

Yener Bayramođlu

Queer-Futuring

Özgün Eylül İşcen: Dear Yener, I would like to start with a brief reflection on how I reached out to you for an N-futuring conversation (beyond the initial link of us knowing each other from Berlin). As a part of Counter-N, N-futuring tackles the question of how different communities envision alternative futures through reconfiguring the projected uses and future trajectories of computational media. In this sense, your focus on migration and queer theory/praxis across the Global North/South divide offers a critical yet generative perspective for analyzing contemporary digital media themes such as big data and platform capitalism. Given your research interests, what would you replace in the N of N-futuring, and how would you describe it?

Yener Bayramođlu: Dear Eylül, thank you very much for your invitation to take part in this very exciting conversation. As a queer scholar, who thinks and writes about digital media and migration a lot, I would replace the N of N-futuring with *queer*. I wish I could have come up with a more creative idea, but to me the question of the future inevitably brings queerness into the foreground. By saying this, I actually disclose my intellectual kinship with scholars such as José Esteban Muñoz who have looked at the future in a critical and constructive way. Muñoz argued that we have not yet been queer; we have not touched and experienced queerness yet.¹ In other words, queerness stays and maybe will always stay on the horizon beyond the landscapes of hetero- and cisnormativity that we hope to reach one day.

We can argue that this utopic vision is maybe a bit naïve because I am not sure if that future is near or indeed even getting further away from us as the anti-feminist, anti-queer voices seem to mobilize and state homophobia and transphobia oppress people with non-normative gender and sexual identities, desires, and expressions – also by using digital media. On the other hand, some might argue that we are already queer as there are LGBTIQ identities, struggles, visibilities, discourses, etc. almost everywhere. But I understand queerness as a state of becoming, in which identities would lose their meanings, functions, and necessities sometime in the future.

Queerness is this utopic imagination of a world in which our genitalia, bodies, desires, skin color, passports, and accents would have no more meaning. But as you would agree, this is not the case at the moment, as we still feel the strong urge to define ourselves as trans, gay, woman, or Black because all these words give us the strength to keep on

breathing in an extremely toxic and lethal world. Identity politics are necessary and strategically important for marginalized communities. Queer theory helps us to not take these identities as fixed, stable, and essential categories but maybe as temporary vessels on our way to a better future that need to be always abandoned, dismantled, redesigned, and whose doors need always stay open for people who were excluded before.

Future is also a tricky concept within queer theory. Scholars such as Lee Edelman argue that the future is tied with heteronormative neoliberal reproduction.² Neoliberalism and necrocapitalism want us to believe in the future, which Lauren Berlant calls cruel optimism.³ A neoliberal/necrocapital optimism hinders us from seeing the disasters around us. But the belief in and hope for the future, which we can see in the writings of thinkers such as Muñoz, do not invisibilize the negativity of the current time and possible disasters in the future. Queer future helps us to keep on fighting for, becoming, and building a better society for all of creatures. While representing different opinions, a noteworthy commonality runs across the discussions within queer theory, however, which is the lack of interest in digital media. I think we cannot think about queer future without including digital media in our discussions, to which I aim to contribute in my research and theory.

I try to grasp queer future in its entanglement with digital media. I think the deep mediatization of the everyday, particularly through digital media, helped simultaneously to speed up the transnational movement of ideas, images, new activist strategies, and concepts of new exciting possibilities in terms of gender and sexuality. I am amazed by how a new generation of LGBTIQ people and activists in places such as Turkey use digital media to create new forms of queer visibilities and resistance that rebel against authoritarianism, state homophobia and transphobia, and other forms of oppression, which would have been impossible to produce, put in practice, or disseminate before the digital era in such a broad sense transcending the subcultural, local, and national borders. Although digitalization brings its own curses and should always be understood in relation to its ambivalences, it seems like it will still be an inevitable part of the project of queering the future.

In a similar way, queer migrants and refugees crossing borders have shown how digital media becomes part of the project of imagining and creating a world, in which borders need to be transcended. And it seems like we cannot think of solutions without including digital media for all those horrible facets of digitalization, such as the explosions of human life as data, the digital surveillance of borders, racist algorithms, or the circulation of hate speech. As I argue together with María do Mar Castro Varela in our recent book, digital media is a

phármakon that can be helpful but also destructive in building the queer future.⁴ This term coined by Jacques Derrida implies that certain things like digital media should always be understood in their ambivalences. Digital media is like a poison that turns into a medicine or a medicine that can become poisonous.

Özgün Eylül İşcen: I appreciate all these important points you are making here. One of the apparent connections between our current projects seems to be our emphasis on the generative efforts of marginalized communities to reshape the trajectory of a given medium. For instance, your work demonstrates how marginalized subjects such as queer refugees employ digital tools and spaces for their ends, thereby expanding media-centric analyses via the deeper material and symbolic systems within which media devices operate.

From this perspective, your work not only brings the conditions of queer migrants into the picture but also highlights how such a gesture offers a critical lens through which we could understand digital media as a praxis that functions in complex ways and with contradictory tendencies. In that way, such marginalized experiences are not tangential or additive but essential to grasping the political ontology of the medium (as a racializing apparatus, for instance) while attending to the social imagination through which these communities reshape such possibilities of a given medium.

I would be curious to hear more about how you consider the relevance of migration and queer theory and praxis as an angle to unpack the dynamics of digital media today and, vice versa, beyond the usual binaries such as Global North/Global South. How does attending to digital spaces help you expand your understanding of the world- and meaning-making processes for marginalized communities (who often have complicated relationships with public space and the issue of visibility)? In this sense, your focus on migratory, digitally circulated affects seems to complicate more media- or structure-centric analysis. Can you elaborate on these points further?

Yener Bayramođlu: I think media and communication scholarship, particularly in Germany, where we both are situated, produces mainly knowledge without including perspectives from the peripheries – such as the social peripheries but also perspectives from the Global South. I think most of the shortcut explanations, theories, and concepts about media, society, and culture start to break down when we shift attention to marginalized communities. This is why I find your work also very exciting as it shows how digital media technologies turn into these empowering tools for marginalized communities against the disruptive impacts of futuristic projects in the Global South, which is a completely different perspective than the dystopic theories and imaginations about the future of digitalization and datafication. In

this sense, I am on the same page as Rosi Braidotti, who argues that against a theory fatigue obsessed with scenarios about the end of the world, we need to engage more with postcolonial, feminist, queer, migrant, and anti-racist struggles that produce new creative ways of building futures.⁵ But I think such an approach needs methodologies that would grasp everyday media practice in the peripheries.

My fieldwork in queer refugee networks in Istanbul was informed by such a non-digital media-centric approach, which has demonstrated how digital media platforms designed for hooking-up or interpersonal messaging were appropriated for activism against border regimes, homo- and transphobia. Exploring the mediasphere as this invisible structure organizing the everyday has also demonstrated how Istanbul as a city, which blurs the Global North/South divide, is also a desired city among queer migrants from the Middle East. Some of the people that I have met, even after they have migrated to countries such as Germany or the Netherlands, kept on having affective attachments to Istanbul. Such stories show that migration is not always a one-way street from repression to liberation, as it is often imagined in migration scholarship, but rather a messy process in which digital communication in particular help migrants to affectively stay in touch with multiple places and shape the discourses, culture, and politics in their destination as well as places that are “left behind.”

I also like to engage with everyday digital media practices because they mess up lazy explanations. For instance, unlike queer theory’s heroic distance from the everyday form of normativities, we realize that our engagement with media is messy and not always anti-normative. We consume and maybe even enjoy consuming hetero- and homonormative images, stories, songs, movies, etc. – all those guilty pleasures do not necessarily fit into a queer world stripped away from normativities. Moreover, sometimes people use such normative and messy moments in digital media for their own benefit, sometimes as a form of survival strategy. This is something that queer theory likes to ignore, as it understands normativity as always harmful and evil. For instance, queer refugees use digital media to perform homonormativity and Europeanness and, moreover, they make this performance digitally visible in order to prove their queerness so that they can gain asylum status. And I think all these complex entanglements between digital media and the everyday cannot be grasped merely based on digital media-centric approaches.

Another problem lies in the methodological nationalism that unfortunately still characterizes most of the studies on queer and digital media. Scholars tend to reduce their framework on national contexts mostly to the Global North despite the migratory, transnational, and digital networks that make the category of the nation a tricky starting point of analysis. So I am more excited about

the research that includes multiple spaces and particularly places outside the Global North. Places such as Turkey, the Gulf States, and Lebanon, as you also explore in your research, are increasingly becoming destinations for migrants, including queer migrants. These are also places where you encounter the brutal impacts of state homophobia and transphobia as well as the repression of noncitizens' labor rights. However, in such a political climate, I am more interested in digital media's emancipatory potential that helps queer migrants navigate not only to the Global North but also within the Global South.

Özgün Eylül İşcen: Within all these entanglements, I would like to ask where to locate our agency, the possibility of contesting and negotiating the operations of digital media as an imperial, capitalist apparatus embedded within and helping to reproduce social hierarchies predicated on geopolitics, race, gender, sexuality, citizenship, and ability among others. Queering or decolonizing this instrumental reason flattening and dominating difference has become a method of intervention in algorithmic assemblages.⁶

Hence, the act of intervention needs to address the larger systems, whether material or discursive, that animate algorithmic media as such rather than a mere gesture of temporarily using them for alternative ends. Thus, the point of intervention expands outward from unsettling normative formations such as citizenship and heteronormativity that maintain social relations underlying a capitalist system while obscuring their historicity.

For this reason, I think decolonial and queer critique has become more and more insightful for contemporary cultural analysis. Here, the production of alternative imaginaries of the commons or the future could be relevant, too. I observe similar moves in your work that shift between different realms and scales that media systems traverse. I would be grateful if you could reflect on possible sites or moments of agency despite such totalizing systems.

Yener Bayramođlu: I agree with your point that queer and/or postcolonial interventions need to address the larger systems and algorithmic assemblages in which we are embedded as subjects, communities, etc. But I also would like to add that we would need to address and intervene into the larger systems as large collectives. This means that if we understand the concept of agency against surveillance capitalism, data colonization, platform society, etc. (which are all exciting terminologies that describe the datafication of human life in contemporary times) as a matter of individual decisions, such as the decision of which platforms to use, we will fail in the long run. The question of agency in relation to such complex and global algorithmic assemblages should not be reduced to the mere individual

level but need to include institutions as possible sites of interventions.

One of the most crucial critiques of postcolonial and queer theories have been against the modern institutions that are designed to reflect the needs of the white, male, abled bodied, cis, heterosexual, and Euroamerican agencies. The reason why racist, sexist, and harmful algorithms exist is the normative institutions, companies, etc. that are mainly occupied by male, white, heterosexual developers and programmers. And their main goal is definitely not to queer or decolonize the world. That's why, on the one hand, it is very important to have queer, anti-racist, and feminist agencies within such institutions that create and train the algorithms to stop the reproduction of racism, heteronormativity, etc. but also new regulatory forces.

I am working at the moment on a project called DigitalHate that brings together informatics, political theory, cultural studies, pedagogy, and NGOs to create new algorithms that would allow the detection of hate speech, racist and antisemitic conspiracy theories on digital platforms. It is a truly interdisciplinary and exciting working environment, which also demonstrates that the larger algorithmic and machine learning fields need the expertise from other fields such as humanities and social sciences in order to create algorithmic possibilities that do not serve racial, heteronormative, capitalist, etc. power structures. So I guess this shows also that interventions into the larger systems require alliances between different fields of expertise but also between different struggles such as postcolonial, antiracist, queer, etc. without putting them in competition with each other.

Özgün Eylül İçsen: I would be curious to hear more about the personal, theoretical, and historical references that have guided your work. Your move across multiple fields of study and academic settings and your situatedness as a queer migrant scholar from Istanbul living in Berlin for a decade now could be relevant here. I am also interested in the trajectory of comparative methodologies and dialectical moves involved in your research that often connects the know-how of one field, place, or historical period with another. You could also tell us more about the background of your published book, for instance, *Queere (Un-) Sichtbarkeiten*, which unsettles the often-repeated dichotomy of Orient/Occident by comparing conflicting tendencies in Turkish and German tabloid journalism's take on queer representation.

Yener Bayramoğlu: Thank you for this question, I love it. Maybe I should start with my own personal references. I was born and grew up in Istanbul and I was very lucky to witness the emergence of an organized LGBTIQ movement in the early 2000s. I attended the first meeting of

Lambdaistanbul in their first ever office. My entry point into activism was not guided by an academic interest, though. I first became an activist and then discovered academia as another form of activism. My interest in media is also deeply rooted in the movement in Istanbul. Particularly, it is rooted in the dusty archives of Lambdaistanbul. It was a very valuable archive with piles of cropped news articles about LGBTIQ from different time periods. It was not organized at all. And I started the impossible task of organizing this messy archive with my beloved friends including Aligül Arıkan (who unfortunately passed away a couple of years ago) and Bawer Cakir. I must admit that we have failed to put the archive in order in the long run, as this was a job done purely on a voluntary basis. But that dusty archive and our will to engage with that archive have inspired me to become a researcher. It was very inspiring because I saw for the first time in that archive how the concepts, images, and argumentations about queer sexualities and non/normative gender identities mind-blowingly and constantly change within such short timespans.

My first book *Queere (Un-)sichtbarkeiten* (Queer In/visibilities) is indeed a continuation of that archival research. But that book has also a comparative aspect as it includes the history of queer representation in German tabloid press as well. I think my positionality as someone coming from the so-called Orient to study the Occident messes things up. You know, Edward Said writes about how knowledge production, particularly in humanities, was always based on the routes that went the other way around. Scholars, historians, archeologists, and orientalist from Europe would go to places such as the Middle East to study, understand, and preserve the culture there, because it was assumed that people in the Middle East wouldn't have the intellectual capacity to create knowledge about their own or other cultures. Europe was the center of knowledge whereas the Middle East was reduced to experience. That's why I think it is very important that the people from places such as the Middle East create knowledge about their own geographical backgrounds but also intervene in the knowledge production about the Global North.

When I started doing the archival research for *Queere Unsichtbarkeiten*, people, particularly from Germany were commenting and asking whether I would ever find any queer representation in Turkey, as Turkey's media was imagined as this impossible space for queer stories and visibilities to be created and circulated. These were typical homonationalist points of view, which create the illusion that the monstrous, the horrible things are always situated in the rest of the world – but not in the West. Therefore, there is a value in doing comparative research because it shows that it is not only the differences between spaces but also similarities that characterize the stories, places, and visibilities across different geographies. When you dig into the press archives, particularly tabloid press archives,

you realize that it is the shared experience of violence that binds together different queer temporalities, spaces, and visibilities beyond a simplified Orient/Occident binary.

In most cases, queers have become visible and left their traces in the press archives because they have experienced violence. We should understand this violence as not only corporeal but also as representational violence. It is representational violence because it mutes the subjects – we do not hear their voices despite the media coverage about them. For instance, particularly in the 1990s, newspapers in Turkey were obsessed with news about trans sex workers. This was horrible coverage that depicted trans women as monstrous and dangerous, causing terror in the public. While making trans women visible, such news did not give them space for their own voices. So instead of trans women speaking, we would hear the voices of the general public, police, and the government, etc. talking about trans women. In that sense, being in a tabloid press archive is very depressing as you as a researcher constantly end up witnessing this violence.

You also asked me about my theoretical references. Michel Foucault's writings were very inspiring in helping me to articulate my experience being in the archives but also in understanding how media discourse operates. Being in the archive has also led me to become obsessed with the question of temporality, which was an intellectual journey where I found a kinship with Jacques Derrida, Elizabeth Freeman, José Esteban Muñoz, and Jack Halberstam. While I was more interested in the question of time during my PhD, my later research engaged more with the question of space, borders, and migration. So I ended up reading the work of scholars such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Gayatri Gopinath, Arjun Appadurai, and Martin Manalansan and I was mesmerized by them.

Özgün Eylül İçcen: As we near the end, let's return to your remarks on the politics of futurity, characterizing a central theme in queer theory and activism. In opposition to the profit-driven futuristic narratives inscribed by the imperial logic of capitalism, which is even fantasizing about colonizing other planets, there is an urgent need for critical models of futuring that unsettle the ones that maintain the status-quo. The techno-capitalist view advances a scenario of finitude based on the masculinist technological agent. I see a similar repressive pattern within the field of media theory itself, too.

In contrast to schemes imposed by technological determinism, whether utopic or dystopic, a varied (theorization of) queer temporality underscores the idea of the refusal of social reproduction as we know it, including but not limited to: Lee Edelman's "no future," José Esteban Muñoz's "future in the present," and Jack Halberstam's queer temporalities that unsettle the temporal ordering practices of what Elizabeth Freeman calls "chrononormativity."⁷ It would be helpful to

hear your thoughts on such current trends and the plasticity of the past, present, and future continuum as present in your work. I would also love to hear more about the online platform project Madi Ancestors as a collaboration with Leman Sevda Darıciöğlu.⁸

Yener Bayramoğlu: It is not a coincidence that discussions about colonizing other planets are happening at the same time as dystopic models of futuring are becoming so dominant in scholarly works, mainstream discussions, and activist discourses. It is interesting to see how mass extinction and the climate crises lead to new profit-driven technological imaginations, which obviously will create their own new problems instead of solving the very urgent issues we need to deal with. In light of these events, the main task of a politics of (queer) future would be an investment in the future without falling into the trap of creating cruel optimism.

My work is very much inspired by the work of the scholars you have mentioned because I find their critical engagement with temporalities and futurity very useful. But they all wrote about queer temporalities when the discussions about climate crises, the end of humanity as well the possible destructive affects of AI in job markets, etc. were not as prominent as they are at the moment. So we can maybe argue that several of these theories on queer temporalities need to be updated in the light of current events.

I recently discovered a Catalan philosopher, Marina Garcés, who also thinks about temporalities and the future, and whose solutions for futuring might be helpful for us.⁹ Garcés argues that we are in a time in which humanity has realized that the world's resources are not endless and that the concepts of growth, expansion, progress, and civilization have become very problematic. So we feel like we are experiencing a time that feels like the end of everything, particularly the end of the future, as the future looks very dire. Therefore, the discourse on decline and extinction is becoming very bold. But, of course, we are talking about the extinction and the possible end of humanity, because the destructive affects of western civilization have finally reached the shores of the Global North as well. The indigenous communities and the people whose lands have been colonized for hundreds of years have already been witnessing the devastation of nature, the extinction of species, etc. for a much longer time.

In this sense, instead of cruel optimism, we need politics of the future that include an awareness of the losses of the past and the current time. For instance, Garcés suggests that we need to create a meaningful relationship between the things that have already been lost and the things that we urgently need to reach in the future. And I think queer hope or queer utopia as formulated in the writings of scholars like Muñoz build that meaningful relationship between past,

present, and future that positivism or the discourses of progress, etc. would like to see as separate categories. Queer temporalities bind these categories with each other, as Freeman poetically puts it.

Moreover, queer hope is not this naïve or neoliberal faith in the future that everything will get better but rather puts the current and past negativities into the center of the project of futuring. It invests in the future precisely because of the toxicity of the present time. In light of such huge global challenges as the climate crises, global inequalities, wars, proliferation of racism etc., we do not have the luxury of refusing the future, because a refusal of future would be devastating for every creature. In that sense, I understand queering the future as a project that always turns to the past losses, violence, troubles, grief and searches for hopeful strategies in the least expected times and spaces. Therefore, I have more sympathy for the politics of future that is always haunted by the ghosts of the past. The ghosts of the past would guide us in our way to the future.

I think Madi Ancestors could also be seen as an example of such temporalities. Madi Ancestors (or shady ancestors) was a digital festival that aimed to remember three important queer figures in Turkey's popular culture: Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy and Huysuz Virjin. But their legacies are troubled as none of them identified themselves as LGBTIQ. Even Bulent Ersoy – who had a transition in the 1980s and fought to legally get registered as a woman – opened the way for the legalization of gender reassignment in Turkey but does not publicly talk about her trans identity anymore. We could even argue that she distances herself from Turkey's trans struggle. She has even supported the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who oppresses LGBTIQ movement in Turkey. So despite their troubled legacies, the project Madi Ancestors digitally appropriated these figures as queer ancestors. By doing so, it focused on hopeful and inspiring beginnings of queer visibility in times that were colored with impact of military coup in 1980, nationalism, state homophobia and transphobia.

But the project did not only function as a digital platform to remember and discuss the legacies of these queer idols for Turkey but also for the diaspora in Germany. Thanks to the people we have talked to, I also discovered singers such as Hatay Engin who sang in gazinos in Berlin in the 1980s and 1990s. Similar to Zeki Müren, Hatay Engin was a flamboyant singer wearing gender non-normative outfits who played an important role in (queer) diasporic consciousness. But unlike religious, ethnic, or national diasporas, queer diaspora lacks a history and continuity. The digital platform and the podcast series helped us to digitally create this continuity between past diasporic spaces, Turkey's popular culture, and the current transnational queer struggle. In other words, the medium, the digital platform helped us to

bind these different temporalities and spaces with each other, which was very exciting.

Özgün Eylül İçsen: Are there any other N-futuring that you would like to propose (other than that you have already coined)?

Yener Bayramoğlu: Since the outbreak of the pandemic, I have been interested in the concept of fragility. Therefore, I would like to briefly mention “fragile-futuring” as well. The virus, this tiny creature, which lacks several of the components and building blocks of living organisms, had the immense power to turn many things upside down. During the pandemic, our bodies felt very fragile. We suddenly realized that our health infrastructures are very fragile and even interpersonal relationships became fragile as some of us ended our friendships because our friends did not believe in the existence of the virus.

Unlike the concept of vulnerability, which is often related to certain social groups or past traumatic experiences, fragility allows us to talk about the manifold forms of precarity that are not necessarily tied to corporeality, identity, or past experiences. The word “vulnerable” comes from the Latin word *vulnus*, which means “wound.” So wounds happen because of past traumatic experiences. Some wounds heal in time, some wounds stay always open and painful. But when we talk about fragility, we also turn our gazes to the future. Maybe someone has never experienced anything bad in their life and has always been privileged, but something can go wrong in the future, a car accident can happen and this person can become handicapped. In this way, the future is always fragile. Not only our individual futures but also our collective futures are fragile. But there is no way of escaping the fragility, as we are fragile because of the interdependencies. There are manifold and essential interdependencies between “us” and everything we consider “them.” So the concept of fragility stand in stark contrast to cruel optimism, necrocapitalism, and profit-driven futurities. It helps us to be aware of the dangers of the present and the future.

1 José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

2 Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

3 Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

4 Yener Bayramoglu & María do Mar Castro Varela, *Post/pandemisches Leben: Eine neue Theorie der Fragilität* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2021).

5 Rosi Braidotti, *Posthuman Knowledge* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2019).

6 See: Zach Blas' works in general <https://zachblas.info/>. See also: Wendy Chun, “Queering Homophily,” in *Pattern Discrimination*, by Clemens Apprich, Wendy Hui Kyong

Chun, Florian Cramer, and Hito Steyerl. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 59- 98. Finally, the erasure of the difference manifested itself within the narration of the history of computation, such as the repressed homosexuality of Alan Turing, the pioneer computer scientist.

7 J. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). For other mentioned references, please see above.

8 Please follow the link for visiting the platform: <http://madiancestors.com/#/anasahne>.

9 Marina Garcés, *Neue Radikale Aufklärung*, trans. by Charlotte Frei (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2019).

Yener Bayramođlu's Bio:

Yener Bayramođlu is a Marie Curie fellow at Manchester Metropolitan University. Bayramođlu completed his PhD in media and communication at Freie Universitat Berlin. He was a visiting professor for gender and queer studies at Alice Salomon University of Berlin and a visiting scholar at University of Salzburg in Austria. His work on queer theory, digital media, migration, and queer temporalities has been published in several journals, including Ethnic & Racial Studies. His first monograph Queere (Un-)Sichtbarkeiten was published in Germany and explores the history of queer representation in German and Turkish speaking media. His second co-authored book Post/pandemisches Leben is on the entanglement of digital media in biopolitics and necropolitics in times of pandemic.

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