stonewall Riots. The concept of "intersectionality" finds its origins in black feminism, a theoretical framework that sought to contextualize the experiences of black women by considering the intersections of patriarchy, capitalism, and culture in their lives (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 1989). The feminist movement started to develop in the United States as a result of the cultural uniqueness and varied identities of black women and women of color, where this intellectual trajectory first took root. As a result, racial and ethnic discrimination was entwined with the problems these women faced. A well-

known feminist researcher named Bell Hooks emphasized second-wave feminism's shortcomings, arguing that its assertions of white women's superiority prevented black women from being fully emancipated and acknowledged within the feminist discourse (Hooks, 1981). Black feminism acquired a critical posture as it developed, focusing its analytical lens on the examination of socioeconomic and racial disparities that occurred among distinct groups of women (Davis, 2008; Hurtado, 2003). Black feminism paved the way for the idea of intersectionality by understanding the various axes of privilege and oppression that overlap in people's lives. This method challenged the idea of a singular feminist experience and promoted a more inclusive and nuanced view of women's different realities by illuminating the intricate relationships between race, gender, class, and other social factors. As the idea of intersectionality gained popularity, it moved beyond its roots in black feminism and emerged as a crucial analytical tool used by a variety of social scientific fields. It went beyond merely recognizing identities that overlapped to investigate how these intersections gave rise to various systems of dominance and exploitation. Researchers and activists are encouraged to take into account how various types of privilege and oppression are interrelated and how they affect how people perceive and have possibilities in society. Contemporary gender studies have expanded to include a variety of viewpoints and approaches by embracing the teachings of black feminism and intersectionality. The complexity of gender and identity has taken center stage in research as it now critically examines the interconnected oppressive mechanisms. Gender studies continue to expand our understanding of the complex interactions between gender, race, class, and other social factors to create more inclusive and fair societies by interacting with the multiple experiences of many groups of women. Intersectionality was frequently studied as the "Big Three" master categories based on class, race, and gender during the theoretical and empirical investigations in the 1990s (Davis, 1983; Segura 1993). Multiple oppressions were not organized hierarchically, according to Anthias and Yuval-Davis' critique (Anthias and Yuval-Davis; 1983). The biggest critique of the oppression categories having been stacked separately has come from black feminists in the US and gender academics in Europe (Yuval Davis, 2006; Davis, 2008). If we count the Big Three individually, the dimensions of discrimination could not be completely comprehended, according to black feminist Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1989). Thus, as a

pioneer, Kimberlé Crenshaw (a black female judge) identified and invented the concept of “intersectionality” which consisted of race, class, gender, and other identity dimensions, in the 2000s (Crenshaw, 1989). Since the 1980s, identity politics has unavoidably been an essential idea in evaluating the social dynamics of many cultures, especially in light of globalization and the ease of migration. The fundamental ideological pillars of the new global age include diversity, acceptance of differences, and inclusion of the "other." But starting in the 2000s, identity politics have been evolving all across the world. Along with culture, class, ethnicity, and gender, identity categories and dimensions also differ according to religion. These factors have caused identity politics to be largely included in the LGBTIQ+ movement, queer theory, and also feminist problems. Patriarchal practices in cultures and society, as well as constraints imposed by religion, particularly on women or LGBTIQ+ individuals, would be cited as examples of the current situation.

4. CHAPTER ONE: Intersectional Activism and Rainbow Capitalism

Pride marches have developed into an important focal point for the intersectional activism motion in recent years, with an emphasis on the intricate network of issues that LGBTIQ+ individuals experience at the intersections of gender, racism, and class. However, a worrying trend known as "rainbow capitalism" has surfaced within this changing environment. Although Pride celebrations are meant to be places for advocacy and togetherness, they have also developed into commercialized extravaganzas where businesses are increasingly looking to capitalize on LGBTIQ+ visibility. Important considerations concerning the co-optation of intersectional action by corporate interests are raised by this situation. To advance intersectionality, it is important to examine the conflicts and inconsistencies that arise when the pursuit of social justice collides with the workings of rainbow capitalism. At the same time, we must acknowledge the unwavering efforts of activists who fight to ensure that the true spirit of inclusivity prevails.

4.1 Rainbow Capitalism

The history of the difficult journey of LGBTIQ+ individuals, which began with the historic Stonewall events, has fostered a persistent culture of opposition in society. Although it has its roots in the initial defiance shown by gay people, this culture of

resistance has gradually grown to be a more all-encompassing and inclusive framework, expanding its sphere of influence and attracting the attention of a wider range of people over time. From the past to the present, action in social movements has emerged to create change in society or to stop an existing change (Durdu, 2013). This action in the LGBTIQ+ community, which started with the Pride marches, became a tradition celebrated in a festive atmosphere on a certain date, with the effect of globalization as time passed. In 1965, as the civil rights movement won new legislation outlawing racial discrimination, the first gay rights demonstrations took place in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., led by longtime activists Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings. The turning point for gay liberation came on June 28, 1969, when patrons of the popular Stonewall Inn in New York's Greenwich Village fought back against ongoing police raids of their neighborhood bar. Stonewall is still considered a watershed moment of gay pride and has been commemorated since the 1970s with "pride marches" held every June across the United States (Morris, 2019). In light of this information, this Pride marches culture started in the 1970s and took place in 102 countries in 2021 with many different elements, workshops, and events.¹ According to the 2021 Pride Around the World Report, the Pride marches were held in 102 countries and that number managed to attract the attention of multinational companies over time. Various advertising campaigns, show funding, open-identity LGBTIQ+ individuals used in advertisements, and the number of logos colored with rainbows increased day by day, and LGBTIQ+-friendly attitudes of multinational companies reached a remarkable level in June and July when Pride marches took place. Although there are various factors and elements behind this situation, it is clear that multinational companies see Pride marches and all the paths connected with the LGBTIQ+ movement as a market for themselves. According to the report published by Witeck Communications in 2014, the purchasing power of the LGBTIQ+ community in the USA was 884 billion dollars, and according to the 2015 report it was calculated as 917 billion dollars.²

Rainbow capitalism is the term for the corporate commodification and commercialization of LGBTIQ+ identities, causes, and symbols, frequently for profit. In

¹ <https://outrightinternational.org/our-work/human-rights-research/2021-pride-around-world-report>

² <https://www.witeck.com/pressreleases/2015-buying-power/>

the queer and activist communities, it is a word that describes how capitalism appropriates and weakens the fundamental aims of the LGBTIQ+ movement. It focuses on how capitalism appropriates and commercializes LGBTIQ+ causes, experiences, and symbols for the sake of profit, with special emphasis on the phenomenon's gendered elements. Rainbow capitalism is examined through a critical perspective on the subject of gender studies that take into account power relationships, social injustices, and the ways that capitalism intersects with gender and sexuality.

Rainbow capitalism refers to the commercialization and marketing of LGBTIQ+ identities and experiences by commercial enterprises (Duggan, 2002). Companies started using this strategy when they realized how profitable it might be to support LGBTIQ+ causes and customers. The term 'rainbow capitalism', often referred to as corporate co-optation, happens when companies utilize LGBTIQ+ rhetoric or symbols, like the rainbow flag, to market themselves as accepting and pro-LGBT rights. This phenomenon involves several actions, such as using LGBTIQ+-themed advertising campaigns, Pride events sponsorship, and the sale of goods with LGBTIQ+ themes. The rainbow flag and other LGBTIQ+ symbols have been made into marketed commodities, which may have diminished their original political and symbolic relevance. All those social institutions are affected by the processes of commodification, even if capitalism is a mode of production distinguished by the economic activity of extracting surplus value through commodity exchange (Hennessy, 1994). While some businesses truly support LGBTIQ+ rights, it's crucial to understand that some may do so mainly for commercial and financial reasons (Ramírez, 2011). Many scholars have investigated the causes of rainbow capitalism and its effects on consumer culture and LGBTIQ+ advocacy. The consumer co-optation of LGBTIQ+ rights in modern capitalism illustrates how businesses profit from the community's rising visibility and marketability. By incorporating LGBTIQ+ themes and symbols, businesses hope to improve their brand recognition and attract more LGBTIQ+ customers. It should be taken into account that, when addressing rainbow capitalism, ethical issues also come into play. Customers may support or reject brands based on their perceived alignment with LGBTIQ+ rights, as ethical commitments and self-identity play a role in their decisions. This demonstrates how critical it is to comprehend consumer behavior and

the potential effects of rainbow capitalism on brand reputation and customer loyalty (Shaw & Shiu, 2002).

In the realm of LGBTIQ+ rights, a nuanced exploration of rainbow capitalism and its correlation with the concept of pinkwashing can offer a more comprehensive understanding. Rainbow capitalism, characterized by the commercial appropriation of LGBTIQ+ symbols and culture by profit-driven entities, becomes particularly significant when examined in conjunction with pinkwashing, a public relations strategy deployed by states, organizations, or corporations to divert attention from human rights violations through the promotion of LGBTIQ+-friendly narratives. Analyzing the interplay between these two phenomena sheds light on the complexities and implications of capitalist exploitation and identity politics in the quest for authentic advocacy and social change within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Jasbir Puar, a professor in Women's and Gender studies at Rutgers University, describes pinkwashing as "a public relations strategy employed by states, organizations, and corporations that deploy pro-LGBTIQ+ rhetoric and imagery to obfuscate their violations of Palestinian human rights." The Israeli government utilized its alleged record on LGBTIQ+ rights to deflect attention from its violations of international law and occupation of Palestinian areas, which gave rise to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Puar, 2011). Analyzing the complex relationships between identity politics, corporate social responsibility, and the commercialization of LGBTIQ+ concerns becomes essential in the analysis of pinkwashing. We can better grasp how this tactic may be both empowering and exploitative by conversing with academics like Sarah Schulman, whose research on the effects of pinkwashing on LGBTIQ+ communities raises doubts about the sincerity and efficacy of allyship (Schulman, 2018). According to queer theorist Kenyon Farrow, rainbow capitalism is the "appropriation of LGBTIQ+ symbols and culture by corporations as a means of profit-making." The use of rainbow-themed products and branding by businesses to appeal to LGBTIQ+ customers is especially common during Pride Month or other LGBTIQ+ awareness periods (Farrow, 2006). However, both academics and activists have criticized this commercialization. Ju Hui Judy Han contends that the corporatization of Pride by rainbow capitalism can result in the "depoliticization and co-option of queer liberation narratives" in her research on LGBTIQ+ activism in the neoliberal period (Han, 2018). This phenomenon necessitates

studying how consumerism interacts with LGBTIQ+ and other minority sexual identities, sociopolitical advocacy, and the conflicts between corporate profit-seeking and true corporate allyship. Pinkwashing and rainbow capitalism are ideas that describe complex, connected concerns in the area of LGBTIQ+ rights. Jasbir Puar's phrase "pinkwashing," which refers to the deliberate use of LGBTIQ+ inclusion to draw attention away from more urgent human rights concerns, was first used in 2011. Researchers may explore the complexity of official propaganda and its manipulation of LGBTIQ+ narratives by examining incidents like the pinkwashing scandal in Israel. This research must also take into account how pinkwashing simultaneously strengthens queer voices while undermining the validity and authenticity of their concerns, according to Sarah Schulman's argument (Schulman, 2018). The monetization of LGBTIQ+ symbols and culture by profit-driven businesses is also highlighted by "rainbow capitalism," as coined by Kenyon Farrow (Farrow, 2006). The corporatization of Pride and its possible consequences on depoliticizing and co-opting gay liberation narratives must be examined in light of this trend, as Ju Hui Judy Han says (Han, 2018).

As a result, research into pinkwashing and rainbow capitalism reveals complex connections between identity politics, consumer culture, corporate accountability, and the difficulties of maintaining true allyship and social change in a capitalist system. In the realm of social existence, humanity is inherently molded and integrated by a plethora of distinct identity constituents that take root in the early phases of development. These components of identity encompass a diverse spectrum of attributes, including cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and gender-related characteristics, among others. These intricate facets wield a profound sway over an individual's perception of self as well as their interactions within the surrounding milieu. The interplay amid these assorted facets of identity yields a convolution imbued with subtlety, warranting an in-depth comprehension of their intersections to fathom the essence of human identity and the underpinning dynamics of society. The multi-dimensional character inherent in these identity elements can impel individuals to gravitate toward collectives or communities characterized by analogous traits or experiences. Such associations provide a sense of affiliation, validation, and avenues for communal backing and concerted initiatives. This phenomenon bears heightened significance for historically marginalized or underserved cohorts, who might have been excluded from prevailing

societal frameworks and establishments. These cooperative endeavors can manifest diversely, ranging from informal congregations and networks to more structured sociopolitical movements or advocacy bodies. By amalgamating, individuals can magnify their voices and catalyze change across both personal and systemic strata. Amid the backdrop of our modern era, characterized by globalization and escalating interpersonally interwoven connections, individuals are more prone to possess manifold and interconnected identities, spanning the realms of race, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, and more. These identities may interweave, engendering intricate and intricate configurations. Nonetheless, this intricacy simultaneously begets challenges, as individuals might confront prejudiced attitudes and conduct from others who fall short in their grasp or appreciation of the nuanced intersections of these identities. Consequently, it becomes imperative to acknowledge and address the confluence of intersecting identities with experiences of bias and marginalization. The concept of intersectionality, propounded by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, inaugurated a novel framework to fathom the varied strains of oppression and discrimination encountered by women. This paradigm eschews the notion that categories like class, race, and gender stand apart, instead spotlighting the amalgamation of these categories within an individual's lived reality. The realm of discrimination, therefore, necessitates recognizing that an individual's identity is intricate and multi-faceted. For instance, being a Muslim, a refugee, or a woman, each constitutes an identity capable of engendering bias. However, when these identities coalesce, yielding designations like "Muslim refugee woman," the resulting discrimination could be markedly distinct and molded by the unique amalgamation.

Merely scrutinizing discrimination stemming from isolated facets of an individual's identity proves to be inadequately comprehensive. To holistically apprehend the contours of discrimination experienced by a person, a scrutiny of the dynamics within their milieu becomes imperative. The experiences of an individual who identifies singularly as a Muslim, a refugee, or a woman deviate from those of an individual characterized as a "Muslim refugee woman." This is precisely where the concept of intersectionality, as envisaged by Crenshaw, assumes paramount significance. Intersectionality recognizes that discrimination can arise from the convergence of numerous dimensions within an individual's identity. While Crenshaw's initial

presentation of this concept addressed discrimination experienced by women, its application has since extended to a myriad of identity elements across the social sciences. For instance, the discrimination encountered by a Kurdish individual in Turkey due to their ethnic identity diverges from the discrimination faced by an individual identifying as both Kurdish and homosexual. In the former instance, discrimination emanates exclusively from ethnic identity, whereas in the latter, it springs forth from both ethnic identity and sexual orientation. Moreover, intersectionality has evolved into a pivotal paradigm for comprehending and dissecting bias faced by individuals who possess intricate, multi-faceted identities. In this vein, intersectionality has emerged as a cross-border analytical framework aimed at an all-encompassing exploration of the intricate network of power hierarchies. It offers a vantage point through which to grasp the exhaustive experiences of individuals navigating the labyrinth of intersecting marginalizations. Additionally, it facilitates the observation and analysis of the hurdles encountered by individuals grappling with multifarious strata of oppression in social existence. (Choo, 2012; Collins, 2012; Geerts & van der Tuin, 2013; Hancock, 2011; Kim-Puri, 2005). The genesis of Pride marches traces its roots to the historic Stonewall riots of 1969, a catalytic uprising sparked by the defiance of LGBTIQ+ individuals against the backdrop of persistent police harassment and discrimination. These initial protests predominantly centered on the distinct challenges confronting the LGBTIQ+ community about sexual orientation and gender identity (Smith, 2020). However, the evolution of the movement over time has ushered in an intersectional perspective that acknowledges and addresses the intersecting predicaments faced by various marginalized factions within the LGBTIQ+ milieu. This transformative trajectory has endowed Pride marches with an all-encompassing and comprehensive approach, one that grapples with the entwined challenges confronting marginalized subgroups within the LGBTIQ+ community, thereby rendering them intrinsically entwined with the essence of intersectionality. As articulated by Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality delineates the composite impact of multiple forms of power and oppression.

The contemporary ethos of Pride marches acknowledges the imperativeness of elevating the voices of individuals marginalized due to their race, gender, class, or other intertwining identities. Consequently, these marches have evolved into a platform that

advocates for racial parity, transgender rights, economic equity, and kindred causes, with the overarching goal of dismantling oppressive frameworks that adversely impact a range of marginalized collectives. The ensuing inquiry aims to investigate the role of Pride marches in advancing intersectionality, illuminate the impediments encountered along the trajectory, and center on the intricate interplay of gender, race, and class. To ensure methodical progress, a succinct taxonomy was implemented for contextual coherence.

Racial Intersectionality: Pride marches have progressively embraced the experiences of LGBTIQ+ individuals hailing from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. These marches have instigated the emergence of intersectional Pride movements such as Black Pride and Latinx Pride, dedicated to amplifying the voices of marginalized communities within the LGBTIQ+ spectrum. Johnson (2018) contends that "Racialized Pride events create spaces for people of color to discuss and challenge the specific issues they face." Nevertheless, harmonizing collaboration between racial and LGBTIQ+ communities remains a challenge, underscoring the need to embrace diverse experiences while navigating potential tensions.

Gender Intersectionality: Pride marches have emerged as a critical platform to elevate awareness and advocate for the rights of transgender and gender non-conforming individuals. These marches have galvanized the mobilization of transgender communities and facilitated the articulation of their distinct challenges. Grant and Nguyễn (2019) assert that "Transgender Pride events have become spaces where gender non-conforming individuals can demand recognition, respect, and equality."

Nevertheless, the inclusion of transgender individuals has encountered resistance both within and outside LGBTIQ+ spaces. Achieving authentic gender intersectionality demands persistent efforts to challenge cisgender privilege and engender inclusiveness.

Class Intersectionality: Pride marches have cast a spotlight on the confluence of LGBTIQ+ identity and socioeconomic class. Activists have underscored the disparities affecting LGBTIQ+ individuals from lower-income backgrounds, advocating for economic justice. Donovan and Patel (2019) underline that "Pride events have increasingly focused on issues such as housing insecurity, employment discrimination, and healthcare disparities." Notwithstanding, socioeconomic barriers persist, with financial constraints often curbing the participation of individuals from economically

disadvantaged backgrounds. Fostering class intersectionality mandates conscious endeavors to ensure the accessibility and inclusivity of Pride events for all.

4.2 Benefits and Drawbacks of Integrating Intersectional Activism in Pride Marches

Pride marches have substantively propelled intersectional concerns within the purview of the LGBTIQ+ movement. Nevertheless, challenges persist, spanning tensions among marginalized groups to resistance against transgender rights and economic impediments. Rigorous academic exploration and dialogic engagement are imperative to address these challenges and nurture a more inclusive, equitable, and empowering Pride movement. As posited by Cho et al. (2013), "Recognizing the intersections of race, gender, and class within the LGBTIQ+ movement is essential for creating meaningful social change and dismantling systems of oppression." Additionally, it is imperative to scrutinize the advantages and drawbacks intrinsic to Pride marches vis-à-vis the concept of intersectionality. Consequently, within scenarios where pride marches embody intersectionality, a range of occurrences manifest that can be delineated as both benefits and drawbacks. Intersectional Pride marches yield a spectrum of advantageous outcomes that fortify the movement's ethos. By serving as dynamic platforms, these marches grant voice to individuals representing overlapping marginalized groups, notably encompassing LGBTIQ+ individuals of color and transgender persons, facilitating the assertive articulation of their unique tribulations and lived experiences.

This heightened visibility not only thrusts their narratives into prominence but also underscores the intricate challenges they grapple with within the intricate fabric of societal norms and expectations. Furthermore, these marches foster an environment of collaboration and collective action, nurturing solidarity and unity across a diverse array of prejudices and oppressions. This unification galvanizes individuals and communities to converge under a shared banner, forging a potent alliance to confront multifaceted biases and injustices. Moreover, this collaborative endeavor augments a sense of shared purpose, marshaling individuals from varied backgrounds to collectively address systemic issues. In essence, the comprehensive approach to advocacy becomes the hallmark of intersectional Pride marches, transcending the confines of singular

dimensions of identity-based struggles. By spotlighting the intricate intersections of identities and unveiling the pervasive issues of racism, sexism, ableism, and classism, these marches metamorphose into platforms for multifaceted advocacy. This broadened scope effectively challenges the existing order, propelling the demand for a more nuanced comprehension of the layered challenges encountered by LGBTIQ+ individuals, thereby catalyzing action across an expanded spectrum of social justice domains.

Finally, the voices of underrepresented constituencies are amplified through intersectional Pride marches, providing a compelling platform that goes beyond mere visibility. Here, individuals who have historically been marginalized or muted gain both prominence and the agency to express their perspectives, imbuing their narratives with resounding resonance. This amplification extends its influence beyond the event itself, acting as a transformative catalyst for broader societal dialogue and change. As previously indicated, this circumstance entails certain strengths and weaknesses for the movement. The ensuing detriments are outlined below. While intersectional Pride marches encompass numerous advantages, they also give rise to a spectrum of challenges that warrant scrutiny. One such challenge pertains to marginalization within the movement itself, despite earnest endeavors to cultivate diversity. Critics contend that specific intersections, such as those rooted in race or socioeconomic class, might persistently find themselves overlooked or relegated to the margins during conventional Pride celebrations, thereby perpetuating entrenched inequities within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Despite a professed commitment to inclusivity, ensuring genuine representation of the multiplicity of intersecting identities proves to be a complex endeavor. This complexity arises from the inherent difficulty of accounting for the myriad facets that constitute these intersections, leading to instances where certain groups, despite best intentions, perceive themselves as excluded or inadequately represented in the strategic planning and decision-making stages of Pride events.

The embrace of intersectionality can introduce its own set of challenges, manifesting as tensions and frictions among disparate groups brought together under the banner of Pride. This stems from the divergence in priorities, viewpoints, and advocacy strategies that arise from the varying lived experiences of these groups. Consequently, navigating the multifaceted landscape of intersectionality demands a careful and intricate balance

to mitigate potential conflicts. Another critical concern revolves around the risk of tokenism and appropriation within intersectional Pride marches. While the intention might be to authentically represent diverse identities, there exists a looming peril of certain identities or experiences being co-opted or reduced to mere tokens, resulting in superficial representation devoid of substantive engagement and genuine participation. This potential for tokenization undermines the overarching goal of fostering inclusive spaces and can undermine the authenticity of the movement's objectives. Therefore, as intersectional Pride marches chart a complex terrain, it becomes imperative to navigate these challenges with sensitivity and a commitment to fostering genuine inclusion and equitable representation. A paradigm change in the field of LGBTIQ+ advocacy results from the merging of intersectionality and Pride marches, fundamentally altering the nature of these gatherings. Intersectionality is the concept that people's social and political identities and the associated experiences of oppression cannot be neatly divided into discrete categories (Crenshaw, 1989). Bell Hooks observes that this transformational transition is marked by both exciting developments and challenging problems. The intersectional approach to feminism empowers us to address the complexities of the world. (Hooks, 2000) This empowerment emphasizes the need for a complex knowledge of the intersectionality's various ramifications within Pride marches. The encouraging improvements brought about by this transformation are echoed in Audre Lorde's statement: "Our silence will not protect us." The acceptance of intersectionality has helped marginalized populations become more visible within LGBTIQ+ spaces, reflecting the need to eliminate the taboo around their experiences. This is furthered by Roxane Gay's statement that "Visibility means seeing ourselves reflected in the media and the world around us." The potential of this visibility to offer a concrete depiction of identity, which translates into a more inclusive movement, is what gives it its revolutionary force. Janet Mock also points out that "Visibility alone does not end the struggle." Intersectional advocacy presents complex problems that need careful thought. Intersectionality isn't just about identities; it's about systems (Crenshaw, 1989). This insight emphasizes how difficult it is to confront the oppressive structures that are ingrained in many identities. Roxane Gay's warning rings true as Pride marches traverse these complexities: "We have to be able to talk about uncomfortable subjects. We need to be able to speak openly with each other. This plea for openness

acknowledges that intersectionality's transformation necessitates an honest discussion of the difficulties it reveals. The theory is not inherently healing but is particularly relevant to this change. (Hooks, 2000) Theory cannot bring about change on its own. Practice must be combined with it. Actionable actions toward inclusion, comprehension, and cooperation are necessary to adapt to the paradigm change brought on by the integration of intersectionality. The evolutionary change sparked by the combination of intersectionality and Pride marches is a continual process that necessitates continuing participation and a deep commitment to overthrowing related oppressive structures. A thorough strategy is needed to more effectively include intersectional activism in Pride marches. This entails forming cooperative partnerships with organizations focusing on racial justice, disability rights, and more; creating diverse planning committees that include marginalized voices; curating a multifaceted program that includes workshops and discussions on various intersecting identities; guaranteeing meaningful representation of diverse communities in all aspects of the event; providing accessible infrastructure for those with disabilities; and amplifying the voices of those communities. A more comprehensive awareness of the various interconnections of identities and problems within the LGBTIQ+ community is fostered by this all-encompassing approach, which also makes Pride marches more inclusive and significant. In summary, Pride marches provide a venue where different identities may converge, common challenges can be acknowledged, and advocacy can go beyond the confines of a particular topic. This serves as a fertile ground for intersectional activism. As these gatherings develop, they provide a chance for meaningful conversation, empowerment, and group action that adhere to the intersectionality tenets.

5. CHAPTER TWO: PRIDE MARCHES: HISTORY & EVOLUTION

5.1 Conceptual Framework of Gender, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation Notions

Upon examination of the notion of gender in its fundamental essence, it can be construed as encompassing specific physiological and biological attributes that delineate the male and female categorizations of individuals. The significance of gender becomes

pronounced as a noteworthy sociocultural construct when interlinked with societal roles, forming the focal point of the forthcoming scholarly analysis.

The term "gender" serves to articulate anatomical and physiological distinctions that commonly underlie the classification of the human physique into male or female categories (Giddens, 2008). Gender, in essence, manifests as the condition of being identified as female or male, a characterization rooted in the genetic, biological, physiological, physical, and anatomical attributes inherent to the individual (Karadağ, 2008). As per the present iteration of the Oxford Dictionary's online edition, "Sex is the state of being male or female." (25 July 2023) Beyond physiological and biological attributes, distinct characteristics pertain to both males and females. Moreover, societal stereotypes come into play regarding this matter, with women often perceived as more emotionally attuned, while men are associated with greater emotional resilience. Scrutinizing these prevailing generalizations reveals an intricate interplay between physical traits and culturally nurtured aspects, forming an interconnected composite. The term used for this concept is referred to as "gender." It pertains to the societal expectations and duties that are impressed upon individuals of varying genders within diverse cultures, historical periods, and geographical contexts. Gender constitutes a societal classification that overlays the physical embodiment of a particular gender (Scott, 2007). The notion of gender delineates the sociocultural disparities existing between males and females. It hinges upon socially formulated ideals of masculinity and femininity, diverging from an individual's biological sex. This demarcation between sex and gender holds pivotal importance, as the majority of disparities between males and females are not inherently grounded in biology (Giddens, 2008). As per Ann Oakley's perspective, while the concept of gender initially alludes to the biological differentiation between males and females, it concurrently signifies the imbalanced societal, psychological, economic, political, and cultural stratification among individuals of diverse genders within the societal sphere (Marshall, 1999-2003). Anthony Giddens posits that gender encapsulates the spiritual, societal, and cultural distinctions existing between males and females, with no substantiated indication of these disparities having biological underpinnings. Analogous to the absence of an inherent "essence" within gender, even the human body remains susceptible to alteration through the impact of societal forces and technological interventions (Giddens, 2008).

Irrespective of the specific societal or historical context, the circumstance of being born as either male or female constitutes an intrinsic facet of our biological reality, akin to our inherent mortality. A conspicuous contrived dichotomy emerges with the deliberate predilection for associating pink hues with paraphernalia destined for infant girls and blue hues for infant boys, even preceding their actual birth. As delineated earlier during our explication of the gender concept, it is imperative to accord due consideration to the social facet inherent within gender distinctions. While gender is undeniably grounded in the biological attributes of individuals (used for the system that accepts binary gender identification), it is paramount to recognize that the manifestation of gender is intrinsically entwined with sociocultural construction. Consequently, while gender is inherently rooted in biological distinctions between male and female categorizations, its multifaceted dimensions are considerably molded, constructed, and articulated through the intricate interplay of societal norms, cultural conventions, and historical contingencies. This synthesis engenders the intricate tapestry of gender identities, roles, and expectations, which are inherently dynamic and contingent upon the specific sociocultural context. In essence, gender represents an amalgamation of biological foundations and sociocultural constructions, reinforcing the notion that a comprehensive understanding of gender necessitates the recognition of both its biological origins and the intricate web of social constructs that shape its expression. Irrespective of the nuanced interpretations that may be ascribed to its substance, the structural paradigm of gender differentiation invariably adheres to the binary dialectic of masculinity and femininity. This conceptual framework invariably conveys the notion of gender identity, particularly in situations where sexual differentiation is narrowly confined to the dichotomy between men and women (Butler, 1990). This articulation underscores how the bifurcation between masculine and feminine constructs persistently informs the comprehension of gender, regardless of variances in perspective. Gender identity, in contrast, encompasses the intricate interplay through which individuals cognitively and emotionally internalize and acknowledge themselves within a specific gender framework. This conceptual construct underscores the notion that individuals configure their affective responses and behavioral patterns congruent with their perceived gender classification (Babacan, 2003). This intricate interplay between the individual's self-perception, emotional resonance, and behavioral responses coalesce to formulate their

gender identity. It entails a profound alignment between one's embodied sense of self and the socially ascribed gender classification, serving as a template upon which emotional experiences and behavioral expressions are predicated. Moreover, this nexus extends to the intricate orchestration of one's orientation, where the individual embarks upon the process of establishing a congruous and harmonious alignment between their gender identity and contextually informed behavioral tendencies. In essence, gender identity represents a complex confluence that interweaves one's perception of self, emotional resonance, behavioral manifestations, and alignment within a specific gender paradigm. According to contemporary discourse, an emergent trend has been observed across both popular and scholarly elucidations concerning gender, wherein the assertion posited is that gender identity occupies an exclusive and pivotal role in the determination of an individual's gender classification. This perspective advances the notion that the categorization of gender hinges solely upon an individual's subjective process of self-identification within a gender framework (Barnes, 2022). This perspective embodies a paradigm shift in the understanding of gender, decentering traditional conceptualizations that tether gender predominantly to external factors such as biological attributes or societal norms. Instead, it underscores the ascendancy of an individual's internalized sense of gender identity as the prime determinant, wherein their self-recognition and alignment within a specific gender realm holds primacy. This ontological shift in the comprehension of gender culminates in the contention that the assertion of one's gender is inherently grounded in their personal, introspective recognition and authentication, thereby elevating the individual's autonomy in gender classification. This inclination challenges conventional paradigms and accentuates the multifaceted nature of gender identity as a dynamic interplay between self-perception, social context, and individual agency. In addition to these, it would be appropriate to analyze sexual orientation as a term in this context. It is important to look at all definitions of sexual orientation, we can see that they include elements related to the erotic desire of the person or the sexuality of the person they desire. Therefore, psychological or behavioral explanations stand out in each definition. Some definitions are based on the self-perception and/or acceptance of the person and his/her/their self-description as an individual, i.e. his/her/their sexual identity. Sexual orientation is related to the direction of attraction that a person feels sexually and emotionally

(Giddens, 2008). Sexual orientation is used instead of the term "sexual preference" used in the past. When the word preference is used, it indicates a conscious meaning by adding the meaning of 'favoring'. Since sexual identity is a condition that exists against the will of the individual, it is not conscious. Tüzer (2004) states that there are three components of sexual orientation; impulse (to whom/what one has desire), behavior (what kind of behavior one shows with whom), and sexual interest/love (interest in the opposite sex, same-sex or both sexes).

As we can see in the components mentioned by Tüzer, it can be said that sexual orientation is independent of the sexual identity of the human individual. In 1994, Judith Lorber divided sexual identities into 10 categories: heterosexual woman, heterosexual man, lesbian woman, gay man, bisexual woman, bisexual man, transvestite woman (a woman who always dresses as a man), transvestite man (a man who always dresses as a woman), transsexual woman (a man who becomes a woman) and transsexual man (a woman who becomes a man) (Giddens, 2008). Although this categorization is explained within the binary gender system, today's LGBTIQ+ individuals argue that sexual identities are a very wide range.

5.1.1 Heterosexuality

The term heterosexual was formed by combining the Greek word "heteros" meaning "different" and the Latin word "sexualis" meaning "sexual" (Klein, 2000). Although the history of such sexual tendencies is as old as human history, it is surprising that the first terms to explain this type of sexual tendency were produced in the late 1800s. Michael Foucault explains this situation by the fact that people need concepts when they need to explain or convey an action, situation or thought to others (Russell, 2006).

ALOOKEY Sexual Health Platform defines heterosexuality in the simplest way as "having a sexual interest in individuals of the opposite sex and wanting to have sexual intercourse with them". In short, men who are interested in women and women who are interested in men are heterosexual. Heterosexuality is not something that a human individual can choose or voluntarily decide. Heterosexuality, like any sexual orientation, is both a physical and emotional attraction, but an individual can be heterosexual even without having an emotional or sexual experience. Sexual activity in early childhood often takes the form of masturbation and exploratory play, which may

be directed towards children of the same or other sex. In late childhood and adolescence, children seek the company of peers of the same sex and avoid relationships with peers of the opposite sex. This gender segregation limits opportunities for heterosexual activity, but it does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in the other sex (Brannon, 2002).

Heterosexuality is a term used to describe all emotional or sexual relationships between human individuals of different genders. In general, it is the most widely accepted and realized sexual orientation in today's societies. The most important reason for this is that heterosexuality is the only type of sexual orientation in which reproduction can take place without any need for sexual intercourse. For this reason, it is defined as "normal" by many people. The density in the population and those who differ from this density are also characterized as "abnormal" or "deviant".

5.1.2 Homosexuality

The term homosexuality (homosexuality) is a term used to describe all sexual and/or emotional relationships between human individuals belonging to the same gender group. People with such sexual or emotional orientation are also called homosexuals. Foucault states that "Homosexuality, which is not a type of sexual interest, but an indicator of sexual sensitivity, is also the tendency of men and women to desire to have sexual relations with members of their sex". The term homosexual refers to the sexual and/or emotional orientation of both male and female individuals with individuals of the same sex. The use of the word "homosexual" is not appropriate by many researchers due to the negative meaning that exists in societies and the fact that the dimension of the relationship between homosexual individuals is considered to be only sexual. For this reason, individuals with same-sex orientation between men are called "gay"; individuals with same-sex orientation between women are called "lesbian" and it is noteworthy that it is more widely used in many societies. Although it is a negative point of view, we can say that the number of individuals with non-heterosexual sexual orientation in most societies is higher than it is thought based on Kinsey's research. Although the research was conducted in 1938, the democratic perspective formed in the societies after the Republic and Post-modernism shows certain changes in the ability of people to express themselves more accurately in research, the fact that the data of this research can be

used in current sources allows us to conclude that there are no sharp differences in values. In Kinsey's survey, 37 percent of men reported having had at least one sexual experience with another man - an orgasmic experience - compared to 13 percent of men who reported having had sexual intercourse with another man either fully or exclusively. Of the women surveyed, 28 percent reported at least some sexual experience with another woman, but only 7 percent reported that it was strictly lesbian sexuality. Although disputed by later researchers as having some biases, Kinsey's survey revealed that the number of homosexual individuals was higher than previous estimates (Giddens, 2008). Due to the negative connotation of homosexuality in society, homosexuality was initially seen as a type of disease, and for this reason, many scientists have focused on the causes of homosexuality. It was claimed that homosexuality emerged due to hereditary disorders, hormonal irregularities, social learning, wrong parental attitudes, cultural factors, brain-related damages, and various emotional problems (Çekirge, 1991). Research on twins is promising in understanding whether homosexuality has a hereditary basis since twins share the same genes. In two related studies (Bailey 1991; Pillard 1993), Bailey and Pillard analyzed 167 pairs of boys and 143 pairs of girls in which both siblings lived in the same family and at least one sibling identified as homosexual. Some of these pairs of children were identical twins (sharing all genes), some were fraternal twins (sharing some genes), and some were adopted siblings (sharing no genes). The researchers concluded that if sexual orientation were determined purely biologically, every identical twin sibling would have to be homosexual because their genes were identical. Among fraternal twins, only some pairs should be homosexual because only some genes are shared. The lowest rate of homosexuality should be found among adopted siblings since they do not share any genes. The results of this study seem to indicate that homosexuality is a combination of biological and social factors. Among the men and women in the study, almost half of the identical twins, one-fifth of the fraternal twins, and one-tenth of the half-siblings were homosexual. In other words, a man or woman who is an identical twin is about five times more likely to be homosexual than an adopted homosexual sibling. These results support the argument that biological factors are important, since the higher the percentage of shared genes, the more likely both children were to be homosexual. However, since almost half of the siblings of the homosexual identical twins in the

study were not homosexual, social learning processes are also largely involved; otherwise, it would be expected that the siblings of every homosexual identical twin would also be homosexual (Giddens, 2008). In addition to hereditary studies, when we look at what Freud said about homosexuality, he argued that everyone is naturally bisexual, that homosexuality is an abnormality resulting from a developmental pause and incomplete resolution of the Oedipus complex; for him, homosexuality is a kind of exception to the "normal" development of libido (Selek, 2001).

5.1.3 Bisexuality

Bisexuality is a Latin term with the prefix "bi-", meaning two or two-way orientation. Since sex is used for terms related to gender and/or sexuality, the term bisexuality is used for people who have sexual and emotional experiences with both men and women. Bisexuality is the emotional, physical, and/or sexual orientation of an individual towards both individuals of the same gender and individuals of a different gender. This orientation can be in the same or different periods. The orientation of a bisexual individual may be more intense towards one gender than the other, or this situation may change over time (APA, 2008). Bisexuality also symbolizes a political stance in terms of sexual orientation. In this sense, besides being a sexual orientation that can be interpreted differently, it is seen that those who investigate the reasons for it are often conflicted. There are different interpretations of bisexual identity. The most important ones are as follows:

- Researchers who argue that sexual identities are intrinsic and unchangeable argue that bisexuality emerges as a result of prenatal hormonal effects.
- Some researchers, who argue that sexual orientation exists through socialization, state that it is the result of imitation or rejection of the models of the mother and/or father or as a result of conscious choice as we mentioned in the homosexual identity types.

Considering all sexual identities, we see that they all have something in common and cannot be explained by a single reason. In this case, bisexuality also does not stem from a single factor; it is the result of a combination of many reasons or factors. Relatively few people openly identify as bisexual. The vast majority continue to lead heterosexual lives and have homosexual relationships in addition (Baird, 2004). For this reason,

society tends to associate bisexuality with the concept of sexual hunger. The situation in which bisexual people are in is only the state of being in an emotional and/or sexual relationship with both sexes. This condition has nothing to do with sexual appetite and should not be defined as sexual hunger. Sexual appetite or sexual hunger can be considered for each sexual identity. Trying to explain the fact that emotional and/or sexual attraction can be satisfied with all orientations with sexual hunger or appetite can be called a kind of biphobic situation.

5.1.4 Transsexuality

The term transsexual is a combination of the word "trans" (Stryker, 2006), which means "against, opposite, other" in Latin, and "sex" (Klein, 2000), which means "gender" in Latin. When we look at both terms, in their simplest meanings, the meaning of transvestite is "one who changes clothes", while the meaning of transsexual is "one who changes gender". As with all sexual orientations, transsexuality applies to both men and women. A human individual may want to be a woman even though he/she is a man, or a man even though he/she is a woman. The most important point that distinguishes transvestism from transvestism is that spiritual tendencies are decisive. It emerges from the situation where the inner world gains importance rather than behaviors and the person feels different from what he/she is in his/her inner world. For this reason, it cannot be said that transsexuality can be determined by external appearance. They do not reflect the fact that they feel themselves as an individual of the opposite sex on their external appearance. Although the person is born with the physical characteristics of his/her existing gender, the psychological and emotional feeling of belonging to the other sex is sufficient for the person to be called transsexual.

Heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, and transsexuality are sexual orientations. Although transvestism is not a sexual orientation, it is mentioned comparatively above because it is confused with transsexuality. Asexuality, on the other hand, is not a sexual orientation but defines those who lack sexual orientation. For this reason, the media dimension of the terms asexuality and transvestism in daily life will not be included in future studies.

5.2 Pride Marches History

In this part of the chapter, Pride marches, which have been a turning point for LGBTIQ+ individuals starting from Stonewall Inn, will be analyzed in terms of history in a general context. The blue-collar working class, which emerged on the stage of history as a result of the Industrial Revolution, was one of the main subjects of social movements until the 1960s. In Western European countries and the USA, where the welfare society developed, the struggle for economic equality within the framework of non-governmental organizations such as trade unions and associations centered on the class phenomenon began to dissatisfy colored-skinned people, women, and those with different sexual orientations from the general society as of the 1960s, who came from different layers of society and whose differences were ignored. Until the 1960s, the "old" social movements, which considered all of society as economic units, covered up other social differences such as gender, race, and ethnicity in the name of economic equality or welfare, while reproducing the status quo, bureaucratic, centralized, male-dominated language. The actors of the "new" social movements have objected to this conceptualization of human and social life as uniformizing and commodifying (Bertram, 1995). It is possible to define the LGBTIQ+ movement, which is referred to within the new social movements, as the struggle of individuals who are excluded from society, suppressed, marginalized, and often ignored due to their sexual orientation, to be recognized as equal members of society with their differences and not to be discriminated against.

Throughout human history, LGBTIQ+ individuals have existed in societies of different statuses with their sexual identities. However, these individuals became the subjects of social movements within the process of libertarian, anti-authoritarian/sexist, peaceful civil rights struggles that spread all over the world in the 1960s, when consumer society reached its peak after the Second World War. Libertarian waves such as the Prague Spring in Europe, student protests that spread all over the world from Mexico to Poland, from France to Japan, anti-Vietnam War protests in the USA, and LGBTIQ+ individuals who took part in the civil rights struggle and the Stonewall Uprising, both politicized and realized that they were not alone in society within these struggles. In this regard, the Stonewall Riot is of great importance for the LGBTIQ+ movement. By the end of the 1960s, LGBT individuals were in close interaction with

civil rights activists led by anti-war liberal youth, feminists, and African Americans. The landmark for LGBT individuals in the struggle for social equality in the public sphere, which was the spirit of the time, was the police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a bar frequented by homosexuals, located in the Greenwich Village area of New York City, USA, which had become a living space for different subcultural groups on 28 June 1969 (Baird, 2004). Against the raid, LGBT individuals clashed with the police in the neighborhood for days and organized demonstrations and resistance actions. Thanks to this open attitude and solidarity with the hetero-patriarchal power that oppresses homosexuality and homosexual individuals, LGBT individuals realized that they were not alone in society. This uprising, which will go down in history as the Stonewall Uprising, inspired LGBT individuals who were oppressed for their sexual differences in other states and all over the world. Research on the LGBTI movement has generally been conducted on law (Schacter, 1994), education (Macgillivray, 2000), working life (Wright et al, 2006), family (Ryan et al, 2010), health (Dean et al., 2000) and military service (Moradi, 2009). Each of these studies is important for the literature of the LGBTIQ+ movement. The LGBTIQ+ movement, which has become universally organized and institutionalized, has enabled the politicization of homosexual identity and the use of spaces as political spaces. The organizing experience of the LGBTIQ+ movement is reminiscent of Lefebvre's statement that "every kind of activity will gain a concrete reality through struggle" (Lefebvre, 2003).

Indeed, it is necessary to accept that the LGBTIQ+ movement, which has been struggling for rights since the 1960s, has gained a concrete reality and has become visible. The strategy applied by the LGBTIQ+ movement to be visible is to address itself and interpret its actions. Thus, it is observed that it fights an instinctive struggle for existence with new perspectives both globally and locally. On 28 June 1969, homosexuals who could not stand the oppression and violence in the bar called Stonewall Inn rose, imprisoned the police who put pressure on them in the bar, and clashed and protested on the streets for 4 days (29 June 1969, The New York Times). This is a milestone in the LGBTIQ+ movement and is celebrated as "Pride Week" in many cities around the world. The first pride parade in the world took place in New York on 2 November 1969 under the leadership of Craig Rodwell with the decision of the East Side Homophile Organizations of Philadelphia (Tandon and Rao, 2021). The

purpose of the UN³ Human Rights Council, which was established in 2006 by a resolution of the UN General Assembly, is to examine the efforts made by each UN member state for the protection, promotion, and dissemination of human rights and thereby improve the situation of human rights in the world. For this purpose, it periodically monitors the improvements or violations made by UN member states on the subject. Thanks to the UN resolution emphasizing that people are deeply concerned about the violence and discrimination they are exposed to because of their sexual orientation and gender orientation, a global report can now be prepared to reveal discrimination and human rights violations against homosexuals in the world (Geber and Gory, 2014).

6. CHAPTER THREE: Intersectional Activism in Pride Marches

The diverse world of Pride marches is explored in detail in the chapter that follows, with a special emphasis on intersectionality as the key factor in the development and influence of these marches. We will begin this crucial discussion by defining the core idea of "intersectionality," a term that has taken on significant meaning in the discussion of LGBTIQ+ rights and social justice. An in-depth analysis of this idea will be presented in part 6.1 of this chapter, which will also provide a nuanced understanding of how different facets of identity, such as gender, color, and class, among others, interact to form the perspectives of individuals. By applying this information as a springboard, we will explore the dynamic world of intersectional activism in part 6.2, learning how Pride marches have played a crucial role in promoting the rights and respect of underrepresented groups within the LGBTIQ+ spectrum. The rich tapestry of varied identities that coalesce at Pride marches will be highlighted in part 6.3, along with the complicated intersections that call for thoughtful advocacy. Furthermore, we will conduct a thorough examination of instances when intersectional activism has been extraordinarily effective in Pride marches in Chapter 6.4, offering insight into the tactics, difficulties, and revolutionary possibilities of such activities. We hope to give a full knowledge of how Pride marches have functioned as a platform for furthering intersectionality and resolving the numerous difficulties encountered along their paths through this comprehensive review.

³ United Nations

6.1 Introduction to the Term of Intersectionality

The 20th century is a very "fruitful" century for the social sciences, with many cases that can serve as examples for intellectual debates. For example, as recently as 1994, the heavy balance sheet of the civil war in Rwanda led to debates on neo-racism and postcolonialism; the student resistance against Charles de Gaulle's government, which became known as the May Events of 1968, and which began to speak out against repression; and the themes of Marxism and feminism, which have become particularly intense again (Çolak, 2018). It also maintains its uniqueness with the debates on veganism and speciesism that spread rapidly around the world after the Vegan Society was founded in 1944 to voice the fundamental rights and freedoms of non-human species (animals), along with the heavy damage caused by industrialization and unplanned urbanization. In addition, the Twentieth Century, with its two large-scale wars and major events that changed the status quo, such as the transition from empires to nation-states, was home to critical currents of thought as well as tragedies. Each representative of these currents of thought, in the simplest terms, addresses the problem of authority, which operates on the subject group it deals with and points to a certain system of domination.

It is possible to exemplify the problem of authority for different groups. For example, heterosexist order for LGBTIQ+ individuals, capitalism for Marxists, patriarchy for feminists, or carnism for vegans. However, these groups criticize and sometimes accuse not only the authorities whose legitimacy they question and sometimes do not recognize, but also each other and within themselves. To illustrate this, Heidi Hartmann, president of the Washington-based Institute for Women's Policy Research, criticizes Marxism for being blind to gender - just like the capital it criticizes - despite its strong grasp of its historical development, arguing that its analytical power of capital ignores its insufficient limitation about sexism. Hartmann proceeds with arguments that support this criticism from three different angles. Firstly, unlike feminism, Marxists, by focusing on the relationship of women's identity not with men but with the economic system, address the oppression of women only about production. They see the relationship between labor and capital as more inclusive than the relationship between men and women, i.e. gender equality, and see women only as part

of the working class. However, for feminists, including Hartmann, who do not see private property and capital as the sole cause of the oppression women face, including in their daily lives, the elimination of the heavy, brutal, and unequal functioning of capitalism will not directly eliminate the oppression and inequality of women. Secondly, when Marxism is analyzed, the female subject is seen as a worker who reproduces the system in the daily life of the capital, which distinguishes between home, family, and private life on the one hand and the workplace on the other. Through the reproduction of wage-earning men in the workplace, women enter a process of alienation from themselves. Women strive to exist with their worker identity rather than their identity as women. For this reason, although women ostensibly work for men, they work mainly for capital, and therefore it is not men that women have to fight against, but - on the contrary, together with working men - capital. The problem with this view is that, according to Hartmann, if capitalism and the unequal order of capital created the private sphere, it cannot be explained in this context why women are confined to the private sphere while men end up in the paid labor force. Finally, a group of thinkers calling themselves Marxist feminists have focused on the invisible labor of housewives working for capitalists that creates surplus value, in other words, "housework". Even if the aim is to give housework the status and legitimacy of paid work and thus make it visible, at least as a first step of social change, it is not to prevent the attribution of housework to one gender as a whole, which is one of the important parameters in the perpetuation of male domination in the social system (Hartmann, 2006).

In this respect, Hartmann criticizes these parameters in this way. There are many points of disagreement in the study of identity as a concept in the social sciences and identity politics, and even more so in the study of the political existence of this concept. Nevertheless, identity-based policies are still strongly implemented and widespread today. In the literature, intersectionality as a concept was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 as a new approach to the different types of oppression, violence, and discrimination experienced by women. This approach put forward by Crenshaw rejects the idea that the categories of discrimination arising from class, race, and gender are completely independent of each other (Crenshaw, 1991) and draws attention to the experience created by the combination of these different categories in the individual (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, while being an immigrant or refugee in Italy can be a

reason for discrimination on its own, having the identity of an "immigrant homosexual" can make a person vulnerable to different negative experiences. This person's experiences or possible discrimination cannot be explained only by being an immigrant or only by being gay. This approach, which Crenshaw introduced to social sciences, actually explains that the combination of these two (or more) identities has its disadvantages. Although there have been some debates on the definition of this concept after it was introduced to the literature, the first boundary that Crenshaw draws on the concept in his 1989 study is noteworthy. Crenshaw is a law professor and used the cases of Emma Degraffenreid with General Motors (1976), Tommie Y. Moore with Hughes Helicopter (1982), and Willie Mae Payne with Travenol Laboratories (1976) as a sample in his study. The common point that Crenshaw identified in these three different cases and deemed worthy of research is the way the court expressed and interpreted the stories of these plaintiffs. For example, in the first case, General Motors did not hire black women before 1964 and continued its past discrimination by dismissing all black women hired during the economic recession after 1970.⁴ The plaintiffs' effort to file a lawsuit as "black women" as opposed to merely "blacks" or "women" was rejected by the court, as was the claim that General Motors engaged in sex discrimination prior to 1964 because white women were employed there before that time. Crenshaw asserts that the court in this instance either rejected the idea that black women may be subjected to discrimination because they are "black women" or made it obvious that it could not shield them from such prejudice. By showing statistical proof of comparable prejudice, it was claimed in the Moore and Payne cases⁵ that black women were exposed to discrimination in areas including working conditions and promotions. However, similar to the first case, the court concluded that black women could not fully represent either the black or women's groups. As a result, if the cases were conducted in two different branches racism and sexism, the court would conclude that there was no racial or gender discrimination against black women, citing white women and black men as examples. As a consequence, the law applied for redress of discrimination is either genuinely deaf

⁴ The emphasis on 1964 is important here because on 2 July 1964, the "Civil Rights Act of 1964" was signed into law in the United States of America by then President Lyndon Johnson, making it illegal to discriminate against black people in schools, public spaces and employment.

⁵ <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf>

and blind to the situation, or it does not understand the language of the victim and cannot recognize who they are.

The phenomenon of intersectionality is mostly analyzed in social sciences on the axis of the intersection of three main categories: race, gender, and class. In this study, we have already included the disadvantageous and vulnerable aspects of these three main issues under different headings. We know that individuals have been subjected to discrimination due to their gender from the past to the present. In addition, racism, which manifests itself in different ways at different times, has become more common after the 2000s. Increasing waves of migration, economic crises in countries, civil wars of various magnitudes, etc. are situations that can always create a 'scapegoat' for populist politicians. Apart from gender and race categories, another discrimination factor is socio-economic status. An individual or a group of individuals may be discriminated against because of their social class or economic status. Factors such as the economic status, living conditions, and financial power of the class to which the individual belongs are generally influential in this situation. Class discrimination can be divided into individual or institutional discrimination (Künroğlu et al. 2021). An example of individual discrimination is when an individual is perceived by some individuals or groups as having the potential to commit a crime due to his/her income or education level, region of residence, or living conditions (Xie et al. 2020). An example of institutional class discrimination is the evaluation of job applications based on the social group to which the applicant belongs. Based on these facts, Crenshaw (1991) analyzed intersectionality under three main headings according to some characteristics. These are structural intersectionality, political intersectionality, and representational intersectionality. Roughly "structural" intersectionality focuses on social institutions, "political" intersectionality focuses on social movements, and "representational" intersectionality focuses on cultural constructions (Crenshaw, 1991). Structural intersectionality focuses on how different identity categories institutionalize interpersonal relations and the general functioning of society. "Political intersectionality" seeks to answer why social movements that emerge against the ravages of such a functioning fail or fail to be fully inclusive. Representational intersectionality is concerned with the representations/ narratives of intersectional groups in a given culture (Crenshaw, 1991)

6.1.1 Structural Intersectionality

It is the approach that suggests that the components of society, social functioning, institutions, and organizations of the system may unintentionally perpetuate or increase the victimization of the groups at the intersection (Crenshaw, 1991). This situation can sometimes be observed even in centers established to address various forms of victimization. This can be given as an example when a gay individual who was subjected to violence in Italy went to the LGBTIQ+ association and was turned away because he did not speak Italian and no staff in the organization could translate what he said. Crenshaw gives the example of the Immigration and Nationality Act in force at the time in the United States of America. According to this law, an immigrant woman must be married to an American citizen for two years to become a permanent resident of the United States (Immigration Act 1990). Some immigrant women may be subjected to different forms of violence (physical, psychological, or sexual) by their spouses. If they end their marriage, they cannot do anything about it because the process related to residence permit will be interrupted and they are afraid of deportation (Crenshaw, 1991). Over time, various steps have been taken to address the loophole in the law. To solve the cases of violence, the obligation for migrant women to stay married for two years is lifted if they can prove the violence they have experienced (with a police report) (Crenshaw, 1991). In most cases, these women do not have the opportunity to document such incidents of violence. Language barriers, difficulties in accessing institutions and organizations, and cultural reasons may also prevent them from taking this step (Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, the 'migrant woman' at the intersection of two different groups cannot receive effective help from the system in this complex situation.

6.1.2 Political Intersectionality

Crenshaw (1991) argues that different groups that are subjected to discrimination may sometimes be in situations that are contrary to each other's interests and that those who will be most negatively affected by this situation will be individuals belonging to both groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Faced with discrimination, each of these groups may initiate some movements to have equal rights with other members of society and not to be excluded by the majority. For example, the feminist movement emerged to protect women's rights against gender inequality and to ensure social equality (Fiss, 1994). It is

useful to focus on the context in which Crenshaw defines political intersectionality. The issue of 'black women' in the USA is an important example for Crenshaw. This group, which is at the intersection of discrimination in the categories of race and gender, cannot find a place for itself in any of these movements, even though the rights-based struggle for the race (black) and gender (woman) they belong to continues. At the time when the concept of intersectionality emerged, the feminist movement considered the problems of black women as race-based inequality (Crenshaw, 1989). It does not feel any responsibility for this issue. In the same way, various movements waging a rights-based struggle against racial discrimination may consider the problem of women of color as gender-based. Thus, the 'woman of color' is excluded and isolated from both of these groups. Sometimes, it is thought that the voicing of individuals at the intersection against discrimination will undermine the interests of these two different groups and the search for equality. In another example, Crenshaw (1991) explains political intersectionality through the violence experienced by a black woman at home. When a black woman is abused by her black husband, the dissemination of this news may be seen as a danger by various groups waging a rights-based struggle against racism. Because a stereotypical judgment that black men are violent already exists in society. For equality movements trying to break down these and similar prejudices, such news that seems to confirm stereotypes is perceived as a danger. At the same time, when the example is analyzed from the perspective of feminism while trying to draw attention to the discrimination and abuse suffered by women, there may be a concern that if the abuse experienced by black women is too prominent, the misconception that this problem is a minority problem may arise (Künroğlu et al. 2021). If domestic violence is perceived as a problem that belongs to the black community, it is thought that efforts to ensure gender equality in society in general may be harmed. The marginalization of groups such as the black woman in the example for such "political" reasons constitutes the essence of the concept of political intersectionality.

6.1.3 Representational Intersectionality

Crenshaw (1991), while talking about intersectionality, also focuses on the representation of intersectionality. Here Crenshaw (1991) argues that the representation of black women in the media is different from that of white women. She argues that the individual characteristics of white women are more prominent than those of black

women, but black women are still represented through certain stereotypes (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, the characteristics of black women are thought to be cheeky and wild, while Latina women are thought to be noisy and immoral. These stereotypes may marginalize minority women and cause them not to find a place in society as much as white women. In summary, representational intersectionality refers to the representation of discriminated individuals in social life or the media through stereotypes (Crenshaw, 1991). As in the above cases such as social class, color, gender, or, more likely, as Crenshaw argues, the "intersection" of each - may not always be deducible from analyses of identity based on categories of difference, or a simple mathematical application of these categories.

It may not be solved by articulating them with each other through permutations and combinations. One of the first solutions that comes to mind is that discrimination is a combination of racism and will be specifically designed to counter forms of sexism that are thought to be common in different societies - for example, black women in the USA or migrant women in Europe for the creation of a law based on critiques of intersectionality. However, in this case, the identification of "prioritized" groups and the creation of a top-down list will inevitably lead to new criticisms of discrimination. The existence of categories such as gender, sexual orientation, disability, age, ethnicity, color, religious belief, economic class, or political ideology, and the existence of an overarching law of discrimination against members of classed identities within these categories, undoubtedly raises the highly controversial question of who is the "most marginalized" who are discriminated against. This corresponds to the concept of "oppression Olympics" in the literature on intersectionality. This concept, first used by Elizabeth Martinez, refers to the competition between marginalized and oppressed groups. The Olympics of oppression⁶ is an allegorical nomenclature given to discussions about which group is more oppressed within a hierarchy, and thus which group's demands for justice and equality should be prioritized and their visibility increased. In an interview, when asked how communities with different problems can come together, Martinez stated the following:

⁶ Elizabeth Martinez indicates the fear of Oppression Olympics is that when the focus shifts to one group's fight for equality, it can make others be left behind.

"Firstly, we need to reject the hierarchy of needs of different communities... We should not get stuck in arguments like 'my needs are greater than yours'... The general idea is that competition within hierarchies should not prevail. 'No to the Olympics of oppression!'"⁷

Second, the problem in question is not limited to the United States or specific to its laws. To take two comparative examples, Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey are concerned with the regulation of the law of discrimination. Both texts contain a limited and differentiated set of categories. The Convention emphasizes the categories of sex, race, color, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, membership of a national minority, property, and place of birth; the Constitution emphasizes the categories of language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, and sect. There are open-ended statements in both texts that need to be emphasized. The Convention contains the phrase "or on any grounds such as status", while the Constitution contains the phrase "for similar reasons". Moreover, it is a fact, which has been expressed at different times and in different ways, that the current positive law in question does not protect even uni-axial categorical forms of discrimination to the same extent and emphasizes some forms of discrimination more than others. For example, only recently Ulaş Karan (2017) stated that the approach of judicial bodies can change when it comes to different grounds of discrimination and that some grounds of discrimination may receive more protection or be scrutinized more carefully than others. As a jurist, Crenshaw, with the concept of intersectionality, has tried to express the underlying problem of the inattention of the court towards a certain group as an institutional space that is supposedly needed to eliminate inequality, discrimination, oppression and in general all kinds of injustice and is thought to take into account the maximum needs necessary for the functioning of society. However, not only the courts but also other governmental institutions such as education, media, academia, etc. are considered as part of or stakeholders in this problem. The fact that Crenshaw was both a law

⁷ Hancock, A. (2011). *Solidarity politics for Millennials: A guide to ending the oppression olympics*. Springer.

professor and an anti-racist feminist led the concept of intersectionality to be influenced, at least initially, by discussions based on race, gender, and class categories, but later on the concept was given much more attention, and analyzed in a broader framework.

Intersectionality, which points to subjective experiences that can only be understood by drawing attention to the simultaneous and reciprocal interactions of categories of difference, has taken its place in the literature as a concept used in the examination of many current sociopolitical problems, from the process of subjectification or identification to the making visible of power relations in society. Kathy Davis interestingly links the popularity of the buzzword intersectionality, which she defines as the interaction between gender, race, and other categories, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies, and the consequences of these interactions in terms of power relations, with the confusion about what this concept even means (Davis, 1971). Kathy Davis bases this claim on Murray S. Davis' view⁸ of successful theories. According to this view, he argues that a theory is not good and consistent, but on the contrary, it achieves success through incompleteness and inconsistency about the sense of anxiety it creates (Davis, 1971). Also according to Kathy Davis, it is the recognition of differences between women that is of concern for feminism, along with intersectionality. Therefore, feminist thinkers from different disciplines (philosophy, social sciences, humanities, economics, and law), theoretical perspectives (phenomenology, structuralist sociology, psychoanalysis, and deconstructionism), and political views (feminism, anti-racism, multiculturalism, queer, etc.) are convinced that intersectionality is exactly what is needed (Davis, 2008). Contemporary criticisms of analyzing categories of difference as unrelated to each other are largely expressed concerning the concept of intersectionality. Simply, these criticisms are not only directed against the group of "women" through feminism, but also against the structural, political, and representational homogenization of each group called "worker", "homosexual", "migrant", "disabled", "black" or "minority", which are supposed to have common subjective

⁸ https://www.kathydavis.info/articles/Intersectionality_as_buzzword.pdf

experiences, thus preventing the understanding of the differences between them. In its attention to the heterogeneity within the group through the interaction of different categories and the subjective experiences that differ at each intersection, intersectionality is positioned in opposition to currents of thought that have a forced act of "speaking in place". A similar critique has been voiced by Denise Riley, who argues against contemporary views of "female" identity, especially those that draw a sharp distinction between biological sex and gender, in favor of categories that are constantly historically and discursively reproduced and have no fixed ontological basis (Riley, 1988). Likewise, long before the concept was coined, Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a woman?" (Am I not a woman?), more than a century later, Brah and Phoenix, referring to the concept of intersectionality as the irreducible, complex, shifting and diverse effects of the intersection of various economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential axes in historically specific contexts, revisit the impact of postmodern practices of imperialism and the image of the terrorist "veiled Muslim woman" in need of rescue, especially during the Second Gulf War in Iraq. The concept of intersectionality has an important place in the literature of social sciences such as sociology, psychology, and political science, which deal with humanity and human activities. This is important to better understand and interpret both identities and forms of discrimination. Intersectionality has made visible how inadequate the uni-axial thinking method is in terms of law, social justice, knowledge production, and access to knowledge. Since its first appearance, intersectionality as a useful method has spread to a wide range of fields such as history, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, feminist studies, women's studies, ethnic studies, and queer studies. In the following study, intersectional activism is analyzed.

6.2 Intersectional Activism

In social sciences, social movements are defined as organized collective activities carried out by a certain group to solve a social problem, bring about a change in society, or support or prevent a change that has already occurred. Although the reality that enables individuals to participate and organize in social movements is based on many different motivations, the underlying phenomenon is the group belonging to which the

individual feels they belong. Individuals who are discriminated against from the points they define themselves, sometimes continuously, sometimes intermittently, feel the need to enter into solidarity with other individuals who define themselves through the same point to break these discrimination elements, to have their identities accepted, and to ensure social equality. Thus, they get themselves out of the feeling of loneliness in which they are imprisoned by social norms and values and get involved in the struggle for identity in line with their goals. However, the individual's definition of identity often emerges not through one element, but through the combination of several different belongings and in the context of continuity. In other words, an individual's identity definition is a continuously constructed phenomenon and may be permeable according to social, political, and economic processes. For example, even if an individual defines herself/himself through her/his identity as a woman, this component may also be included in her/his identity definition as soon as her/his ethnic or religious identity, which the individual did not emphasize before, is discriminated against. Moreover, an individual can also define himself/herself by his/her religious identity or ethnic origin without the need for such an element of discrimination. These identity components can be multiplied, and as the individual's identity definition expands, the area in which he/she may be subjected to discrimination, as well as the elements in which he/she will seek rights in the group to which he/she belongs, diversify. The intersecting group belonging of individuals has also led to the emergence of intersecting actions, and different struggles for rights at different levels have become visible. The situation that inspires this research is that although most people share at least one identity component, other differentiations are more prominent, and intolerance of those who are not ourselves takes shelter behind these differentiations. From the concept of family, which is the smallest group to which the individual belongs, to the concept of nation, diversities, and groupings emerge in every community. This situation affects individuals sometimes on a small scale and sometimes to a greater extent than assumed. Not only the environment but sometimes even the individual himself/herself is exposed to discriminatory policies. New social movements have formed the basis of a shift from the material and economic sphere towards post-material values. Old social movements were concerned with political power and economic structures or income distribution (Epstein, 1993), and new social movements are orientated towards civil society rather

than the state. They are more interested in symbolic actions and cultural, identity-based, and lifestyle issues rather than centralized bureaucratic structures and socio-economic demands (Lelandais, 2009). Individuals participate in protests to have their lifestyles, beliefs, orientations, and opinions recognized and to have a voice in the public sphere without completely detaching from material values. Thus, more issues have been integrated into the political sphere and the demands of individuals have been shaped through cultural and vital practices. The individual demands that constitute the actional dynamics of movements come together to produce collective demands and actions that will accelerate the fulfillment of these demands. The structures in which individuals are organized become a means of bringing demands to the public sphere and directly influencing public opinion. In short, public opinion, which is an area of struggle for social groups, fulfills the function of mediation between society and the political system, while being the subject of competition between various groups (Işık, 2013). The dynamics that bring social movements to the fore are the different/opposing reactions of social dynamics to the new situation that emerged in the face of industrialization and the social transformations and tensions that emerged with it. Some theorists (Pakulski, 1993 and Offe, 1987) have defined the social movements that took place from the Industrial Revolution until the 1960s and centered on demands for economic equality as "old" social movements. The social movements that emerged after this date and that articulate social problems and demands arising from differences such as ethnicity, race, and gender are called "new" social movements. While the actors of the "old" social movements are generally defined as members of the "working class", the actors of the "new" social movements are seen as individuals belonging to the "middle/upper classes" who, in Bourdieuan terms, exist in a different habitus universe due to their social/cultural/symbolic capital and whose ethnic, cultural, religious and sexual identities are emphasized. The individual needs organization to fulfill the requirements of being a state of law, from fundamental rights and freedoms to the freedom to choose and be elected, from the freedom to express one's thoughts freely to the establishment of a fair and honest administration (Can, 2002). Social groups have a different definition than two or more randomly gathered groups of people. For a group of people who come together to be called a social group, these individuals must have common goals and interests. But also awareness and membership consciousness of the group in which the

individuals are located, the phenomenon of relative continuity, and the order or roles of relations between members (Cezayirli, 1997). However, individuals within the group tend to produce opinions, norms, and values by interacting with each other. The values and norms produced and adopted by the group are the characteristics that distinguish the current group from other groups. The individual has to internalize these characteristics to adapt to the group. Although intersectional activism will not allow us to change the lives of the components of disadvantaged groups in a short time, it at least allows us to see behind what is visible and to question the existing concept of discrimination. For example, instead of explaining the elements of discrimination that a homosexual migrant individual is exposed to only by sexual orientation, taking into account the immigration identity in the background will lead to a more effective pursuit of rights. When considering discrimination, it is important to recognize that an individual's identity is complex and multi-faceted. For example, being a Muslim, refugee, or woman are all identities that can lead to discrimination on their own. However, when these identities intersect and an individual is identified as a "Muslim refugee woman", they may face a different set of discriminations that are unique to that intersection.

It is insufficient to only consider discrimination that arises from a single aspect of an individual's identity. To fully understand the discrimination faced by an individual, it is necessary to examine the dynamics of their environment. The experiences of a person who identifies only as a Muslim, a refugee, or a woman are distinct from the experiences of a "Muslim refugee woman". This is where the concept of intersectionality, first introduced by Crenshaw, becomes crucial. Intersectionality recognizes that discrimination can arise from the interaction of multiple aspects of an individual's identity.

While Crenshaw initially presented this concept as a new approach to understanding discrimination experienced by women (Crenshaw, 1991), it has since been applied to a wide range of identity elements in social sciences. For instance, discrimination faced by a Kurdish person in Turkey due to their ethnic identity differs from the discrimination experienced by an individual who identifies as Kurdish and homosexual. In the former case, discrimination arises solely from ethnic identity, while in the latter case, discrimination arises from both ethnic identity and sexual orientation. Moreover, intersectionality is a vital

concept for understanding and examining discrimination faced by individuals with complex and multi-faceted identities. Intersectionality has emerged as a transnational analytical framework aimed at comprehensively investigating the intricate web of power hierarchies (Choo, 2012). It provides a lens through which to understand the exhaustive experiences of individuals who navigate various intersecting forms of marginalization. Furthermore, it enables the observation and analysis of the challenges encountered by individuals who confront multiple layers of oppression in social life (Geerts and van der Tuin, 2013). Intersectional activism has emerged to give voice to the pursuit of rights by analyzing identities and bringing the marginalized back to the center. The intersection of different identities has revealed how different structures of domination make certain women more vulnerable to other women or certain black people more vulnerable to other black people (Hancock, 2011). In the next part of this chapter, the process of inclusion of diverse identities in the Pride marches and their motivations for doing so are analyzed.

6.3 Diverse Identities in Pride Marches

Assuming the search for rights that started with Stonewall as the starting point, LGBTIQ+ individuals have made great efforts to protect their fundamental rights and freedoms by the states since then. The LGBTIQ+ community has come together over time to minimize the rights violations of the states and has acted together with many different factors in the organization process. The struggle of patriarchal powers against different sexual orientations to protect hetero-state orders has reached a more clear and distinct line in the post-World War II period. The new economic-political order constructed in the post-war Western world relatively pacified the blue-collar labor movement that could pose a threat to itself through social welfare policies; however, one issue that could not be compromised by nation-states was hetero and patriarchal politics. Indeed, "The efforts of nation-states to maintain their survival are opposed to forms of sexuality other than heterosexuality because homoeroticism destabilizes the non-sexual, innocent brotherhood that binds citizens to each other and the homeland" (Özbay, 2011). For this reason, nuclear family life and "normal" heterosexuality (Baba, 2011), which were reconstructed with the great efforts of nation-states, were seen

as the sole purpose for ensuring and protecting social order. Moreover, it was deemed necessary to guarantee the military/labor population that the nation-state needed in war and peace and to maintain a population that would respond to the supply of the market. For this reason, theorists such as Altman (1972) and Mieli (1980) have considered the family as a factory of heterosexuality that meets the labor resource needs of capital and the subordination needs of the state. Therefore, the suppression of homosexual desire is part of a general authoritarianism, but it also contains very specific reasons (Connell, 1998). As Foucault says, for this heterosexuality factory to function, sexuality must be controlled:

"All the social controls that infiltrate the sexual activities of couples, parents, and children, of dangerous and endangered young people, that endeavor to protect, separate and prevent them, that indicate that there is danger everywhere, that issue warnings, that make determinations, that collect reports, that organize treatments; all these foci create and disseminate discourses around sexuality by raising awareness of a never-ending danger that provokes talk of sexuality."

Heterosexual-patriarchal nation-states have for many years portrayed homosexuality as a disease, a condition that needs to be treated, with motivations such as military, population control, and labor population (Erdogan and Koten 2014). The Stonewall riots in 1969, which were ignited by the collective resistance of LGBTIQ+ people who had long suffered systematic police harassment and discrimination, can be seen as the historical forerunner of Pride marches. This landmark incident served as a turning point for the LGBTIQ+ rights movement since it started a chain of events that eventually gave rise to Pride marches as a vehicle for political protest and activism (Smith, 2020). These marches' early incarnations were primarily focused on addressing the unique and serious problems that the LGBTIQ+ community was facing, notably about matters of sexual orientation and gender identity. To address the urgent injustices committed against LGBTIQ+ people, such as police raids on gay bars and the persisting societal stigma associated with non-heteronormative identities, this

approach was both pragmatic and strategic. The battle for fundamental human rights, legal recognition, and cultural acceptance was the main focus of the LGBTIQ+ movement's overall story throughout this formative period. However, the attitudes and goals of Pride marches changed throughout time as the LGBTIQ+ movement developed. A milestone development in this progression was the emergence of an intersectional framework, which emphasized the acknowledgment of intersecting challenges faced by diverse marginalized groups within the LGBTIQ+ community. Intersectionality posits that individuals experience compounded forms of discrimination when they belong to multiple marginalized groups simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1989). This intersectional approach indicated a change in the movement's attitude within the setting of Pride marches. It signaled a change from the narrow focus on sexual orientation and gender identity to a more inclusive and comprehensive approach that acknowledged the unique and overlapping struggles of LGBTIQ+ people who also experienced discrimination based on their race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, disability, and other axes of identity. As a result of this growth, Pride marches are now deeply entwined with the idea of intersectionality, demonstrating a dedication to encouraging unity and inclusiveness within the LGBTIQ+ community. The Stonewall riots of 1969 set off a campaign for the emancipation and equal rights of LGBTIQ+ people, which is where the early history of Pride marches gets its start. These marches have drastically changed over time, moving away from their initial restricted focus on sexual orientation and gender identity and adopting a more inclusive and intersectional viewpoint. This evolution highlights the crucial role of intersectionality in determining the current landscape of Pride marches and the larger LGBTIQ+ rights movement and represents the LGBTIQ+ community's acknowledgment of the overlapping issues faced by its diverse identities. Pride marches are dynamic indicators, welcoming events that provide people of all different LGBTIQ+ identities a place to come together in support and celebration. These gatherings bring together people who identify as part of the LGBTIQ+ community—including those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, and many other identities—and allow them to share their own stories and perspectives with the larger community.

Cisgender, transgender, non-binary, genderqueer, and genderfluid people all actively participate in the gender identity variety that is widely shown, exposing the complex tapestry of gender expressions within the LGBTIQ+ community. The evolving landscape of Pride marches, wherein various gender identities and sexual orientations converge, has progressively transformed into a pivotal arena for the advocacy of rights on behalf of multiple marginalized groups. These marches have developed into potent platforms where many aspects of identity, such as gender, color, and class, among others, intersect to influence the experiences of participants. The awareness that the LGBTIQ+ community is not a monolithic group but rather a complex tapestry of identities, each with its specific difficulties and inequities, has led to the intentional development of intersectional activism within Pride. The LGBTIQ+ movement's activists understand that to achieve genuine equality and justice, they must embrace and address the intersections of privilege and oppression. Through intersectional activism, Pride marches are transformed into forums where voices that have historically been silenced or ignored can be heard and where pressing issues like racial injustice, economic inequality, and prejudice against transgender and non-binary people can be brought to the forefront. As Pride activism strives to both celebrate the community's diversity and push for significant change that benefits everyone within it, its dedication to intersectionality highlights its revolutionary potential. Intersectionality is not only a mechanism for revealing complex configurations of power and structural inequality, but also a generative tool for creating new democratic institutions, identities, and practices (Chun et al., 2013; Ishkanian & Saavendra, 2019).



Picture 1: A photo from the 2012 Istanbul Trans March, calling on the government to 'Stop Trans Murders'.

Pride marches in Turkey (Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Based Human Rights Monitoring Interim Report, 2016), which have been the scene of police violence in the last few years, are of great importance both in terms of sexual orientation and as the voice of 'others' when they can be organized freely. Pride marches in Turkey are organized in various provinces to show that differences in sexual orientation and gender identity have a place in Turkish society. These marches must be a platform for both LGBTIQ+ individuals and 'marginalized groups' in terms of the struggle for equality and human rights. Over the years, there have been some difficulties in the organization of these events (Çetin, 2015). Particularly due to political and social pressures, LGBTIQ+ individuals, as well as refugees, Kurds, those who want to speak out against the government and many other groups who see Pride marches as a free platform, have hesitated to participate in these marches or have been subjected to intimidation. Pride marches continue to provide an important platform to increase the visibility of the LGBT+ community in Turkey and to continue the struggle for equality. These events, where people from different segments of society and sexual orientations come

⁹ <https://www.habervesaire.com/fasizm-trans-onur-yuruyusu-039-ne-de-karsi/>

together in solidarity, are part of an ongoing struggle to realize the goal of inclusion (Çetin, 2015).



Picture 2: A photo from the 2016 Toronto Pride March

Racial inequality, which is observed in institutions, institutional structures, the judicial system, and daily life, is of great socio-political importance in the United States of America and appears as a serious problem that needs to be solved. In recent years, court decisions and political developments have brought racial inequality and especially discrimination against black individuals to the center of public attention (De Choudhury et al, 2016). As a result of police brutality cases (Garcia & Sharif, 2015), which are seen as an example of structural racism within the criminal justice system, it is clearly understood that black and other non-white groups are still disproportionately exposed to police violence in the United States today (Weitzer, 2015).

Although police violence against black individuals has a long history, the killing of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and the similar incidents that followed this incident brought the problem of the killing of black men and women by the police despite being unarmed back to the agenda (Lieberson & Silverman, 1965).

¹⁰ <https://www.blacklivesmatter.ca/proud>

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which emerged after the murder of Trayvon Martin, received great attention and support and was recognized as an important reaction against racism. The BLM movement emerged as a social movement that challenged the racist value system (Atkins, 2018) and came to the fore as a protest movement against the killing of unarmed black citizens (Clayton, 2018). It is a fact that being non-white is seen as one of the main causes of police violence and injustices in the justice system. By emphasizing that the lives of black individuals are equally valuable, the BLM movement also strives to represent other marginalized and excluded groups of society. The photo above shows a section from the 2016 Toronto Pride march. It is important to note that this banner is a result of Pride marches becoming a platform for the general and intersectional pursuit of rights, not limited to sexual orientation.



Picture 3: A photo from Brooklyn Brighton Beach Pride March, in 2022

Over time, Pride marches have been seen as a platform for the pursuit of rights by different sexual orientations and gender identities, as well as groups that are

¹¹ <https://pix11.com/news/local-news/brooklyn/brighton-beach-pride-march-calls-for-end-of-war/>

socially labeled as 'other'. The intersection between Pride marches and refugee/migrant rights represents an important human rights issue. While Pride marches fight against discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, refugee and migrant rights aim to protect the fundamental rights of people who are forced to leave their countries. Both issues emphasize the universality of human rights and promote solidarity and a common platform of struggle between LGBTIQ+ people and refugees/migrants. Pride marches have become a platform of equality for refugees and migrants as well. In this context, it is very important to open space for these groups in Pride marches to understand the LGBTIQ+ struggle, the discrimination, and the difficulties faced by refugees and migrants, to support the protection of their right to asylum, and to raise public awareness. The components of these two phenomena, human rights defenders and activists, meet at an important intersection through Pride marches and this meeting can contribute to the construction of a more just and equal society. Pride marches have also served as a vital platform to raise awareness and advocate for the rights of transgender and gender non-conforming individuals. These marches have provided an avenue for the mobilization of trans communities and the articulation of their unique challenges. Grant and Nguyễn (2019) argued that "Transgender Pride events have become spaces where gender non-conforming individuals can demand recognition, respect, and equality." Yet, the inclusion of transgender individuals has faced opposition and resistance, both within and outside LGBTIQ+ spaces. Genuine gender intersectionality necessitates ongoing efforts to challenge cisgender privilege and promote inclusivity.

6.4 Analysis of Pros and Cons of Pride Marches in Intersectional Activism

Pride marches have emerged as a pivotal instrument for the advancement of intersectional issues within the LGBTIQ+ movement. First and foremost, these events catalyze increased visibility of marginalized individuals within the broader LGBTIQ+ community. By affording members of intersecting marginalized groups, such as LGBTIQ+ persons of color and transgender individuals, a dedicated platform, Pride

marches enable the dissemination of their distinct struggles and experiences, consequently enhancing their prominence within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Pride marches have increasingly acknowledged and addressed the experiences of LGBTIQ+ individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Such marches have fostered the emergence of intersectional Pride movements, including Black Pride and Latinx Pride, aimed at amplifying the voices of marginalized communities within the LGBTIQ+ spectrum. Johnson (2018) states, "Racialized Pride events create spaces for people of color to discuss and challenge the specific issues they face." However, challenges persist in achieving a harmonious collaboration between racial and LGBTIQ+ communities. Ensuring inclusivity demands a commitment to recognizing the diversity of experiences and overcoming tensions that may arise. Intersectional Pride marches facilitate the cultivation of solidarity and unity among diverse communities. This collaborative ethos extends to the collective pursuit of combating various forms of discrimination and oppression. By fostering a sense of shared purpose, these marches empower intersectional advocacy and engender a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to activism. This approach, in turn, underscores the recognition of the multifaceted nature of identity and the imperative to address issues such as racism, sexism, ableism, and classism that profoundly affect LGBTIQ+ individuals. Thus, intersectional Pride marches have proven instrumental in bolstering the depth and breadth of advocacy efforts within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Pride marches have shed light on the intersections between LGBTIQ+ identity and socioeconomic class. Activists have highlighted the disparities faced by LGBTIQ+ individuals from lower-income backgrounds, advocating for economic justice. Donovan and Patel (2019) noted that "Pride events have increasingly focused on issues such as housing insecurity, employment discrimination, and healthcare disparities." However, socioeconomic barriers persist, with financial constraints often limiting the participation of individuals from lower-income backgrounds. Achieving class intersectionality demands conscious efforts to ensure the accessibility and inclusivity of Pride events for all. These marches offer a unique platform for the amplification of underrepresented voices and perspectives. By providing a dedicated space for individuals from intersecting marginalized backgrounds, intersectional Pride events ensure that a broader spectrum of experiences is not only acknowledged but also actively incorporated into the discourse

and objectives of the LGBTIQ+ movement. This amplification of voices serves to diversify the movement's perspectives, rendering it more attuned to the intricate realities faced by its constituents and reinforcing its capacity to drive meaningful social change.

Intersectional Pride marches, while contributing significantly to the LGBTIQ+ movement, are not devoid of limitations and challenges. Concerns regarding the marginalization of specific intersections within the movement persist. Despite deliberate efforts to foster diversity, there exists a contention that certain intersections, notably race and socioeconomic class, may remain overlooked or relegated to the periphery at mainstream Pride celebrations. This potential marginalization within the LGBTIQ+ movement raises apprehensions about the perpetuation of inequities and disparities among its diverse constituents. The attainment of comprehensive representation across all intersecting identities can be a formidable task. Some groups within the LGBTIQ+ spectrum may find themselves feeling excluded or inadequately represented during the planning and decision-making phases of Pride events. The challenge of achieving equitable representation underscores the intricate nature of balancing the manifold dimensions of intersectionality within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Intersectional Pride marches may inadvertently engender tensions and conflicts among the diverse groups they aim to unite. The presence of varying priorities, viewpoints, and advocacy styles within these marches can give rise to discord and disagreement, potentially complicating the overarching goal of collective action. Navigating these differing perspectives presents a multifaceted challenge that necessitates careful management and negotiation. A potential pitfall of intersectional Pride marches lies in the risk of tokenism and appropriation. While the intent is to amplify underrepresented identities and experiences, there exists the possibility that some identities or experiences may be superficially tokenized or appropriated without genuine participation or inclusion. This phenomenon could undermine the authenticity of intersectional advocacy efforts and hinder the meaningful advancement of marginalized groups within the LGBTIQ+ movement.

7. CHAPTER FOUR: The Challenges of Intersectional Activism in Pride Marches

Nowadays, mobility in the international arena has become quite frequent. This allows us to encounter very diverse communities of individuals, ethnic groups or various different identity elements in a small geographical territory. The phenomenon of migration and immigration, which we have frequently mentioned in this study on intersectionality, also makes itself felt in this context. Currently, different countries have distinct profiles of migrants and refugees. Thus, there is a need to conduct different and context-specific research in the countries that host migrants and refugees. For instance, while migrant groups in some countries differ from the mainstream culture in terms of religion, language, socio-economic status, and similar contexts, in other countries, instead of these elements, other elements may deviate from the mainstream. As an example, Muslim minority groups, which are often the focus of research in Europe, have a very different culture and religion from the mainstream culture (Hirsch et al. 2019). This religious/cultural difference can add different dimensions to intersectionality. However, it can be observed that the religious identities of Syrian refugees and migrants in Turkey are often not very different from the mainstream culture in Turkey. Due to this situation, it is quite natural that a study on intersectionality in Turkey will have different characteristics from intersectionality studies in the Netherlands. Differences in country-specific Pride marches also give a different color to Pride components and intersectional activism, as is the case with the phenomenon of intersectionality. Pride marches are a complex phenomena that provide an essential opportunity for many groups and individuals to unite in the fight for universal civil rights. These activities, which take place all around the world, reflect specific regional differences, adding local undertones to the larger fabric of intersectional activism and Pride. When analyzing the several different Pride marches that have occurred throughout the world, the idea of intersectionality, which acknowledges the interaction of different social identities and kinds of discrimination, has particular relevance. This research tries to explain how intersectional activism has changed and grown in importance during Pride marches across many sociocultural and geographic contexts.



Picture 4 : A Picture from traditional Christopher Street Day Berlin, 2022

The Pride culture, which started with Stonewall, today serves as a stage for the rights-based struggle of many minority groups such as ethnic minorities, cultural minorities, and minorities related to sexual identities. In addition to the fight for gender identity and sexual orientation, Pride marches, which provide alternative political messages, also constitute a suitable concept for many activists to be visible. As an example, this photo from the traditional Christopher Street Day¹³ organized in Berlin in 2022 can be shown. It shows that this anti-war group uses the Pride march as a platform to make their voices heard as well as seeking rights for sexual orientation and gender identities as many others. Intersectionality is not only an intellectual concept but also visible in contemporary practices. Intersectionality is a theory that addresses power with an emphasis on praxis and emancipation, while being frequently presented as a philosophy of identity (May, 2015). As can be seen in the photograph, Pride marches open up space for many political phenomena such as mass migrations, regional or global wars, international problems and create an alternative field of struggle. The search for rights

¹² <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2022/07/23/ukrainian-activists-participate-in-berlin-pride-march/>

¹³ Christopher Street Day, the name given to Pride marches throughout Germany, the first march took place in Münster on 29 April 1972.

that started with Stonewall has become a multi-voiced and multi-coloured political message channel. In this case, in addition to Pride marches, the phenomenon of intersectionality and the support of intersecting identities cannot be denied.



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Picture 5: A Picture from The Internationalist Queer Pride in Berlin

This picture is taken from The Internationalist Queer Pride March. The Internationalist Queer Pride has been organized since 2021 by activist queers who find Berlin's traditional Christopher Street Day march quite "white". It is quite possible to recognize intersectional activism from the banners, the identities, and diversity of the individuals participating in the march, as well as the atmosphere created. The Internationalist Queer Pride is organized in Berlin with the aim of being a Pride for LGBTIQ+ rights as well as for all oppressed people. The Internationalist Queer Pride is a space where those who find the traditional Christopher Street Day Pride march understandably too conformist, and too tame, take the initiative and organize it, and therefore intersectional activism is at the forefront. As can be seen in the photo above, many activists who want to protest Israel's unjust occupation of Palestine also find a place in The Internationalist Queer Pride march.

¹⁴ <https://www.belltower.news/commentary-israel-bashing-at-berlins-queer-pride-helps-no-one-certainly-not-queer-palestinians-136011/>



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Picture 6: A Picture from Internationalist Queer Pride in Berlin

Intersectionality, therefore, attunes to a multipronged existence by rejecting "single axes" categories that attempt to universalize experience and instead turn to a "matrix mode of thinking" that encapsulates multiple forms of power (Collins, 2000). By pointing out discrepancies between theoretical intentions and practical applications, intersectional activism, in short, fundamentally alters how group identity, political allegiance, and relationality are conceptualized. To examine the many Pride marches organized in Europe and Turkey today, the place of intersectional activism in Pride marches can be seen clearly. This chapter of the study analyses different aspects of intersectional activism in Pride marches. The impact of intersectional issues on Pride marches, the challenges faced, and various phenomena are discussed.

¹⁵ <http://bds-kampagne.de/queers-for-palestine-soli-block-beim-radical-queer-march-berlin-2019/>

7.1 Overview of Intersectional Issues in Pride Marches

The numerous intricate problems that intersectional activism faces highlight the complexity of resolving social inequities at their crossing axes. The likelihood of fracture and division among activist movements when many organizations, each with unique origins and interests, converge is foremost among these difficulties. Internal tensions and disputes can result from the challenging effort of reconciling these contrasting viewpoints. Additionally, the prioritizing of certain topics within intersectional activism presents a difficult conundrum that needs considerable thought and discussion in order to use scarce resources wisely. Tokenism, the cosmetic inclusion of minority identities, which undermines the actual inclusion of various perspectives and upholds power disparities, continues to be a problem. Another significant challenge is erasure, which is the regrettable marginalization or exclusion of experiences inside less noticeable or recognized identities. Additionally, the use of complicated terminology and theoretical ideas essential to intersectionality may provide difficulties for activists as well as the general public, hindering efficient outreach and communication initiatives. Another difficult challenge is forging coalitions and partnerships among groups that have a history of hostility or mistrust. This requires time and patience. Resistance and reaction from people and organizations with a stake in maintaining the status quo sometimes take the form of antagonism, denigrating, or coopting activist efforts. In addition, it is crucial yet challenging to make sure that activist spaces and activities are inclusive of those with disabilities, people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and people who speak other languages. Finally, continuing long-term participation in intersectional activism faces challenges including activist fatigue, emotional tiredness from confronting numerous manifestations of oppression, and the necessity of upholding persistent commitments to complex social concerns. Despite these significant obstacles, the importance of intersectional activism is nevertheless undeniable since it provides a sophisticated and thorough strategy for comprehending and tackling the interconnectedness of social injustices. Numerous organizations and activists are actively developing tactics to deal with these issues, stressing inclusion, encouraging open communication, and prioritizing the perspectives of underrepresented groups in their advocacy work. A crucial aspect of the larger LGBTIQ+ movement scene involves intersectional concerns in Pride marches. These

problems result from the complex interactions of many social identities and present possibilities as well as challenges for those who participate in and organize these events. These intersectional concerns shed light on the complications encountered by varied members of the LGBTIQ+ community by exploring the multiple nature of LGBTIQ+ experiences and activism.



Picture 7: A Picture from Internationalist Queer Pride in Berlin

“Jewish Lesbian for a Free Palestine”

The interplay of race and ethnicity is a key aspect of intersectional concerns in Pride marches. These marches, which usually draw attendees from a variety of racial and ethnic origins, may unintentionally highlight the discrepancies that LGBTIQ+ people of color experience within the broader LGBTIQ+ community. There is a need for an in-depth examination of the complex interactions between racial and LGBTIQ+ identities since discrimination, stereotypes, and unequal representation serve as sharp reminders

¹⁶ <http://bds-kampagne.de/queers-for-palestine-soli-block-beim-radical-queer-march-berlin-2019/>

of the problems this community faces. Such an investigation is essential to provide light on the various marginalization experiences and the resulting formation of unique activism. Another crucial intersectional problem among Pride marches is gender identity and expression. Numerous difficulties arise when LGBTIQ+ identities and gender identity and expression are combined, especially for transgender and gender nonconforming people. These difficulties affect many facets of daily living, including personal safety, access to healthcare, and legal standing. The increased levels of violence and prejudice experienced by transgender and other non-binary people highlight the urgent need to address these concerns within the framework of Pride marches. The complexity of intersectional concerns in Pride marches is further exacerbated by socioeconomic position and class differences. The stark economic divides within the LGBTIQ+ community take many different forms, restricting access to resources, reducing possibilities for active Pride event participation, and sustaining structural inequality. In order to achieve economic justice within the LGBTIQ+ movement, a thorough grasp of these class-based discrepancies is essential. A particular type of difficulties arises when LGBTIQ+ identities are combined with abilities and disabilities. LGBTIQ+ people with disabilities struggle with inclusion, accessibility, and accommodation concerns at Pride celebrations. Their participation in these marches as well as their experiences there are influenced by their physical and mental capabilities. It is crucial to address these issues if we are to create a welcoming atmosphere for everyone. Beyond Western contexts, intersectional problems are addressed in Pride marches. The experiences of LGBTIQ+ people are strongly shaped by the additional layers of identity that non-Western civilizations provide, which are frequently impacted by cultural and religious elements. It is crucial to acknowledge these various viewpoints in order to get a thorough grasp of LGBTIQ+ issues on a global scale.

However, there are conflicts and difficulties along the path to inclusive action within Pride marches. Discord within the LGBTIQ+ community may be stoked by competing objectives, tokenism, and the erasure of certain identities. During Pride events, discussions over whose voices are heard and whose concerns are given priority are frequently fueled by intersectional issues, underlining the necessity of a concerted effort to promote diversity and equality within the movement. Understanding intersectional concerns in Pride marches is essential for going beyond clumsy representation and

tackling the complex and interwoven problems faced by LGBTIQ+ people of different identities. Pride marches may develop into more powerful forums for intersectional action by recognizing and aggressively addressing these challenges. In doing so, they can become potent vehicles for advocating the rights and well-being of all individuals within the LGBTIQ+ community. In the next sub-chapter, the challenges and obstacles to intersectional activism in Pride marches will be discussed from various perspectives.

7.2 Challenges and Barriers to Intersectional Activism in Pride Marches

Multifaceted challenges prevent intersectional activism from advancing social justice and diversity within Pride marches. As some members of the LGBTIQ+ community may be reluctant to recognize their own privilege, efforts to address the problems of marginalized members of the community are hampered. Resistance to addressing privilege continues to be a significant hurdle. In addition, a lack of representation for intersectional activists in Pride groups' decision-making structures can encourage exclusionary behavior and prevent the blending of different viewpoints. The use of intersectional techniques can also be hampered by cultural insensitivity and the unintentional perpetuating of stereotypes. Due to the perception that making modifications would be expensive or logistically difficult, inadequate accessibility, both physically and linguistically, frequently remains neglected. Resistance to intersectional action might result in more hurdles because of fears of polarization and worries that highlighting intersectionality will obscure Pride's core message. Additionally, the effort is complicated by conflicting interests within Pride activities and a lack of knowledge and understanding of intersectionality. Finally, the intersectional activist could experience reaction, such as cyberbullying and public shaming, underscoring the necessity of continued education, conversation, and a group commitment to promote tolerance and diversity within Pride marches and the larger LGBTIQ+ community. The difficulties of intersectional activism in the context of Pride marches provide a variety of hurdles that must be overcome if social justice and diversity are to develop. There is a subtle hesitation among some people to consider their own privilege within the complex tapestry of the LGBTIQ+ community. This resistance, which is frequently due to a lack of understanding of intersectionality, impedes the community's attempts to

solve the urgent issues faced by underrepresented groups. A more inclusive and egalitarian Pride movement is hampered by the refusal to recognize these discrepancies, which might be caused by color, ethnicity, gender identity, financial background, or disability. As a result, fulfilling the main objective of cultivating diversity and making sure that everyone in the community has a voice becomes a challenging task. In order to address these issues, Pride activism must be committed to tearing down the obstacles that stand in the way of real inclusion and social justice as well as an introspective assessment of privilege.

7.3 Strategies for Promoting Intersectional Activism in Pride Marches

It is crucial for the LGBTIQ+ movement to provide inclusive and egalitarian places that promote intersectional action during Pride marches. There are several ways that may be used to accomplish this. Priority should be given to ensuring varied representation, which reflects the complexity of the LGBTIQ+ community, in organizing committees, leadership positions, and speakers at Pride events. Collaborations with groups that focus on different intersectional concerns, including racial justice or disability advocacy, may inject events with a variety of viewpoints. Understanding may be improved by focusing on intersectionality and its importance within the LGBTIQ+ community in educational programs and awareness efforts. Race, gender, disability, and socioeconomic inequality should all be included in the programming for Pride events, and seminars and panel discussions should explore the connections between identification and action. Additionally, it is crucial to pay attention to accessibility so that those with disabilities may attend Pride activities. By creating safe spaces at events, marginalized groups may interact, exchange stories, and find support, fending against tokenism and erasure. The linkages between different oppressions and the significance of solidarity are emphasized when intersectionality is thematically included into event messaging and branding. Intersectional activism has a greater impact when various Pride march participants are involved through feedback mechanisms and alliance-building. Maintaining an inclusive and respectful atmosphere is made possible through accountability measures, diversity and inclusion policies, and ongoing review. Intersectional activism during Pride marches is strengthened by recognizing intersectional activists and presenting art and culture that promotes diversity. Together, these tactics support the growth of Pride celebrations as venues for promoting social justice and equality for all members of the

Pride marches elements. Promoting intersectional activism within Pride marches necessitates a multifaceted approach. It begins with education and awareness initiatives, fostering an understanding of intersectionality's importance within the LGBTIQ+ community and Pride organizations. This involves hosting workshops, seminars, and panel discussions to enlighten both participants and organizers about the recognition of intersecting identities and experiences. In order to advance intersectionality, diverse representation is essential. It means making sure that decision-making positions, planning teams, and event venues reflect the rich variety of the LGBTIQ+ community. Actively enlisting people from varied racial, ethnic, gender, and ability backgrounds helps to foster diversity and widen viewpoints. Through event design that specifically tackles a broad range of LGBTIQ+ concerns, including ethnicity, disability, gender identity, and socioeconomic position, inclusive programming is essential to the cause. Pride events create more inclusive places by including speakers, performers, and panels representing these various views. Accessibility is an essential component, with special emphasis on providing accommodations for those with impairments. This includes venues that are wheelchair-accessible and information that is available in a variety of forms, as well as accessible facilities, seating, and sign language interpreters. To accept and acknowledge the variety of identities and experiences within the LGBTIQ+ community, inclusive language and terminology are crucial. Cultural quirks and variations must be considered. Intersectional activism is strengthened by cooperation with other social justice groups including feminism, disability rights, and racial justice. These partnerships increase the movement's influence and capacity to tackle structural problems. In order to combat prejudice within the greater LGBTIQ+ community, safe spaces inside Pride celebrations give marginalized groups a forum to tell their stories and receive support. In order to address systemic challenges that have an impact on vulnerable LGBTIQ+ persons, policy advocacy and lobbying initiatives are essential. The importance of establishing anti-discrimination legislation, healthcare access, and other measures promoting equality cannot be overstated. Among Pride organizations, there are methods for accountability and transparency that hold people accountable for their commitment to intersectionality. Sharing diversity statistics, openly discussing obstacles, and monitoring inclusion progress are essential first steps. By including the larger community in decision-making procedures, community involvement makes sure

that all members' interests and concerns are taken into account. Pride marches organized by taking into account the concerns and doubts of larger groups of people will create safer spaces for gender identities and sexual orientations, as well as a more comprehensive ground for a broader-based struggle for rights. Solidarity declarations and proactive assistance for other oppressed populations show allyship and mutual support. Intersectional activism is continuously assessed for its effectiveness within Pride marches, along with participant input, to ensure that it remains a crucial component of these events. By putting these tactics into practice, Pride organizations and activists advance intersectional activism, resulting in more inclusive and equitable Pride marches that accurately reflect the diversity of the LGBTIQ+ community and address the particular difficulties that intersecting identities face.



Picture 8: A Picture from Internationalist Queer Pride in Berlin, 2019

“No Pride in Israeli Apartheid”

¹⁷ <http://bds-kampagne.de/queers-for-palestine-soli-block-beim-radical-queer-march-berlin-2019/>

8. Conclusion and Final Thoughts

The study aims a thorough knowledge of intersectional activism in Pride Marches. An examination of the fundamental concepts and areas of intersectionality within the parameters of the study is followed by a review of the literature on the techniques employed for data collecting and analysis. The study goes on to discuss the history of Pride marches, emphasizing how intersectional activism has evolved and been affected by factors like race, gender, and class in this setting. It also discusses the disputes that have arisen throughout time between different groups working in this area and the challenges that have come to be connected with intersectional activism. The study also indicates by outlining the tactics intersectional activism has historically and now employed to advance inclusivity and diversity in Pride marches. As known from first chapter, I examined how gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation are conceptualized in Pride Marches as well as the intersectional character of intersectional activism. I outlined how intersectional activism and Pride marches interact dynamically, highlighting both their benefits and potential drawbacks. Notably, Pride marches have developed into important venues for promoting inclusivity and pluralism, serving as a favorable environment for the fusion of intersecting identities in the context of activism. This joint effort has the potential to raise political awareness and broaden the reach of activism. Additionally, Pride marches' increased visibility and representation of many gender identities and sexual orientations serve to increase the scale of both these events and the broader LGBTIQ+ movement. The increased permeability between Pride marches and intersectional action has helped the LGBTIQ+ movement and its different subgroups as well as Pride grow more diverse and heterogeneous. The concept of intersectionality, as explored within this study, centers on the diverse identities existing among various groups in Pride marches. Within this intricate interplay, competitive dynamics often give rise to the formulation of discriminatory policies within the LGBTIQ+ movement. Systemic inequalities further exacerbate these issues, hindering the formation of solidarity networks among even marginalized groups, thereby perpetuating marginalization, isolation, diminishment, and the act of relegating "the other" group or movement. For instance, the low participation of transgender individuals in Pride marches in Turkey, due to their perception of exclusion, serves as a pertinent illustration. Elements of discrimination begin to proliferate, becoming

intertwined with the prevailing social order and system. It is crucial to underscore that these elements of discrimination can emanate from one minority group towards another, exemplifying the complex dynamics at play within the broader context of intersectionality. Intersectional activism and different group affiliations enhance the inclusivity of Pride marches and the process of interaction with each other. In this case, individuals can emphasize their different group affiliations within a movement and produce intersectional actions within the LGBTIQ+ movement. For example, the LGBTIQ+ movement's solidarity with refugees or women, or planning events together with these movements, increases solidarity between groups, and also has the effect of creating groupings within the women's movement. As struggles for different identities and individuals' group affiliations proliferate, movements are confronted with the acceptance or rejection of these identities and come to an impasse. While the process of acceptance increases the intersectional practices of movements, identities within the LGBTIQ+ movement acquire diversity and collaborations with different formations increase. It is clear that individuals need to engage in a process of struggle to gain their identity acceptance and social status. However, the elements of discrimination produced through systemic inequality narrow individuals' sphere of action and prevent their equal participation in identity struggles. One identity element dominates the other depending on current policies and events, and individuals are forced to make choices in their struggle processes. For this reason, they usually choose one of the identity groups that they see as close to themselves, the most oppressed, and the most beneficial to society. Within the framework of the theoretical discussions and observations, there are some possibilities for the development of intersectional activism and the functioning of the LGBTIQ+ movement in the future. First of all, over time, movements are dragged into a process of choice between accepting or not accepting different identity groups. In both choices, with the diversification of identity groups within movements, competitive relations may increase and the solidarity network may be broken. In this case, inter-group solidarity may be replaced by conflict and the movement may enter a process of disintegration, division or downsizing. Additionally, I think there is an organic connection between Pride marches and intersectional activism, as evidenced by the Pride marches that started with the Stonewall Inn riots and are now organized in every continent of the world with various identities and identity elements. Pride marches,

which integrate different identity elements over time, also collaborate with many other political movements from time to time. This integration has facilitated successful intersectional initiatives in the realms of social and political activism. I also want to stated the pivotal role of intersectional activism in advancing social justice and equality within the framework of Pride marches. It has expanded the focus of activism to encompass various marginalized identities, including race, gender, and class, in addition to sexual orientations. However, we have also acknowledged the complexities and disputes that have emerged within the field of intersectional activism over time in Pride marches. As indicated by my thorough literature review conducted during the course of this study, it becomes evident that intersectional activism constitutes an integral facet of Pride marches, a phenomenon that appears poised to persist for the foreseeable future. I also have outlined several promising directions for future study, including a focus on the intricate issues confronting intersectional activism within Pride marches and the potential solutions to these challenges. Exploring how intersectional activism shapes broader social and political domains offers opportunities to decipher the mechanisms by which intersectionality fosters equity and positive change. In conclusion, the study underscored the continuous growth and evolution of intersectional activism, urging further exploration and deeper comprehension of its multifaceted nature during Pride marches and beyond. Additionally, investigating how intersectional activism impacts social and political domains and understanding its theoretical and practical implications for promoting social justice and equality are critical areas for study. Examining the intersectionality of other social identities, like race, ethnicity, and religion, and their effects on activism and social change, presents valuable research opportunities. These suggestions provide a glimpse into the potential avenues for further investigation in this area.

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