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SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Creating a Space for Trans Self-Narrative in 1930s Turkey: Kenan Çinili's Memoir

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Abstract
The memoir of Kenan Çinili, a transgender person who was widely covered by newspapers in Turkey in the second half of the 1930s, sheds light on the historically and geographically unique workings of cisheteronormativity. Through a self-reflexive reading of the memoir and newspaper accounts from this period, this article explores how a narrative transgender subjectivity emerges from the appropriation and negotiation of tropes, figures and discourses that make this subjectivity intelligible. Through the use of the medium of photography, which exposed and spectacularised gender nonconformity, Kenan was able to performatively embody and visually present a masculine gender identity. However, the space Kenan created for narrative and visual self-constitution was conditioned by their privileges based on class, urban–rural hierarchy, ethnicity and normative sexual dimorphism.

INTRODUCTION

A light flashed in their tearful, resentful eyes. Suddenly they said:[1]

> - 'We have talked enough. This is who I am. I do not know if my man-girlness is a habit or a disease. I just want to say that at first it was my father who dressed me in men's clothes. He bought me a navy costume. And now I still walk around in men's clothes … And I enjoy myself and the way I dress'.

Then they turned to me and asked:

> - 'Would you write down my adventures? If I tell you all of them?'

I saw the tears in their eyes and the burning desire to live. I said:

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FIGURE 1 '26 years under the men's clothes'.
Kenan Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının Dediği Gibi Anormal Bir Mahluk Değilim!', *Haber*, 6 December 1937, p. 6.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

> - 'No, my child!' and concluded my words: 'The most original thing about your life is that you are a girl [sic.] in men's clothes. I do not know if you can have an adventure more original and curious than that'.[2]

In April 1935, a story appeared in almost every major daily newspaper in Turkey. The 'rather unusual event', according to the headlines, involved 'two girls' engaged to each other. Allegedly, Ayşe Remziye, a young woman in Istanbul, decided to break the engagement when she found out that her fiancé was a 'she'. Ayşe sued Kenan, who was reported to have threatened her with death after the breakup. Throughout 1935, newspapers continued to report on the ongoing hearings and the sometimes violent confrontations between the two parties. Kenan reappeared in the newspapers at the end of 1937 when they were identified by a hotel receptionist after their engagement to another woman in Izmir. The 'curious case' of the 'mister-miss' or the 'man-girl' caused a great stir, which eventually led to the popular daily *Haber* (*News*) publishing Kenan's memoir.[3] The daily serialisation, entitled '26 Years Under the Men's Clothes', ran in 71 instalments from 6 December 1937 to 20 February 1938. A small illustrated picture of them was placed next to the signature 'Kenan Çinili - Melekzad Çinili (MAN -GİRL)' (Figure 1).[4] Given that Turkish is a gender-neutral language, their gender transgression was implied by using both names and the label 'man-girl'.

Initially troubled by the intrusive and excessive interest of the press, Kenan later managed to craft a space for self-narrative and visual self-representation out of their 'tabloidisation'.[5] At first glance, the memoir does not seem to possess the qualities one would expect from a transgender self-narrative such as a self-reflection on gender identity, an in-depth look at trans embodiment and emotions, a psychological account of their growth and transition. Instead, it aims to captivate the readers with a fast-paced plot full of embellished and adventurous events. Although the text raises questions about its veracity and authorship, as these may be linked to questions about the veracity and authenticity of trans subjectivity, the memoir invites us to critically interrogate our expectations of a transgender self-narrative.

When read alongside the contemporaneous accounts of individuals labelled as 'man-girls', the memoir sheds light on the historically and geographically unique workings of cisgender and heterosexual normativity in 1930s Turkey. The late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey witnessed significant socio-cultural shifts and political reforms that brought about the strengthening of normative discourses that marginalise individuals who fell outside a rigid gender binary and condemn homoeroticism, in particular male homoeroticism and love of young beautiful boys.[6] Nevertheless, these discourses remained susceptible to constant destabilisation due to a multitude of social and cultural tensions, such as the tension between Western-oriented modernisation and existing gender and sexual discourses, as well as the contrasting perceptions of gender and desire in urban and rural contexts. While the latter was often idealised as the embodiment of unadulterated Turkishness, it was also perceived as being in need of civilisation.

By navigating a diverse range of sources, including medical, literary and journalistic writings, my objective is to provide a context for Kenan's memoir and the hype surrounding them as part of a prolonged process of normalisation that unfolds along an intricate and contradictory trajectory,

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characterised by tensions and complexities that arise from the 'unrationalised coexistence' of early modern Ottoman narratives and modern Western understandings of gender, love and eroticism.[7] I aim to contribute to a body of literature that complicates Anglo-American histories of modern gender and sexuality by exploring the intricate interplay between Western medical understandings and pre-existing frameworks, shedding light on diverse subjectivities shaped through processes of reappropriation, adaptation and recontextualisation. By challenging the implicit modernist assumption that non-Western responses to Western scientific models are restricted to acceptance, rejection or silencing, my work underscores the significance of investigating diverse expressions of gender identity, erotic desire and subjectivity as well as the negotiations of discourses of gender and sexual perversion beyond Western perspectives. While there was a growing tendency by the late 1930s to associate masculine gender identification with feminine object choice, the memoir conjures and negotiates earlier narratives that did not suggest a conflict between masculine gender identification and masculine object choice. Instead, in these earlier narratives, masculine identification functioned as a means of alleviating the anxieties of emasculation that feminine object choice engendered. These older narratives allowed Kenan carve out a unique space for expressing their masculine identity, strategically employing what were sometimes conflicting expressions regarding their desires while contesting the prevailing discourses of pathologisation. Through the memoir, we can see how a narrative trans-subjectivity emerges from the appropriation of tropes, figures and discourses that make this subjectivity intelligible, as well as from the negotiation of conventions of autobiographical writing and of the nascent scientific language of sexual and gender normativity.

By manoeuvring and appropriating the medium of photography, that originally exposed and spectacularised them, Kenan was able to performatively embody a version of masculinity of their own making. During a period when gender roles and definitions of masculinity were undergoing transformation, Kenan adeptly embodied a novel modern, urban and middle-class masculinity. The space Kenan created for their narrative and visual self-constitution was conditioned by their privileges based on hierarchies of class and ethnicity, the urban–rural divide and normative sexual dimorphism.

WRITING AND READING A TRANS SELF-NARRATIVE

Unlike Selim Tevfik, whose theatrical rejection of Kenan's offer I quoted at the beginning of this article, the *Haber* newspaper found Kenan's memoirs interesting enough to publish. The memoir that contains a first-hand account of the events that had already been widely reported in the newspapers is packed with action and has a fast-paced plot. It seems that, contrary to Tevfik's opinion, Kenan had more to tell than just being a 'man-girl'. The memoir oscillates between a pulp adventure fiction and a self-narrative, which Kenan also acknowledges. When the *Haber* newspaper asked them if they wanted to write their life story, they said they hesitated because they did not know who might be interested in their life. But when they discovered that they were actually asked to write *their adventures not their life*, they decided there was no reason to hesitate.[8]

Although the press announced Kenan's story as something curious and unusual, it was unusual in an accustomed way, as the disclosure of transgender people, particularly transmasculine people who successfully passed for a long time, had been reported across countries for more than a century.[9] Turkey was no exception, and Kenan was not the only 'man-girl' the newspapers put on their front pages in the 1930s. In addition to publishing serious news, *Haber* was also a newspaper with a strong penchant for sensationalism and scandal. The newspaper was interested in publishing the memoir, probably because it meant high circulation, because Kenan, unlike other transgender and intersex people the newspaper covered, had managed to achieve celebrity status and their face was familiar to most newspaper readers. As events unfolded and were widely reported, Kenan began giving interviews to offer the public the perspective of the 'curious man-girl'. Even though Kenan claimed that *Haber* newspaper had suggested publishing their memoir, it is more plausible that Kenan themselves had pitched the idea. They had always been interested in writing and showed their poems and notes to the

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journalist Tevfik as early as 1935.[10] After being rejected by Tevfik in 1937, they expressed their desire to publish their story in an interview.[11] Weeks before the publication of the memoir, *Haber* published a frivolous story about Kenan's whereabouts.[12] Kenan, who was already ready to have their memoirs published, perhaps saw an opportunity and appeared at *Haber*'s office, which then announced that it would soon publish Kenan's memoirs.[13]

Haber appealed to the appetite of – presumably mainly cisgender and heterosexual – middle-class readers for the unusual, promising to astonish and entertain them. Since the memoir was serialised, readers were enticed to follow the forthcoming instalments with exciting plots, attention-grabbing headlines and cliff-hangers. Kenan travelled to small cities and villages, interacted with the very rich as well as the rural and working classes. Though often injured, Kenan by no means shied away from physical action and the memoir is enlivened with thrilling chase scenes, horse races, fist and knife fights, nightclub and prison dramas. These stereotypically masculine ventures were coupled with Kenan's unstoppable charm, for they were able to seduce any woman from any walk of life who came under their eyes.

The extremity of Kenan's adventures not only secured them a readership, but also presented transgression of gender norms as unthreatening and alleviated readers' anxieties about potential complicity with such transgression. The more the memoir read as a fantastic, unrealistic adventure fiction, the less real Kenan's transgression of gender and sexuality norms became.[14] One can imagine how the twists and turns of a formulaic cross-dressing story, the pleasures of passing and the thrill of disclosure penetrated the daily routine of the newspaper readers who followed each instalment, perhaps creating an affectionate, intimate yet fantastical space in which Kenan could talk about their sexual and gender transgressions.[15] The light and entertaining text is difficult to classify into a genre, format or style. It leans heavily on, but also departs from, the conventions of adventure fiction and the trope of a venturesome female-to-male cross-dresser. Although the memoir does not adhere to common sense, it cannot be dismissed as fictional, as it also retells events previously reported in newspapers and at times comes close to an honest personal account. The memoir's lack of concern with articulating a coherent gender identity or erotic desire can be explained in two ways. First the readership is intermittently engaged with the memoir that is published in short pieces scattered over several days. Second the publishers were interested in offering an entertaining human-interest story and not a serious discussion of gender identity or erotic desire. The only constant in the narrative is Kenan's passion to dress and live as a man, which also serves as the impetus for their adventures.

Four years ago, when I had just started researching Kenan's story, my excitement was heightened when I heard the writer and archivist Serdar Soydan talk about the memoirs at a conference. I hoped to work with Kenan's memoir to explore the ways in which a transgender person narrated themselves amid the changing epistemologies of gender identification and erotic desire in the early twentieth century. Notwithstanding this initial enthusiasm, I came to doubt the authenticity and genuineness of the memoir as I read it. Despite the conventional autobiographical assurances of truth and authenticity that the memoir gives its readers, the text felt as if it could have been ghost-written, or even if Kenan themselves was the author, most of the events, including the fights, the chases, the races, the romantic entanglements and the prison drama, seemed generously embellished, if not completely invented.[16]

Although the critical concept of the 'author function' had previously helped me to read self-narratives as intertextual, polyphonic texts, it proved inadequate for approaching Kenan's memoir.[17] I found myself questioning the *true* author of the text, as if polyphony and intertextuality were only valid if it could be verified that the person whose name appears as the author was indeed the main creator. This questioning led me to realise that I was still clinging to what Philippe Lejeune describes as an 'autobiographical pact' between author and reader, that the author, the narrator and the principal character of the story share the same proper name.[18] But there was a second reason for my scepticism: I wanted to hear the voice of a transgender person without the filter of potential ghost-writers and the heavy-handed intervention of editors. Failing to acknowledge the possibility that Kenan's voice was overshadowed or intertwined with these intermediary voices, I believed, could perpetuate the silencing

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of a subject who has been historically denied an authorial subjectivity, a narrative agency. I therefore, found myself, questioning the validity and value of the memoir.

These questions inevitably led to further questions regarding my position as a reader and researcher. If the text was written by Kenan, does not my analysis as a cisgender scholar add a layer of silence? I did not know about the memoir until Soydan mentioned it and I waited for its publication as a book to feel comfortable enough to talk about it.[19] When the book was available to all Turkish-speaking readers, Kenan's voice could be heard without the intermediaries of the archivist and the researcher. The publication did not, however, end the intellectual division of labour between the transgender autobiographer and the cisgender scholar, a division that has compounded academic objectification of trans people.[20] The responsibility to find ways to overcome academic objectification, to engage in a dialogue that produces a 'knowledge with' rather than a 'knowledge of' remained.[21] In order to engage in such dialogue, I have tried to take seriously the cautionary criticism of trans studies scholars not to read trans self-narratives against themselves in order to expose the gaps and inconsistencies in them. Not finding the memoir credible and questioning its authenticity, I wondered if I was not reproducing, albeit involuntarily and from a different vantage point, the 'hermeneutics of suspicion' about transgender subjectivity.[22] Even if the ultimate goal was to debunk the intervention of intermeddling voices and restore voice to a transgender subject, would not adopting the position of the 'detective scholar' who wants and presumes to uncover the truth of the text end up in a 'dissecting reading of trans narratives'?[23] Does not a project dedicated to confirming the authenticity and truthfulness of the text reproduce an epistemic framework fraught with cisgender scholarly privileges?

Since it is unclear how much of Kenan's unmediated voice is conveyed in the memoir, my reading of the text is informed by these unresolved questions. What I learn from trans scholars is to listen to what the text says without being fixated on predefined goals of revelation, unveiling and destabilisation. Perhaps when Kenan showed up at the *Haber*'s offices in Istanbul, they presented their diary to the editors for review and the editors thought that hiring a ghost-writer would be the quickest way to publication. Or perhaps, following the editors' suggestions, Kenan wrote the memoir to be an entertaining and thrilling read.[24] These are equally likely scenarios, and no hoax has yet been uncovered. Kenan did not protest the memoir, either because they felt obliged to approve it, or because they actually liked being portrayed as a daring, witty, quick-thinking and charming young man. While it is important to consider the question of actual authorship, I discovered that I was able to navigate the text despite and through this question. Regardless of who wrote it, the text deserves analysis simply because it exists as the memoir of a transgender person.

Jay Prosser, in his seminal *Second Skin*, says that while the 'transsexual's capacity to narrativise the embodiment of his/her condition' is necessary for medical approval for transition, autobiographies are also important for making sense of transition and for fusing the split subject into an autobiographical subject.[25] Yet in Kenan's memoir, it is difficult to discern where an autobiography that 'subtends (supports and makes possible)' transgender subjectivity stops and where a biography that meets the expectations of a reading public who wants to be 'fascinated but not challenged, provoked but not transformed' begins.[26] In a sense, the memoir is 'doubly trans-', since in it the conventions of life narrative are shaken by elusive movements between the two forms of trans life narrative; a trans autobiography and a 'stabilising' biography that aims to defuse the destabilising effects of transgender narrative 'by establishing [it] as strange, uncharacteristic and even pathological'.[27] In order not to blur the line between the two, I sometimes deploy 'the memoir' instead of Kenan, as the grammatical agent. It is clear, however, that the memoir, whether authentic or faux, owes its existence to the high value placed on Kenan's self-utterance, a value carved out by Kenan themselves. Even if it is not always Kenan's words we read, the text is endowed with this value, which is a product of the historically and geographically unique workings of gender and sexual normativity and the ways in which Kenan, as a transgender person, negotiated and manoeuvred them. Analysing the content and context of the memoir, the tropes, themes, conventions and literary and visual styles they draw on helps an analysis of the frameworks that made Kenan intelligible, as well as the ways in which they presented themselves and constituted a narrative self.

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ON FRAMEWORKS OF INTELLIGIBILITY

The *Haber* newspaper announced Kenan's memoir with the following words: 'A girl [*sic*] hanging around in men's clothes may not seem unusual in itself. But MISTER KENAN - MISS MELEKZAD's terrifying and amusing adventures in men's clothes make it especially significant'.[28] What may seem unusual to today's reader is the newspaper's casual attitude towards 'a girl in men's clothes'. While the phrase intended to draw attention to the uniqueness of Kenan's adventures, it also suggests that the newspaper did not consider Kenan's transgression of gender norms 'sensational enough', which may explain the lavish exaggeration of the memoir.[29] The exaggeration not only helped to make Kenan's adventures more enthralling, it also helped to make the memoir more palatable to a heterosexual and cisgender readership.

Kenan's gender expression straddled the line between the familiar and palatable and the eccentric and transgressive, speaking to the ongoing socio-political and cultural changes that made gender expression and sexuality turbulent and anxiety-ridden in the early twentieth-century Turkey, and elsewhere around the world, while also drawing upon existing tropes and narratives.[30] The trope of a female-to-male cross-dresser who plunges from one adventure to the next was familiar to the Turkish reading public of the 1930s, as it appeared repeatedly in stories, novels and plays in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[31] In this corpus of texts, cross-dressing was presented as a legitimate, even respectable, way for people assigned female at birth to transgress the boundaries of gender segregation. By adopting men's clothing, they could venture into the male world without violating patriarchal codes of honour, which required limited interaction with unrelated men and the maintenance of feminine chastity and modesty. Building on the tradition of folk stories with a cross-dressing protagonist, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century prose employed the trope of cross-dressing to negotiate the anxieties about heteronormativisation of gender and sexuality that happened throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[32] While in heteronormative configurations of love and desire, women were designated as the only legitimate object of desire for men, the prevailing assumptions of the 'one sex model' endowed female object of desire with emasculating powers.[33] According to this, there was one male sex, and women were not viewed as its exclusive opposite but rather as flawed variations alongside other categories, such as prepubescent boys. The dangers of slipping from perfect masculine to imperfect feminine were great unless the body, its sexual functions and its erotic desires were carefully controlled.[34] As the female-to-male cross-dresser protagonists were praised for their chastity as well as for qualities typically associated with masculinity, such as courage, integrity and honour, they also alleviated anxieties about emasculation aroused by the female object of desire.

In a serialised novel by the prolific Ahmed Midhat, *Dürdane Hanım* (1883), the cross-dressed protagonist Ulviye ventures into the world of men in a fast-paced and action-packed plot similar to Kenan's memoir.[35] Ulviye is figured as masculine not only because of her unusual physical strength and an adventurous spirit, but also because she cross-dresses to protect the honour of other women.[36] Namık Kemal's canonical patriotic play *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (1872) lionises its protagonist Ayşe for dressing up as a soldier to follow her fiancé to war. Ayşe epitomised the ideal woman who could 'sacrifice her womanhood' so that men could sacrifice themselves for the homeland.[37] The piece resonated with archival sources about the Ottoman state's honouring of two soldiers, who were assigned female at birth, because they served in the army as men.[38] Black Fatma, who fought in the Turkish War of Independence dressed in men's clothes, became a national figure praised for courage and patriotism.[39]

Aka Gündüz, a prominent journalist, writer and politician, was aware that Kenan's public image derived its legitimacy from the patriotic female-to-male cross-dresser figure and aimed to sever this connection by describing Kenan as demonstrating a 'fully-fledged abnormality':[40]

> The new world has already forgotten the man-girls who made history. This neurotic lunatic running around our streets should be locked up. … They are just looking for women to get engaged to, to marry or not to marry. It is nothing to joke about. In Ottoman

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> history, there were Black Fatmas, they embodied virtue and heroism. This one is just looking for a hook-up.[41]

Although Gündüz was complaining about the press interest in them, Kenan was not the only transgender person who appeared in the papers at the time. News about transmasculine people offered a safe eccentricity to attract a readership accustomed to sympathetic literary representations of female-to-male cross-dressing. Jen Manion observes that the reprinting of newspaper reports contributed to the widespread dissemination of 'female-husband' accounts, which also took place on a transnational level.[42] As the Turkish-language Ottoman press reprinted international news without much attribution, accounts of transgender people in Europe, particularly people who 'passed' as men until their assigned sex were disclosed, found a place in the popular press in the early twentieth century.[43] This space harvested an interest in news in Turkey about transmasculine people and intersex people who underwent female-to-male sex reassignment surgeries. These reports were published along with reprints of international commentaries critical of fashions that allegedly 'masculinised' women. A newspaper interview with a transmasculine person living in the provincial towns of Western Anatolia, Ismet, was published months before Kenan's resurfacing in 1937. The journalist claimed that Ismet dressed as a man to earn an honourable living as a street vendor and contrasted this with 'eccentric women' in men's clothes who followed the latest fashion trends modelled on stars like Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo.[44] Although Ismet clearly expressed his/their gender identity as male, the journalist felt it necessary for a sympathetic approach to portray him/them as putting on men's clothes out of necessity.[45]

Kenan upset the dichotomy of eccentric urban trend followers and rural or working-class survivors. As they came from a middle-class Istanbul family, their masculine gender expression dangerously bordered on transgression. But what made them particularly transgressive was their romantic affairs.[46] For Gündüz, quoted above, unlike the heroic female-to-male cross-dresser and especially the patriotic Black Fatma, Kenan was not only debauched but also abnormal because of their romantic involvements with women. Neither these figures nor the literary trope of cross-dressing provided a framework that rendered Kenan's romantic affairs intelligible. In folk stories, such as the *Ağlayan Nar Gülen Ayva* (*Weeping Pomegranate, Smiling Quince*), the romantic confusion created by the cross-dressing character was resolved by a miraculous sex change.[47] In nineteenth-century prose inspired by such tales, such as Midhat's *Dürdane Hanım*, the possibility of such a desire was only hinted at, only to be foreclosed by a neatly wrapped heteronormative ending. In Kenan's case, neither magical sex change nor heteronormative foreclosure was possible. The very reason Kenan appeared in the newspapers was their romantic affairs.

The headline of the first story about Kenan in 1935 read, 'An Unprecedented Trial: A Young Girl [*sic*] Falling in Love with a Girl is on Trial!'. Just when they were about to be forgotten, Kenan resurfaced in Izmir in 1937, promising to marry another woman and allegedly swindling money from her.[48] After their assigned sex was disclosed, they boarded a ferry from Izmir to Istanbul. When landed in Istanbul Kenan was met by reporters who peppered them with questions about their gender identity and romantic relations. According to some reporters, Kenan defended their right to fall in love like any other person, declared their love for their fiancée and added that they were only born as a girl, but felt like a man.[49] Two weeks later, an extensive photo interview with Kenan was published in the illustrated weekly *Yedigün*, a popular magazine aimed at the urban middle class. Using their birth given name, the reporter Hikmet Münir claimed to show the compassion that the scandal-hungry press denied Kenan. Almost reversing Karl Ulrich's well-known definition of inversion, Münir said that Kenan was only a man of high morals on the outside; never completely silenced were the protests of the woman trapped in man's clothing.[50] The interview made no reference to Kenan's repeated engagements, but instead told of their desire to marry a man and, once that happened, to stop wearing men's clothes.

In the press accounts, there appeared two narratives about Kenan's desires and gender identity. In one, Kenan felt like a man and loved women. In the other, Kenan was a girl, wore men's clothes out of habit and seduced women only as a trickster. Kenan's memoir embraced and incorporated these

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two narratives. In the first instalment Kenan asks: 'Have you ever imagined that you cannot reveal your feelings to the man you love, that you have to bury them in your heart forever just because you wear men's clothes?'. Yet, these deeply buried feelings hardly surface; we read only of the romantic advances of a man who knew their assigned sex, which were not reciprocated by Kenan.[51] In the meantime, they tell of their many romantic affairs with women, three of which end in an engagement. The first fiancée is a woman they refer to as 'my Leyla'. Leyla is a factory worker and both she and her mother fear that the class differences between Kenan and Leyla are an obstacle to their marriage. The memoir offers class difference as a surrogate obstacle that reinforces the idea that Kenan's assigned sex is the real obstacle that, unlike class, cannot be overcome. Leyla initially resists Kenan's attempts to get intimate fearing that this young man from a middle-class family will run away after having fun with her. Kenan recalls the night they admired Leyla's beauty and kissed her on the lips 'with the love they feel inside', leading to Leyla's protest. This scene is followed by a fight in which Kenan knocks down a tall man with a blow and scares the other two with a gun.[52] In this and several other scenes, the tension created by sexual transgression of physical intimacy with a woman is alleviated by the affirmation of Kenan's masculinity, while at the same time flirtation and romance reinforce Kenan's masculine gender expression.[53] As romantic overtures cross class boundaries and the urban–rural divide, they are presented in the memoir as a challenge to both Kenan's masculine seductiveness and their class privileges. In an instalment entitled 'The Village Belle Will Not Marry Me', we read how Kenan flirts with a village woman while both the woman and the pastoral landscape are praised for their unadulterated beauty. Kenan becomes angry when they are rejected but calms down when the woman explains to them that 'a common village girl' cannot make Kenan, who is educated and from a respectable Istanbul family, happy.[54]

While Kenan's romantic advances and their gender identity reinforce each other, the memoir remains ambiguous about Kenan's 'motivations'. The passage in which they express affection for Leyla is a rare one, and throughout the memoir it remains unclear whether Kenan seduces women because they are attracted to them, or to prove how convincingly they pass. By maintaining this ambiguity, the memoir allows the readers to project any form of desire onto Kenan without feeling too complicit in their transgressions.[55] The vacillation on the border between morally acceptable and unacceptable, between so-called harmless gender trickery and possibly pathological behaviour corresponds to the text's vacillation between a transgender autobiography and a stabilising biography.

Apart from the single mention of abnormality in the introduction, however, these sexual and gender transgressions are not translated into a language of pathology in the memoir. Nevertheless, a medical frame of reference was provided for the educated lay reader. A journalist consulted a neuropsychiatrist from Izmir, Necati Kemal, for a 'scientific and physical' opinion on Kenan. Following a hormonal paradigm that had become popular among sexologists in the decades before, Kemal claimed that masculine traits such as 'boldness, vigour and an active arousal for women' are produced by male hormones and that a person with these traits should be considered a man regardless of external sexual anatomy.[56] Although he left it to the reader to conclude whether a woman who has a 'deep voice, thick bones, penetrating looks … wears tie, jacket and trousers, rides a horse … and wants to smoke', suffers from the hypersecretion of male hormones, in a 'slippery diagnostic matrix', he linked '*sevicilik*, transvestitism, homosexuality and passivity' to unnatural hormonal dispositions.[57] Necati Kemal deplored the public display of such unfortunate people in the name of humanity and science and defended that these 'sinless subjects of a scientific problem' (*ilmi bir davanın bigünah süjeleri*) should be treated with the same indifference as other distortions of nature, such as being six-fingered. The interview was rare among accounts of Kenan in its pathologising plea for sympathy and utilisation of modern categories such as homosexuality and transvestitism, as well as more common terms such as *sevicilik* and 'passivity'. One explanation for its rarity is that the categories of sexology, which have been gradually translated into Turkish since the beginning of the twentieth century, have been used in the vernacular only to a limited extent. More strikingly, Necati Kemal seems to have jumbled these categories and disregarded their different implications of sexual transgression and gender nonconformity, as if he could not decide which one defined Kenan the best.

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Although they used headlines such as 'A Young Girl Falling in Love with a Girl', newspapers did not usually resort to popular terms for female homoeroticism such as *sevici* or *zürefa*. As the interview with Necati Kemal makes clear, it was not because the vocabulary was unavailable. One possible reason is Kenan's middle-class background. Perhaps the newspapers did not want to offend a respected Istanbul family, already upset by Kenan's appearance in the press, by resorting to supposedly dishonouring labels. Another likely reason was that *zürefa* and, to a lesser extent, *sevici* were too feminine and their implications of gender nonconformity were too weak to make Kenan's desires and affairs intelligible. The accounts of Kenan appeared in newspapers at a time when the cultural meaning and references of female homoerotic desire were gradually shifting. In the early twentieth century, as Turkish-speaking Ottoman neuropsychiatrists translated European sexology literature and its inversion model, a masculine lesbian figure began to appear in medical and later literary texts.[58] This was very different from the literary representations of female homoeroticism in the mid- to late nineteenth century, where women who looked alike, behaved alike and were part of the same female homosocial subculture loved and desired each other. Although the homosocial model and the feminine figure of women-loving *zürefa* did not disappear from the cultural milieu in the 1930s and the meaning of female homoeroticism was shaped by the interplay of competing discourses and figures, these proved insufficient to make Kenan's identity and desires intelligible.[59]

Following the opening lines of the memoir that deny being abnormal, Kenan continues by hinting at another possible scenario: 'Do I have a body that can transform from its polar opposite, from femininity to masculinity, with a minor surgery?'. Gender reassignment surgery resurfaces in the memoir when Kenan tells their second fiancée Ayşe (Hicran in the memoir) that they were *hünsa* and will soon undergo surgery.[60] In the absence of a language for transgender identity *hünsa*, an Arabic derived equivalent for hermaphroditism, has provided a language and frame of reference for intersex and trans embodiments as well as same sex desires for lay people and medical professionals.[61] As Kenan alludes to the possibility of surgical intervention, they use it to refer to intersexuality, exemplifying the deeply interwoven but diverging histories of transgender and intersex embodiment.[62] In the 1930s, Turkish newspapers regularly reported on female-assigned individuals, almost all from poor rural areas, who underwent female-to-male sex reassignment surgeries and were diagnosed as *hünsa*. According to the reporters, some of them visited hospitals themselves because they noticed certain male traits on their bodies, while others were taken by their parents when they reached puberty. Since most of them were under the age of eighteen, their bodies were particularly vulnerable to state-sanctioned non-consensual surgeries. Most were reported to state that they were dissatisfied with their assigned female sex and appreciated the surgeries that made them 'complete men'. However, it is likely that these statements were made under duress and that at least some of them had to endure several clumsy surgeries that had to be repeated and to which they had not fully consented.[63] While the Republican modernisation project praised rural Turks as the epitome of unadulterated noble Turkishness, the ruling elite also saw peasants as backward primitive people who needed to be civilised in order to reach the level of the 'modern nations'. In a period when there were moves towards the normalisation of monogamous heterosexuality, rural Anatolia could be contrasted with such moves as the home for unruly and uncivilised sexuality.[64] In line with that, through the coverage of sex reassignment surgeries by the daily press, peasant bodies were figured as malleable and receptive to normative medical intervention.

These stories were connected to Kenan's memoir, because, not only Kenan themselves, but also journalists invoked gender reassignment surgeries while covering the case.[65] Reports on intersex people, which sometimes used the label 'man-girl', contributed to public interest in Kenan, which enabled them to publish their memoir.[66] The space for the self-narrative that Kenan had created was intricately bound up with stories of intersex people from poor rural areas, revealing how this space was conditioned by class, geographical and ethnic privileges, as well as normative sexual dimorphism.[67] While the memoir fuelled public interest in intersexuality, transgender expression and in other expressions of gender nonconformity that Kenan was able to manoeuvre, it meant objectification for others who were more susceptible to the public's and press' spectacularising gaze and sensationalist appetite.

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Through the coverage of surgeries on intersex people, word was spreading that medical sex reassignment was possible.[68] For example, Ismet, the transmasculine person mentioned earlier, said he/they had masculine bodily features such as narrow hips and broad shoulders and would soon see a doctor in Izmir to have a surgery and marry a woman.[69] We do not know if Ismet's masculine features were considered by medical professionals as intersex embodiment, but his/their demand for surgery is likely an example of a transgender person's claim on modern medicine through intersex discourse.[70] Although Kenan did not appear to be actually planning surgery, the statement they made to Ayşe about undergoing such a procedure should also be understood within this complex terrain where transgender and intersex embodiment, romance and physical intimacy between people assigned female at birth are intertwined. Both in the memoir and in the coverage of other transgender people like Ismet, intersex embodiment and the possibility of gender reassignment surgery granted a bio-medical legitimacy to non-heteronormative romance and intimacy.[71]

However, as their mother stated and Kenan implicitly confirmed, they were not intersex, which made their romantic affairs morally dubious, if not pathological. As mentioned earlier, the memoir, at times, tried to reduce Kenan's gender expression to a 'naive game of trickster'. When they went too far, their romantic overtures had to be repented to alleviate the fear of transgression. Kenan remembers their third fiancée, whom they call as Benan, with great admiration and affection and apologises for seducing her into a foolish game.[72]

> Now it is time to tell the story I am most sorry for, the one I regret most. Readers of my memoir know that I sought adventure by pretending to be a man in the presence of girls and women. People who do not know me well will doubt that my actions were just an innocent ruse. This last exploit put an end to the adventures I had allowed myself to be drawn into with the audacity fuelled by men's clothes and the pleasures of deceit. I have no more such desire.[73]

It was their engagement with Benan that put Kenan on the front pages for the second time and led to the publication of the memoir. Reducing Kenan's experiences to a search for material gain, newspaper reports alleged that Kenan embezzled money from the woman.[74] Although Kenan denied these allegations and only mentioned borrowing some money, they regretted 'deceiving' her and others they met along the way. The episodes of grief and regret are at odds with the generally witty and frivolous tone of the memoir, but they conform to an established convention of autobiographical writing: confession and regret in anticipation of the reader's forgiveness. This confessional mode, while aiming to balance Kenan's transgressions, also present their gender identity as a ruse, one aspect of an overall deceptive personality. In this vein, they fall back on another popular autobiographical convention, saying they wrote their memoirs in the hope of teaching young girls and families an exemplary moral lesson (*ibret*) about how each sex should wear only their own clothes.[75]

While the splitting of the authorial self into the subjects who write, and is written about is typical of autobiographical writing, the unique form it takes in Kenan's memoir reveals the negotiations that create and sustain the narrative space for transgender self-utterance. Since Kenan may not be the actual or sole author of the memoir, it is also not clear to whom this confessional, rueful voice belongs. Nevertheless, it is plausible to argue that the newspaper's decision makers saw it necessary to reserve a column for a person regarded as morally suspect and possibly pathological. The readers are invited to become complicit in Kenan's daring romantic overtures as protestations of naivety and declarations of remorse seek to alleviate the anxieties of sexual transgression and gender nonconformity.

VISUAL SELF-REPRESENTATION

One of the accusations Kenan rejects is wearing men's clothes to become famous. Such greed cannot be attributed to someone, they claim in a misogynistic tone, who 'has been hiding their femininity

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FIGURE 2 'The trial took place in secret. The protagonist of the incident, "girl-man" did not come to court'. 'Kızla Nişanlanan Kızın Davasına Dün de Bakıldı', *Cumhuriyet*, 29 April 1935, p. 1.

behind men's clothes for as long as they can remember'.[76] Although it was not Kenan's goal to become famous, they have certainly learned to work their way through and enjoy the fame they have gained. I believe the way Kenan has manoeuvred their tabloidisation is best exemplified by their use of the medium of photography. Since we do not know whether Kenan was the sole or the actual author of the memoir, the written word offers only a partial perspective on how they negotiated the norms of sexuality and gender in their narrative self-constitution, while photographs can illuminate their negotiations with the regime of visibility that governs transgender embodiment.

Kenan initially avoided the press when news of their engagement broke in 1935. The scandal-hungry photojournalists relentlessly pursued Kenan, who had not turned up for the first day of the trial referred to earlier and spotted them waiting outside the courthouse. Kenan recalls being physically forced as they were photographed, evident from the rather uncomfortable facial expression in the photographs taken that day (Figure 2).[77]

As in many other countries, the 1930s was a time in Turkey when the number of illustrated newspapers multiplied and photojournalism gradually expanded. Both weekly magazines and national newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet* which published Kenan's above mentioned photographs, began to employ photographers in the 1930s.[78] Journalists, especially if they reported for popular daily newspapers, were eager to accompany stories with photographs, in particular sensational crimes, scandalous gossip and titillating love stories.[79] Although a sense of professional solidarity characterised early photojournalism, competition and rivalry among photojournalists grew in the late 1930s.[80] Journalists aggressively strove to photograph Kenan, not only to meet the competitive demands of contemporary photojournalism, but also to visually capture this scandalous curiosity. Kenan's photographs were published in almost all the major dailies, so much so that two years later they could be recognised by a hotel receptionist in Izmir. When they arrived in Istanbul by ferry, the journalists feared that Kenan would find a way to outwit them, but this did not happen. The account of events in the memoir ends with the following sentences: 'I met the journalists face to face in Istanbul. I saw no need to flee from them'.[81]

There are conflicting accounts of their attitude toward the press that day. While some reported them as being calm and brazen, others described how they tried to avoid the cameras and blushed at intrusive questions. Although it is hard to tell how they actually felt, their facial expression and body language were strikingly different from the earlier photos that were forcibly taken (Figure 3). This was a defining moment after which Kenan began to pose skilfully for the press. Being from a middle-class

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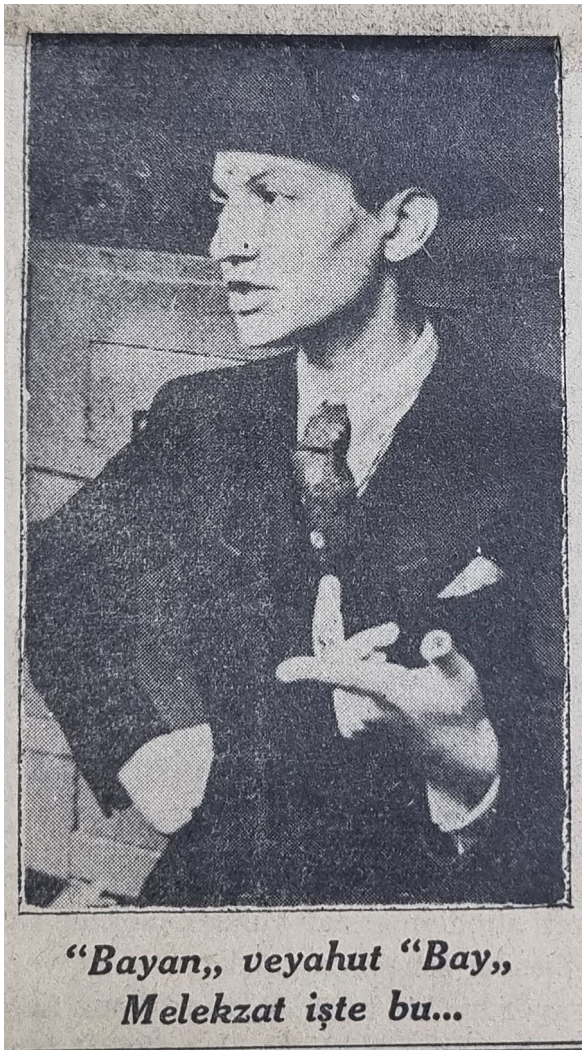


FIGURE 3 Kenan meets the reporters in Istanbul at the ferry arriving from Izmir. 'This is "Miss" or "Mister" Melekzat …'.
R. S., 'Erkek Kıyafetli Bayan Melekzat Anlatıyor', *Tan*, 6 November 1937, p. 1.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Istanbul family, Kenan was not only used to being photographed, but as the photographs from their album reveal, 'had discovered the potential of photography as a site where different identities could be performed' (Figure 4).[82] Since the turn of the century in the Ottoman Empire, photography had been instrumental not only in recording and displaying a new masculine corporeal aesthetic, but also in publicising, normalising and fashioning it. [83] The socio-cultural milieu in which Kenan grew up has no doubt exposed them to many photographic images depicting various masculine styles, enabling them to turn photography into a tool for self-expression and self-fashioning by mastering the voyeuristic gaze that initially exposed them without consent.[84]

As a transgender person, Kenan most likely became skilled in the performative embodiment of masculinity. The memoir does not shed much light on how they styled their look, but in one instalment Kenan recounts how they stole a relative's military school uniform to impress girls. Although military uniforms generally possess a universally appealing masculine allure, their role in the performative embodiment of masculinity was particularly pronounced in late 1930s Turkey.[85] The myth of the military nation, which had already taken root prior to the foundation of the Republic, gained significant influence after the implementation of mandatory military conscription in 1927, making military service an essential aspect of Turkish masculinity.[86] The vernacular military photographs

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FIGURE 4 'We took this picture from Man-Girl's album'.
Kenan Çinili, 'Bu Gece Farkediyorum: Leyla Ne Güzel Kız? İçimde Duyduğum Sevgiyle Onu Kendime Çektim, Öptüm', *Haber*, 17 December 1937, p. 5.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

of the time had a significant influence on the visual representation of normative constructions of masculinity.[87] It is plausible to surmise that these images played a role in inspiring Kenan's decision to be photographed in uniform. Alongside a photograph published from Kenan's personal album (Figure 4), another image captures them striking a solemn pose, complete with a hand-in-coat gesture (Figure 5). Next to this photograph are the following lines:

> Feeling dizzy, I took his clothes from the closet and put them on. I looked at myself in front of the mirror. I looked completely different. You would not believe how well the clothes fit. Anyone who saw me would surely believe that a tailor had made them for me.[88]

Prosser notes that the mirror trope in transsexual autobiographies captures the moment of splitting of the subject. The subject looking at the mirror – and writing – and the one being looked at – and written about – are split, while the autobiographical act promises to resolve this split through narrative continuity.[89] Whereas in Kenan's case, the mirror scene does not capture such a split; the mirror is there to confirm Kenan's good appearance and how successful their passing is. In the scene, readers are invited to become complicit in Kenan's passing towards others who would never suspect.

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FIGURE 5 'One day I put on the clothes of a relative at Kuleli Military High school and ran out into the street'.
Kenan Çinili, 'Kayseri'den Döndükten Sonra Asker Elbisesi Altında Kadın Taarruzlarına Uğradım', *Haber*, 13 December 1937, p. 6.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Photographs of Kenan that accompany the plot of the memoir served a similar function: readers, who are invited to marvel at and become complicit in their passing, become privileged voyeurs who have access to the 'truth' behind Kenan's masculine gender performance. In these photos, we see Kenan smoking a cigarette at a provincial train station, strolling through the streets of Istanbul, hanging out with local men in coffee shops, being released from a police station and on a horse smiling. As these photographs registered the pleasures of cis-heteronormative voyeurism, Kenan could also showcase through them that they had mastered various styles of masculine self-presentation.[90] In analysing the vernacular photography of the era, Özge Baykan Calafato identifies four types of masculinity represented: the joyful soldier, the gentleman, the modern husband and the father – two of which Kenan

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FIGURE 6 Kenan posing for Yedigün magazine.
Hikmet Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', *Yedigün*, 17 November 1937, pp. 14–5.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

actively embraced and embodied. Additionally, Kenan assumed a seductive, flirtatious masculinity, potentially inspired by Western popular cultural representations which exuded charm and allure. By skilfully posing for the cameras, they performatively embodied a masculinity that corresponded to what is described in the memoir: not physically intimidating or coarse, but adventurous and agile, stylish, elegant, witty and seductive.

This specific kind of masculinity is best captured in the series of portrait shots that accompanied the interview in *Yedigün* where they smile charmingly, cast deep, sexy looks and address an invisible audience with expressive hand gestures that mimic a gesture they had made previously when addressing journalists (Figure 6). Photographic practices promoted by both photographers and editors of the published press encouraged the middle classes to embrace a modern-looking urban Western masculinity.[91] Yet, even though taken by the magazine's photographers, these photographs still 'exemplify the conscious self-stagings of individual subjectivity and involve careful manipulation of the camera'.[92] The caption under the photographs attempts to undo the effect of Kenan's convincing gender performance by claiming that they have 'retained the look and smile of a young girl [*sic*], despite wearing men's clothes'.[93]

Below this sequence of headshots, one can notice Kenan's smiling face positioned on the far-right side of the image, combined with a female-clad body in Figure 7 through photomontage. It seems that the captions alone failed to suffice for the editors of *Yedigün* magazine, compelling them to resort to this visual treatment. It is possible that the magazine may have requested Kenan to pose in women's clothing or provide a picture, but Kenan refused.[94] However, the photomontage falls short of achieving its intended effect, instead turning into a disturbing, absurd and monstrous caricature that conveys denial of personhood to Kenan. What is at stake in this photomontage is a *cis-heteronormative monstrosity*. On transsexual monstrosity Susan Stryker says, 'Unlike the monster, we often successfully quote the culture's visual norms of gendered embodiment. This citation becomes a subversive resistance when, through a provisional use of language, we verbally declare the unnaturalness of our claim to the subject positions we nevertheless occupy'.[95] While *Yedigün* magazine attempts to counter Kenan's successful citation of visual aesthetics aligned with sexual and gender norms through the image they have 'produced in their workshop', rather than revealing the 'sympathetic girl' hidden behind, the image underlines the artificiality of this claim and serves as a 'revelation of the constructedness of the natural order'.[96]

As with the narrative space they created for self-constitution, the visual space in which Kenan styled their masculine appearance was conditioned by their privileges. Their exceptionally well-groomed look made them particularly fascinating and worthy of photography for the press, who often commented on their attire. For their first courtroom appearance, they were reported to be 'dressed in

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FIGURE 7 The photomontage produced by Yedigün magazine.
Hikmet Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', *Yedigün*, 17 November 1937, p. 15.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

elegant men's clothes, wearing a dark pink fedora hat and a silk pocket square' and on their arrival from Izmir all journalists noticed their stylish green suit and dark blue fedora hat.[97] Kenan's stylish Western look was indicative of their middle-class urban background, as they not only had access to fashionable clothes, but also carried them off with ease. The gentlemanly look, with a clean-shaven, well-groomed, elegant Western style, was encouraged by Atatürk's post-Republican public image and signalled loyalty to the regime of those espousing the Western look it promoted.[98] Kenan's first appearance in the press came just ten years after the Hat Law (1925), which banned Ottoman headgear and attire such as the fez and turban. Kenan was a teenager when the law passed and attended the schools the Kemalist regime that founded the Republic of Turkey used as an effective means of inculcating Western dress.[99] Kenan thus belonged to a class and generation that made the transition to Western dress and lifestyle more smoothly and willingly while the majority of the population struggled, hesitated, or resisted for financial, cultural or religious reasons. The Kemalist regime mandated the fedora that Kenan often wore to eliminate the sartorial differences that indicated religion, ethnicity and rank in favour of a unified Turkish national identity that embraced Western-oriented modernisation and secularisation.[100] However, the Hat Law had unintended consequences on gender expression, creating a space for Kenan's gender transgression to manoeuvre. It has been reported that some men, unable to buy hats, resorted to women's hats to avoid punishment.[101] Despite claims of a unified identity, the fedora also came to emphasise the differences between the masculine gender expression of urban and rural populations, as it was reserved for the urban upper and middle classes, while the urban lower and rural classes wore more affordable caps (*kasket*).[102] While Kenan always appeared in elegant hats and suits, photographs of transgender people from rural areas like Ismet showed him/them in caps and modest clothing (Figure 8).

The photographs of intersex people that accompanied the news reports on gender reassignment surgeries, on the other hand, provide an even starker contrast. These photographs in white hospital gowns were likely published, perhaps even taken, without consent. Unlike Kenan, intersex people

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FIGURE 8 'Miss Ismet [sic.] in Men's Clothes'.
Şahap Göksel 'Greta Garbo'dan Evvel Erkek Elbisesi Giyen Kadın: Bayan Ismet Ameliyattan Sonra Bay Olacağını Ümid Ediyor', *Anadolu*, 4 March 1937, p. 3.
[Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

seemed to have little or no control over their visual representation (Figure 9). The white gown is a perfect metaphor for desubjectification of intersex people, as Hil Malatino says, 'a means of absenting them from forms of legible personhood'.[103] Images of intersex people where faces are visible and bodies are covered are the opposite of the medical intersex photographs Malatino speaks of, where bodies are exposed and faces absent. However, they also speak of the distinct but intersecting ways in which the medical gaze and the gaze of the press stabilise the socially marginal intersex body as malleable and in need of medical normalisation. These photographs, which circulated in the press at the same time as Kenan's, offer a visual insight into the entangled yet separate histories of transgender and intersex embodiment and medicalisation.

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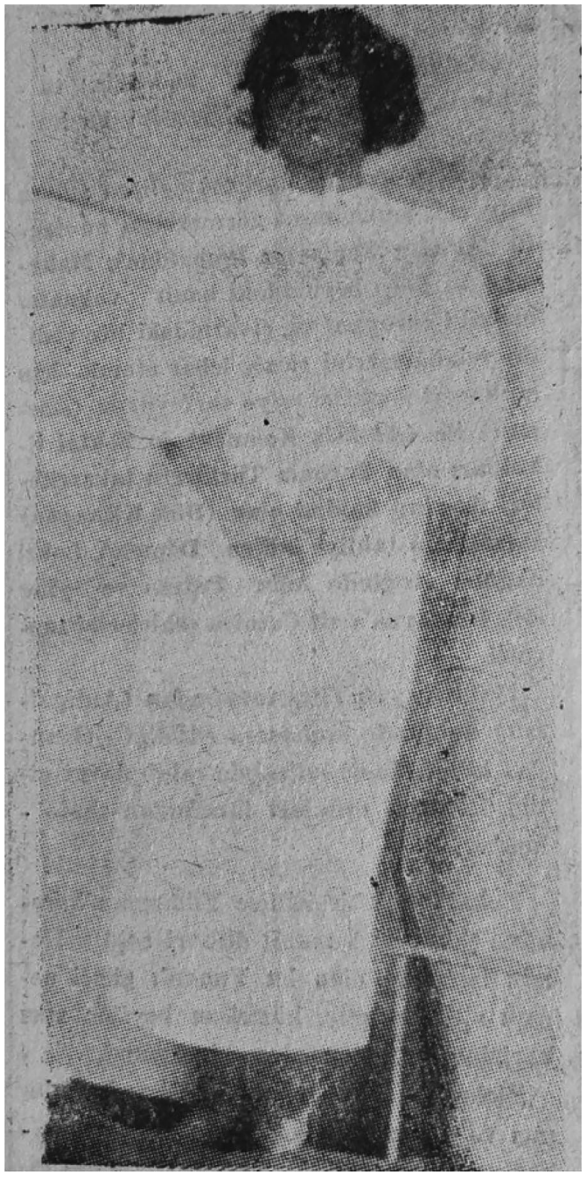


FIGURE 9 A photograph in which the shadowed face of an intersex person waiting in hospital for sex reassignment surgery reduces their visible identity.
'Erkek Olan Genç Kızı Dagă Nasıl Kaçırmışlar', *Haber*, 6 December 1938, p. 7.

CONCLUSION: IMAGINING A COMMUNITY

Kenan's memoir begins with them fleeing from their family, who urged them to stop wearing men's clothes, a recurrent event in the memoir. Travel offered both opportunities and challenges, as they moved on to the next destination when someone suspected their assigned sex, but there they often found themselves in a vulnerable position, in a strange place, surrounded by strangers.[104] Without an income of their own, Kenan's attempts to start a new life invariably failed. They continued to live as a transgender person through a mixture of anonymity that the city offered and a certain degree of acceptance and protection from their family, especially their mother, and the neighbourhood.

Kenan hung out with men in male homosocial spaces such as coffeehouses and pubs, using the homosocial ties in Istanbul neighbourhoods and towns and villages they visited to reinforce their masculinity. Yet, these ties were fraught with ambivalence and the risk of being exposed put Kenan at

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risk of violence. In one instalment, one of the acquaintances from the neighbourhood coffee shop mentions the neighbourhood gossip, insinuating that Kenan was assigned female at birth. Over a beer, the situation escalates into an attempted sexual assault followed by a thrilling scene in which Kenan frightens the man and snatches his gun.[105] In the memoir, there is no mention of a trans or queer community that would love, care for and support Kenan as who they are. One can imagine, however, that newspaper coverage of trans, intersex and gender nonconforming people, as well as Kenan's memoir, conjured up a community, if not in person, then perhaps an 'imagined' one, where trans people could read about others like them and hopefully feel less alone. There is evidence that this was the case for Kenan. When journalists surrounded them on the ferry from Izmir, Kenan said to them they were not at all something unusual: 'There is another man-girl in Ortaköy and another in Sultanahmet; go and talk to them', they said.[106] One of the 'man-girls' Kenan referred to was Bedi, another transmasculine person who was reported to be knifed by a man claiming to be their ex-fiancé.[107] Kenan interviewed Bedi for *Haber* which was published with the title 'Number 1 Man-Girl Introduces the Number 2 Man-Girl'.[108] While introducing the interview Kenan said:

> I am about to lose my unwanted fame that I acquired through the habit of wearing men's clothes, which I think is very innocent. I am no longer the only man-girl in Istanbul. Thanks to this new man-girl, I will be forgotten and regain the bliss of living an unnoticed life like I was three years ago. By writing this piece and putting someone else in the spotlight, I will be pursuing my desire to leave the scene of fame.[109]

By the time the final instalment of the memoir was completed on 20 February 1938, Kenan no longer appeared in the newspapers.[110] Kenan's call to divert public attention from them exposes the particular form of visibility that aimed at stabilising and spectacularising gender nonconformity. While the newspapers offered their readers what Jack Halberstam calls a position 'hidden from view, content to allow the spotlight to shine on the strangeness … of the transgender subject', Kenan's gesture, before turning the spotlight on the second 'man-girl' directed it towards this privileged point of view and challenged its total invisibility.[111]

When newspapers reported on transgender and intersex people, they acknowledged the existence of others in phrases such as 'another man-girl', but continued to present them as isolated and unusual cases. The real significance of Kenan's gesture is to challenge this framing and to suggest the essential condition for the emergence of a community: identification of another person as part of a shared experience, designated by the label 'man-girl'. Although Kenan's memoir does not claim to be representative of any particular experience or identity, not even that of 'man-girl', the memoir seems to have popularised the label as it accompanied Kenan's signature on each instalment. The history of the label 'man-girl' has yet to be investigated further, but we can say with certainty that the popular press used it in the 1930s to interpellate a variety of trans, intersex and gender nonconforming people who were assigned female at birth. When Kenan embraced the label 'man-girl' themselves, despite all the implications of freakishness, eccentricity and abnormality, this label gained the potential to become a 'reverse discourse' through which a transgender subject can speak, negotiate the frames that make them intelligible, conjure up a community of similar experiences and identifications, and belong to that community.[112] Yet a label does not automatically lead to equal opportunities. 'Man-girl' occasionally referred to intersex people from rural areas who were assigned female at birth but lived as men.[113] Since apparently, none of them had the opportunity to speak under it, the label is haunted by marginalised people like them who were unable to create a narrative or visual space for self-constitution and self-representation like Kenan. As L. H. Stallings says,

> If transgender and transsexual history and culture depend upon what has been published, visible, legible, and authorised enough to be archived, then we might query what has been omitted as a result of the conditions of illiteracy, criminalisation, or poverty. These

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> are conditions that have made it difficult for some transgender subjects to be the absolute source, represent themselves, and write themselves into being.[114]

It is possible that further historical study will reveal what happened to Kenan next, but at present we do not know why they suddenly disappeared. Perhaps someone in Turkey's increasingly repressive one-party rule disapproved of the popularity of a transgender person. Maybe their family gave them a final ultimatum, or they became weary of the attention of the press and the public and felt that the space of self-constitution they had created for themselves was too fragile when faced with the spectacularising regime of visibility. As Kara Keeling says, 'a critical apparatus predicated on making visible hidden images, sociocultural formations, ideas, concepts and other things always drags what interests it onto the terrain of power and the struggle for hegemony. On this terrain, the benefits of visibility are unevenly distributed'.[115] Kenan has managed to find a place in feminist, queer and trans archives in Turkey, but the extent to which this place is generated by hierarchies of class, ethnicity, urban–rural divide and normative sexual dimorphism remains to be answered.[116] While some accessible stories from those at the bottom of such hierarchies have survived, it is important to realise that their accessibility is implicated in the regime of visibility that limited their ability to 'write themselves into being'. Kenan's disappearance draws attention to the unequal benefits of visibility not only for them but also for others who have been subjected to multiple forms of violence implicit in the spectacularising regime of visibility.

ENDNOTES

[1] Although Kenan was masculine in their gender presentation, they articulated their gender identity differently during the three years they were in the newspapers. Therefore, I use they/them as pronouns.

[2] Selim Tevfik, 'Bir Günlük Röportaj ve Bir Merakın Cevabı: 27 Senedir Erkek Kıyafetile Gezen Melek Erkek Gibi Giyinmeye Niçin Heves Etti?', *Son Telgraf*, 9 November 1937, p. 2.

[3] Although I translate the Turkish label *erkek-kız* as 'man-girl', 'male-girl' would also be a correct translation, since *erkek* in Turkish stands for both man and male. I choose 'man-girl' for two reasons: First, the rarer 'girl-man' (*kız-erkek*) and other expressions used for transmasculine people, such as 'mister-miss' (*bay-bayan*), indicate that *erkek* stands for a noun and not an adjective. Second, by not translating *erkek* as the adjective that qualifies the subject 'girl', I wish to draw attention to the elusiveness of gender inherent in the label.

[4] Melekza(t) was most likely their birth name. The female name Fahriye was occasionally mentioned in the newspapers. They also appeared in the newspapers with the male name Adnan, which could be another chosen name.

[5] Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 129.

[6] For different perspectives on the transformations in this period, see Abdulhamit Arvas, 'Performing and Desiring Gender Variance in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire', in Greta LaFleur, Masha Raskolnikov and Anna Klosowska (eds), *Trans Historical: Gender Plurality before the Modern* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), pp. 160–77, here p. 161; Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), pp.164–5; Elif Ceylan Özsoy, 'Decolonizing Decriminalization Analyses: Did the Ottomans Decriminalize Homosexuality in 1858?', *Journal of Homosexuality* 68 (2021), pp. 1979–2002; Ezgi Sarıtaş, *Cinsel Normalliğin Kuruluşu: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Heteonormatiflik ve İstikrarsızlıkları* (İstanbul: Metis, 2020); Mustafa Avcı, 'Shifts in Sexual Desire: Bans on Dancing Boys (Köçeks) throughout Ottoman Modernity (1800s–1920s)', *Middle Eastern Studies* 53 (2017), pp. 762–81, here pp. 770–74; Selim Sırrı Kuru, 'Generic Desires: Homoerotic Love in Ottoman Turkish Poetry', in Umberto Grassi (ed.), *Mediterranean Crossings: Sexual Transgressions in Islam and Christianity (10th–18th Centuries)* (Rome: Viella, 2020), pp. 43–63, here p. 45; Serkan Delice, '"Zen-dostlar Çoğalıp Mahbûblar Azaldı": Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Cinsellik ve Tarihyazımı', in Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice (eds), *Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet* (İstanbul: Metis, 2012), pp. 329–63; Tuğçe Kayaal, '"Twisted Desires," Boy-Lovers, and Male–Male Cross-Generational Sex in the Late Ottoman Empire (1912–1918)', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 46 (2020), pp. 31–46, here pp. 34–6.

[7] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 47.

[8] Kenan Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının Dediği Gibi Anormal Bir Mahluk Değilim!', *Haber*, 6 December 1937, p. 6.

[9] Alison Oram, *Her Husband Was a Woman! Women's Gender-Crossing in Modern British Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 5; Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 119.

[10] Selim Tevfik, 'Erkek Kıyafetindeki Kız! Sabrı Tükendi, Baklayı Ağzından Çıkardı', *Son Posta*, 25 May 1935, p. 8.

[11] Hikmet Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', *Yedigün*, 17 November 1937, p. 20.

[12] 'Erkek Kız Ortadan Sır Oldu', *Haber*, 14 November 1937, pp. 1, 8.

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[13] 'Erkek-Kız Çıkageldi', *Haber*, 16 November 1937, pp. 1, 8.
[14] Manion, *Female Husbands*, pp. 81–3.
[15] Malcolm Andrews, *Charles Dickens and His Performing Selves: Dickens and the Public Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 11–13; Erol Körogĺu, 'Aşırılık, Suç ve Düzeni (Tefrika) Romanda Yazmak: Dürdane Hanım Örnegĭ', *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 47 (2014), pp. 127–70.
[16] Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'.
[17] Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?', in Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (eds), *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954–1984* (New York and London: The New Press, 2003), pp. 377–91.
[18] Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minesota Press, 1989).
[19] Serdar Soydan, *Manşetlerden Gaipliğe: Bay-Bayan Kenan Çinili'nin Evrak-ı Metrukesi* (İstanbul: Sel Yayınları, 2021).
[20] Blas Radi, 'On Trans* Epistemology: Critiques, Contributions and Challenges', *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 6 (2019), pp. 43–63, here p. 49.
[21] Susan Stryker, 'An Interview with Susan Stryker', *Boundary* (2014), https://www.boundary2.org/2014/08/transgender-studies-today-an-interview-with-susan-stryker/.
[22] Prosser, *Second Skins*, pp. 111–12.
[23] Tobias Raun, 'Trans as Contested Intelligibility: Interrogating How to Conduct Trans Analysis with Respectful Curiosity', *Lambda Nordica* 1 (2014), pp. 13–37, here p. 16.
[24] Soydan, *Manşetlerden*, p. 8.
[25] Prosser, *Second Skins*, p. 9.
[26] Prosser, *Second Skins*, p. 115; Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), p. 58.
[27] Raun, 'Trans as Contested Intelligibility', p. 23; Halberstam, *In a Queer Time*, pp. 54–5.
[28] 'Erkek-Kız', *Haber*, 6 December 1937, p. 1
[29] Manion, *Female Husbands*, p. 42.
[30] For example, while the Hat Law (1925), which required people to wear Western style hats in public, aimed to unify gender expression across class and ethnicity, it also undermined and obscured existing notions of masculinity by enforcing a Western-looking masculinity. Spencer Hawkins, 'Queerly Turkish: Queer Masculinity and National Belonging in the Image of Zeki Müren', *Popular Music and Society* 41 (2018), pp. 99–118, here p. 102.
[31] Some examples are Giridî Ali Aziz Efendi, 'Kıssa-i Şâpur ve Hüma', *Muhayyelât-ı Aziz Efendi*, tr. Hüseyin Alacatlı (ed.) (Ankara: Akçag̈ 1999), pp. 151–62; 'Ağlayan Nar Gülen Ayva', in Ayşe Arzu Ertizman, 'Billur Köşk Masalları' (unpublished doctoral thesis, İstanbul University, 2020), pp. 287–97; 'Osmanlı Güzeli' in Bilal Acarözmen, *'Âşıkla Maʿşûk Dürbünü ve Her Milletiṅ Güzeli'* Metniṅiṅ Çeviri Yazısı ve Eser Üzerine Yapısalcı Bir Inceleme' (unpublished master thesis, Hacettepe University, 2022), pp. 208–20; Emin Nihat, 'İhsan Hanım Yahut Atiye Hanımla Uşşakının Sergüzeşti' in *Müsameretname*, trs. Sabahattin Çag̈ın and Fazıl Gökçek (eds) (İstanbul: Özgür, 2016); Evangelinos Misailidis, 'Işte Bunlardan Birinin Hikayesi', in *Seyreyle Dünyayı: Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakar u Cefakeş*, trs. Robert Anhegger and Vedat Günyol (eds) (İstanbul: Cem, 1988); Ahmet Rıfat, *Tesadüf-i Acibe ve Hikâye-i Garibe yahud Üç Sergüzeşt* (İstanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1294/1877).
[32] See Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında – Acâyib-i Âlem – Dürdane Hanım*, trs. Nuri Sagĺam, Kazım Yetiş and M. Fatih Andı (eds) (Ankara: TDK Yayınları, 2000); Ömer Seyfettin, *Yalnız Efe*, Bilgi, t.y.; Namık Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, tr. Mustafa Nihat Özön (ed.) (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961).
[33] Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). For a discussion on the Ottoman Empire, see Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*.
[34] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, pp. 23–6.
[35] *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, the newspaper that serialised the novel, also serialised the Ottoman-Turkish translation of Herculine Barbin's diary in 1884–1885 with the title *Hüviyet Yâhud Hakâyık-ı Hünsâiyyet*. See Ebru Aykut, 'Herculine Barbin "Hüviyet" ve Osmanlı'nın Tardiue'sü Doktor İbrahim Şevki', in *Michel Foucault Sunar: Herculine Barbin, Namı Diğer Alexina B*. (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2019), pp. 229–52.
[36] Since it was a social norm for adult Ottoman men to wear a beard, the cross-dressed Ulviye was perceived in the novel as a beloved boy, *mahbûb*.
[37] Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, pp. 62–3.
[38] Adil Baktıaya, 'İki Kadının Eksik Kalan Tuhaf Hikâyeleri: Asker Ayşe, Hanko Hanım ve "Toplumsal Erkek"ler', *Toplumsal Tarih* 231 (2013), pp. 22–9.
[39] Zeynep Kutluata, 'Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Savaş ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Kara Fatma(lar)', in Derya Demirler et al. (eds), *Kültür ve Siyasette Feminist Yaklaşımlar 2006–2007 Seçkisi* (İstanbul: BGST Yayınları, 2008), pp. 149–68.
[40] Aka Gündüz, 'Erkek-Kız, Merkek-Kız Değil; Buz Gibi Aşna Fişna Delisi!', *Tan*, 8 November 1937, p. 2.
[41] Gündüz, 'Erkek-Kız, Merkek-Kız Değil', p. 2.
[42] Manion, *Female Husbands*, p. 143.
[43] Ebru Aykut, 'The Work of Cross-Dressing in the Ottoman World', Ottoman History Podcast (2014), https://www.docblog.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2014/09/the-work-of-cross-dressing-in-ottoman.html

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[44] Şahap Göksel, 'Greta Garbo'dan Evvel Erkek Elbisesi Giyen Kadın: Bayan Ismet Ameliyattan Sonra Bay Olacağını Ümid Ediyor', *Anadolu*, 4 March 1937, pp. 3, 7.

[45] Ismet expresses a male identity, but I will use both he and they as pronouns as it is possible that the journalist did not accurately reflect his/their self-expression.

[46] I use the term 'romantic' to describe Kenan's affairs with women, emphasising the presence of emotional attachment and passionate desire that distinguishes these relations from the socially acceptable forms of intimacy found in friendship and kinship.

[47] The plot of the story is similar to Ovid's *Iphis and Ianthe*, in which the mother raises the child, who is assigned female at birth, as a boy to protect them from female infanticide. Ertizman, 'Billur Köşk Masalları', pp. 287–97.

[48] 'Görülmemiş Bir Dava: Bir Kıza Aşık Olan Genç Kız Adliyede!', *Cumhuriyet*, 15 April 1935, p. 1.

[49] 'Erkekleşen Kızla Görüştük', *Yeni Asır*, 4 November 1937, pp. 1, 5.

[50] Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', p. 15.

[51] Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'; Kenan Çinili, 'İstanbul Beni Sıkıyor. Artık Bar Hayatından Zevk Almıyordum', *Haber*, 30 January 1938, p. 5.

[52] Kenan Çinili, 'Bu Gece Farkediyorum: Leyla Ne Güzel Kız? İçimde Duyduğum Sevgiyle Onu Kendime Çektim, Öptüm', *Haber*, 17 December 1937, p. 5.

[53] Manion, *Female Husbands*, p. 78.

[54] Kenan Çinili, 'Adeta İzzeti Nefsim Kamçılandı: Köylü Dilberi Benimle Evlenmek İstemiyor!', *Haber*, 10 January 1938, p. 5.

[55] Manion, *Female Husbands*, p. 78.

[56] Katie Sutton, *Sex Between Body and Mind: Psychoanalysis and Sexology in the German-speaking World, 1890s–1930s* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), p. 120; 'Erkek İken Kadınlaşan Zavallılar Ne Hale Gelir?', *Anadolu*, 5 November 1937, p. 6.

[57] Julian Gill-Peterson, *Histories of the Transgender Child* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), p. 60. *Sevici* is a Turkish word that defines female homoeroticism. The literal translation would be the one who loves or who fondles.

[58] For instance, see Fahreddin Kerim, *Yorgun Sinirler ve Marazî Aşklar Üzerine Rûhi Tedkikler* (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1928), pp.99–101; Mazhar Osman, *Tabâbet-i Rûhiye* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriyye, 1909) vol. 1, pp. 273–5.

[59] Ezgi Sarıtaş, 'A Ribbon Around Their Necks: Male Anxieties and Late Ottoman and Turkish Narratives of Female Homoeroticism', Gender Blog (2022),https://genderblog.hu-berlin.de/a-ribbon-around-their-necks-male-anxieties-and-late-ottoman-and-turkish-narratives-of-female-homoeroticism/.

[60] Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'; Kenan Çinili, 'Bir Gün Olmadık Bir Şey Oldu: Hicran Beni Yatak Odasına Çağırttı', *Haber*, 6 January 1938, p. 5.

[61] Gill-Peterson, *Histories*, p. 93. Mazhar Osman, a founding figure of Ottoman Turkish neuropsychiatry who contributed to the translation of the sex-gender categories introduced by sexology, used the term as an equivalent for 'psychic hermaphrodism'. Mazhar Osman, *Tabâbet-i Rûhiye*, p. 270. See Hil Malatino, *Queer Embodiment: Monstrosity, Medical Violence, and Intersex Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), p. 4.

[62] Gill-Peterson, *Histories*.

[63] The mistreatment of peasants by state officials was a common practice and there is sufficient reason to believe that neither the families nor the children felt comfortable to express their opinions about the surgeries although some surgeons advised that they should only be carried out with individual's consent. A. Fahri B. [*sic*] 'Hünsalık', in Mazhar Osman (ed.), *Sıhhat Almanakı: Cumhuriyetin Onuncu Senesini Kutlarken Hekimlerimizin Halkımıza Armağanı* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1933), pp. 191–9, here 198; Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923–1945* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), p. 73.

[64] Deniz Kandiyoti, 'Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity', in Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (eds), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 113–32, here p. 117.

[65] 'Erkekler Kız Olabilir. Ya Kızların Erkekliğine Ne Denilir', *Anadolu*, 12 November 1937, p. 6; 'Kız-Oğlan. Erkek Elbisesi Giyen Kız Zeliha', *Vakit*, 10 February 1933, p. 1.

[66] In 1930s, Ahmet Fahri Arel, chief surgeon at Haseki Hospital where many of the operations were performed, classified individuals as 'man-woman' or 'woman-man' *hünsa*s, based on the anatomical structure of their reproductive systems. Fahri, 'Hünsalık', p. 193.

[67] One of the headlines, which featured intersex embodiment as 'freaky', explicitly indicated the Armenian ethnicity of the person in question. 'Bir Tabiat Garibesi. 14 Yaşında Bir Ermeni Kızı Erkek Oldu', *Tan*, 23 August 1937, p. 2. The headline should be read against the increasingly popular racist claims on the superiority of the Turks at the time. See Nazan Maksudyan, 'The *Turkish Review of Anthropology* and The Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism', *Cultural Dynamics* 17 (2005), pp. 291–322.

[68] For another account, see Soydan, *Manşetlerden*, p. 11.

[69] Göksel, 'Greta Garbo'dan'.

[70] Gill-Peterson, *Histories*, pp. 59–96.

[71] Malatino, *Queer Embodiment*, p. 145.

[72] The newspapers reported her name as Keziban.

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[73] Kenan Çinili, 'Hatırlarken Vicdan Azabı Duyuyorum! Hayatımda Beni En Çok Üzen Macera', *Haber*, 31 January 1938, p. 3.
[74] Halberstam, *In a Queer Time*, p. 72.
[75] Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'.
[76] Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'.
[77] Çinili, 'Adeta'.
[78] Ali Sipahi, 'Ethnographic Authority and Public Culture in Turkey in the 1950s', *History and Anthropology* 32 (2020), pp. 381–403, here p. 394.
[79] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2006), p. 237.
[80] Seyit Ali Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğra*fı (1923–1960) (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2001), p. 174; Uğur Kavas, *Türkiye'de Basın Fotoğrafçılığının Görsel Tarihi: Osmanlı'dan 1960'a* (Ankara: Rekmay, 2008), p. 97.
[81] Kenan Çinili, 'Köy Jandarmasına Yapılan İhbar. Karakol Kumandanı Beni Şüpheli Gördü', *Haber*, 20 February 1938, p. 6.
[82] Özge Baykan Calafato, *Making the Modern Turkish Citizen: Vernacular Photography in the Early Republican Era* (London, New York, Oxford: I. B. Tauris, 2022), p. 112.
[83] Murat C. Yıldız, '"What Is a Beautiful Body?"': Late Ottoman 'Sportsman' Photographs and New Notions of Male Corporeal Beauty', *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8 (2015), pp. 192–214.
[84] Kenan was certainly not the only transgender person to use photography as a means of self-representation in the early twentieth century. The first professional female photographer, Naciye Suman, had a regular client who dressed in female clothing specifically for the purpose of their transgender photographs to be taken in the semi-private environment of the studio. Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet*, p. 92.
[85] It is perhaps noteworthy that there was a reported 900 *per cent* increase in the number of conscripted soldiers between pp. 1932–39. Ayşegül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 28.
[86] Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation*, p. 32.
[87] Calafato, *Making the Modern Turkish Citizen*, p. 72.
[88] Kenan Çinili, 'Kayseri'den Döndükten Sonra Asker Elbisesi Altında Kadın Taarruzlarına Uğradım', *Haber*, 13 December 1937, p. 6.
[89] Prosser, *Second Skins*, p. 102.
[90] Katie Sutton, 'Sexology's Photographic Turn: Visualizing Trans Identity in Interwar Germany', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 27 (2018), pp. 442–79, here p. 457.
[91] Yıldız, '"What Is a Beautiful Body?"', p. 207.
[92] Sutton, 'Sexology's Photographic Turn', p. 457.
[93] Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', pp. 14–15.
[94] A photograph from Kenan's album where they pose in women's clothes was later published in the first instalment of the memoir. The caption read, 'As far back as I can remember, I have seen men's clothes on me. I only took them off once to have my picture taken for official procedures'. Çinili, 'Ben Bazılarının'. Sharing a photo in women's clothes with *Haber* may have seemed a tolerable compromise to Kenan because the paper had agreed to publish their memoir.
[95] Susan Stryker, 'My Words to Victor Frankenstein above the Village of Chamounix: Performing Transgender Rage', in Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (eds), *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 244–56, here p. 247.
[96] Münir, 'Bayan-Bay Anlatıyor', p. 15; Stryker, 'My Words', p. 247.
[97] 'Görülmemiş Bir Dava', p. 1.
[98] Calafato, *Making the Modern Turkish Citizen*, p. 72; Hawkins, 'Queerly Turkish', p. 102.
[99] Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*, p. 53.
[100] Kandiyoti, 'Gendering the Modern', p. 122; Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*, pp. 25–6.
[101] Kaya Genç, 'Turkey's Glorious Hat Revolution', Los Angeles Review of Books (2013), https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/turkeys-glorious-hat-revolution/.
[102] Kandiyoti, 'Gendering the Modern', p. 122; Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*, pp. 36, 75.
[103] Malatino, *Queer Embodiment*, p. 122.
[104] Manion, *Female Husbands*, p. 21.
[105] Kenan Çinili, 'Adamın Kötü Niyeti Gözlerinden Belliydi', *Haber*, 31 December 1937, p. 5.
[106] 'Erkek Kıyafetli Bayan Melekzat Anlatıyor: Allah Beni Yanlış Yaratmış. İstanbul'da Kız Erkekler O Kadar Çok ki!', *Tan*, 6 November 1937, pp. 1, 9.
[107] 'Ortaköylü "Erkek-Kız"ın Yanağını Ustura ile Kestiler', *Haber*, 11 April 1938, p. 12.
[108] Kenan Çinili, 'Bir Numaralı Erkek-Kız 2 No.lu Erkek-Kızı Tanıtıyor', *Haber*, 31 January 1938, p. 11.
[109] Çinili, 'Bir Numaralı'.
[110] Soydan makes the same observation. Soydan, *Manşetlerden*, p. 9.
[111] Halberstam, *In a Queer Time*, p. 57.
[112] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, tr. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p. 101.
[113] 'Kız-Oğlan'.

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[115] Kara Keeling, 'Looking for M - Queer Temporality, Black Political Possibility, and Poetry from the Future', *GLQ* 15 (2009), pp. 565–82, here p. 576.

[116] In addition to the publication of the memoir as a book, Kenan's story was part of an exhibition recently organised by the Women's Library and Information Centre. See 'Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi'nden Yansıyanlar' Depo'da', Bianet (2022), https://m.bianet.org/bianet/yasam/259930-kadin-eserleri-kutuphanesi-nden-yansiyanlar-depo-da.

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